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THE
WESTMINSTER
AND
FOREIGN QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1847. JANUARY, 1848.



"*Legitima inquisitionis vera norma est, ut nihil vagiet in practicam, cujus non sit etiam doctrina aliqua et theoria.*"—BACON, *De Augm. Scien.*

"Those who have not thoroughly examined to the bottom all their own tenets, must confess they are unfit to prescribe to others; and are unreasonable in imposing that as truth on other men's belief which they themselves have not searched into, nor weighed the arguments of probability on which they should receive or reject it."—LOCKE, *Essay on Human Understanding.*

VOL. XLVIII.—1848.



LONDON:
GEORGE LUXFORD, 1, WHITEFRIARS' STREET.

MDCCCXLVIII.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WATERLOW AND SONS, LONDON WALL.

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TO THE

FORTY-EIGHTH VOLUME

OF THE

Westminster Review,

Nos. XCIV., XCV., OCTOBER, 1847—JANUARY, 1848.

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THE
WESTMINSTER
AND
FOREIGN QUARTERLY
Review.

ART. I.—1. *The value of Landed Property Demonstrated, with Practical Deductions and Illustrations, tending especially to facilitate the Valuation of Estates.* By Leyton Cooke, Esq., Land-surveyor. 1844.

2. *Four Lectures on the Organization of Industry: being part of a course delivered before the University of Cambridge, in Easter Term, 1844.* By T. C. Banfield, Esq.

THE backward condition of agriculture over a large surface of these kingdoms, the want of adequate skill and knowledge in turning land to the best account, on the part of the owners, their agents, and the tenants, when compared with the stupendous advance made in every other department of national art and industry, is one of most striking contrasts presented by Great Britain in the present day. In machinery, our productive forces, our power of combining them, the duty, or *effet utile* we exact of them, have perhaps decupled within the last half century. In the same space of time our population has only, if quite, doubled; yet our powers of extracting sufficient nourishment from the soil to subsist them, have not kept pace with the number of mouths. In that period, inclosures have brought into cultivation some 4,000,000 of acres; and assuming that one fourth part of this is annually producing bread-corn at the rate of 24 bushels to the acre, it thus may provide for 3,000,000 out of the 11,000,000 which the four last censuses have added to our numbers. The older inclosed lands, therefore, whose produce in 1800 sustained a population of 15,000,000 or 16,000,000, now suffice for 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 more—an increase it is true, but an inconsiderable one when compared with our efforts in other quarters, or with the success which even on sterile soils has been known to attend the enterprise of men like the late Earl of

Leicester and others, who may be said to have vanquished nature.

Till after the middle of the last century, we were an exporting country (Ireland may even be said to have remained so till last year); we have since become an importing one; and even without taking into account the late, and possibly a prospective deficiency of potatoes, we appear to require an additional annual supply of food from abroad, or from our own soil, wherever it can be most advantageously procured, of from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 quarters of wheat.

And yet this might have been produced from British land by our own farmers. Not by the general breaking up* of pasture, as is sometimes hastily called for, but by a more skilful and economical cultivation of the land actually under tillage. An increase of 2 bushels an acre, that is, of from 10 to 15 per cent. on the average yield—no enormous addition, surely—would accomplish this.

Whether it was altogether expedient so to foster and prop up by artificial legislation the agriculture of this country, is a matter respecting which the protectionists themselves may at last be sceptical. They may now be generally of opinion that they would have done better if the culture and population had been less stimulated by high prices, inclosure bills, out relief, and country banks. These matters might have been better ordered, but we, the constituencies who elected the two or three last parliaments, had not the management and direction of them; we must take them as we find them—*des faits accomplis*. When we observe a large extent of land under tillage, continually employing a considerable population,—when we know that this land cannot now be laid down in pasture except at great expense, and perhaps loss,—and that when so laid down it would cease to afford the same occupation to the labouring class;—when we reflect, too, that the persons so deprived of a livelihood must be supported from the rates until they can be absorbed by some other more fortunate industry; we feel that our choice is not perfectly unfettered, and that, in spite of free-trade arguments, as to the impolicy of attempting to grow our own corn—the land must, so long as it is burdened with the maintenance of the pauper population on its surface, struggle to perform its duty and accomplish its task, while the result of the exertion might raise our acreable amount of produce up to the level of our increased consumption. We certainly do not suggest this for the sake of asserting an independence of the foreigner, but because the exchange might be

* The breaking up pastures, and the increase of the breadth of tillage, requires more capital—and capital is wanting to the majority of farmers.

to some extent readily and profitably effected, by purchasing with our own manufactures of our own corn-producers the *quantum* of sustenance which we cannot obtain in quantity, or on reasonable terms, from abroad. It is doubtful, from the almost universal failure of the potato crop last season, whether for some years we can obtain from countries, who have also to make up in some way or other to their own inhabitants the loss they have thereby experienced as well as ourselves, those supplies which to us are become indispensable. It is equally uncertain whether the corn-producing states of Europe, whom our long adherence to protective policy has taught to adopt it also, will readily admit the produce of our industry in payment for the corn which we require, since they have now begun to manufacture themselves. Yet these considerations form a part of the terms we have before alluded to, and of the cost, therefore, eventually, of the operation. As an artificial stimulus to our agriculturists this policy would be indefensible; we may, nevertheless, from inability to deal with our neighbour without great derangement of our currency, be so forced to improve* our rural affairs as to buy of our farmers rather than his, and to see pass into the hands of our labouring population those manufactured products which hostile tariffs tend to exclude from the continent.

But to accomplish this, the land will require skill and capital beyond that which has usually been applied to it; and judgment is indispensable in the selection of the agent who is to frame the covenant between landlord and tenant in the altered circumstances in which the latter may hereafter be placed. Hitherto, in the provinces, the class of land-agents has derived importance from the shrewdness and experience they have acquired in dealing with men—from the culpable ignorance of their employers as to their own affairs: they are seldom indebted to any theoretical or enlarged principles for the knowledge they do possess, and as rarely do they test its value by comparing it with systems or processes observed beyond the narrow area with which they happen to be acquainted. Yet this is the character of the great mass of local notabilities, whose *fiat* is law in the management of a great extent of country. There are others with a wider reputation, who are perhaps called in on greater occasions,—*dei ex machinâ*,—when a

* The increase of produce may be greater than many persons are aware of. We will mention only one case as a sample. The mere operation of hoeing wheat in the spring, at a cost of 5s. per acre, would insure at least one more bushel, out of the two additional required for the national consumption, and with corn at 40s. this would pay, besides the clean condition of the land for the ensuing crop of turnips. An increase of one bushel per acre is indeed a very small estimate from such an operation, as every practical farmer knows.

large landed property changes hands in an auction-room, or when sixty or eighty miles of running measure (literally we fear) have to be despatched and levelled for a line of railway; and it is thought that Mr. A, whose name figures in the sale advertisements, or Mr. B, who is known to be the duke of D's agent, will enlist the confidence of the parliamentary committee who are to sit in judgment on the bill. These gentlemen, with more quickness of reasoning and calculation (much sharpened of late years by their habit of evidence-giving before the said committees), are nevertheless rarely capable of analysing the principles on which their art is founded; if indeed it can be said to have any that are fully recognised by those who practise its calling.

It is to meet this want that Mr. L. Cooke has produced the treatise which stands at the head of this article; and quoting from another writer, he observes, in his preface, that the proportion of produce due to the landlord "is a question abstruse, mysterious, and very difficult to resolve;" and so, notwithstanding his endeavours, it must remain.

The theory of rent, laid down by Messrs. Ricardo and Macculloch, has been combated by the Rev. Richard Jones, and more recently by Mr. Banfield, in his '*Lectures on the Organization of Industry*,' delivered before the University of Cambridge, in 1844. Ricardo could only see in rent a premium on monopoly; Macculloch, that it was a hiring out of the land for cultivation. Malthus, who is followed by our land agents, defines rent to be that portion of the produce that remains to the owner, after all the outgoings belonging to its cultivation, including the ordinary profit of the capital employed, are paid. Ricardo says, "that portion of the produce of the earth which is paid to the landlord for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil."

These powers are elementary portions of the calculation, but they are not all. The original indestructible power of the soil may be the same in Battersca fields or Epping forest, yet the one commands six or seven times the rent of the other. Market gardens, bleaching grounds, paddocks, pleasure grounds, even near a town, and a host of other exceptional cases, show at once that this definition, if accepted at all, must be strictly confined to purely agricultural rent, and even then, with such modification as to render it practically of no avail. Lands in closely inhabited districts, though farmed after a common fashion, are far more valuable than those more remote, not simply on account of "inherent indestructible powers," but because they have been coaxed into fertility by manure arising from the village, and the post or waggon horses maintained there, and from the population,—the

latter is almost an element of rent. The village decays—it is “cut up” by some railway which does not benefit it—the traffic flows along some other channel, the manure can no longer be obtained, and the rent of land declines, though its “original indestructible powers” remain unaltered.

It may be seen from Mr. Jones’s work that few countries are so advanced in civilization as to have arrived generally at a system of *money rents*. There are, says the professor, primary and secondary rents. The primary or peasant rents, consisting—
 1. Of the labour rents of Russia, Hungary, Poland, Esthonia, and Hanover. 2. The *métayer*, being a produce rent paid to the landlord, including both the profit of his stock and the rent of his land, as in ancient Greece or Rome—much of Italy and France being subject to this system—a wretched one, according to Destutt de Tracy. 3. The ryot rents of India, Turkey, and China. 4. The cottier rent, a money rent, difficult to introduce, and stimulating unduly the population. There is, too, a want of prescription and usage securing protection to the cottier, and an absence of common interest between the landlord and tenant.

But it is with the secondary, or pecuniary, or farmers’ rent, that we are now principally concerned. Messrs. Macculloch and Ricardo appear hardly correct in supposing a decreasing fertility of return from each successive dose of capital applied to the soil. There is a gradual diminution, observes Mr. Jones, not of the landlord’s *rent*, but of his *share* of the produce.

Adam Smith had remarked in his time, that in Europe it seldom exceeded a third, and sometimes not a fourth.* “Rent” he continues, “increases in proportion to extent, but diminishes in proportion to the produce of the land.” And Mr. Jones, quoting from Lowe, says that only a fifth or even less of the produce now is obtained by the landlord.

Whatever this share is, or ought to be, Mr. Banfield has done the public the service of showing that a high price of corn is not a necessary condition of high rents—a fallacy into which Messrs. Lowe, Leyton Cooke, and others have plunged beyond their depth. Mr. Banfield states, that the hills of Limburg, growing no corn, bring £1 4s. to £2 per English acre; that on flax land in Flanders £2 7s. is a common rent; in Holland, for land which will only produce hay, butter, but no grain, as much as £2 to £3 per acre is sometimes paid. Nor is this peculiar to the low countries. On sixteen estates in the neighbourhood of

* The capital employed in the cultivation of the land in England, as compared with the labourers’ wages, is supposed to be as 5 to 1. In France, though wages are much lower, yet so small is the capital, that the proportion of the latter to labour is but 2 to 1.

Vicenza (which is not an exclusively corn growing part of Italy), of which he had obtained the particulars, the rent averaged £3 per acre. As a general rule, Mr. Banfield, from personal inquiries, is confident that rents are higher in Scotland than in England; and they exemplify the truth of the earlier definition of rent given by Adam Smith, that it is what the occupier "finds it worth while to pay for the use of the land," in opposition to the later but not sounder explanations of Ricardo and his followers. In another treatise ("Six Letters addressed to Sir Robert Peel") Mr. Banfield observes:—

"The error in the ordinary reasoning upon this subject, arises from its being assumed that the English farmers must grow wheat—an error which has been, as we see, followed up by supposing that this description of grain, which we should probably be far richer if we dismissed altogether from our shores, to be cultivated in richer soils and under more constant climates, is the standard by which the landlord is to measure the price he can obtain for his land, or the rent it will yield him."

The error thus pointed out has been adopted in its fullest and most mischievous extent by Mr. Cooke, a considerable number of whose pages consist of diagrams illustrating all extremes of rent under its unmitigated operation.

The principle laid down by him is, that the tenant's profit is to be an invariable proportion of the *available amount*, i. e., of what remains of the produce after the expenses of cultivating, seed, incidental charges, &c., &c., are defrayed.

This he takes at 40 per cent.—on what principle is not so clear: but the following are given as instances:—

Arable land producing on an average per acre	80s.	120s.	160s.
Deduct expenses, say	60	70	80
Available amount	20	50	80
Tenant's profit 40 per cent. the acre	8	20	32

For these several qualities of land various proportions of capital may be required, and the tenant's claim for profit or remuneration consists of,—1. The interest of the capital he has brought into the undertaking; and 2. Payment for his own skill or personal superintendence. Let us assume the one and the other to be jointly worth 10 per cent.* upon his capital, which

* What is the proper rate of profit on agricultural capital is not easy to define. Many farmers keep no accounts at all; few of them so accurately as to be able to state what it is that their invested capital produces to them. When the income-tax of 1842 was imposed, it was assumed that a farmer's profit equalled half his rent; that a farm of £300 per annum indicated an income of £150 per annum. Such a farmer might have a capital of from £1,000 to £2,000, or the mean between the two sums, viz., £1,500—10 per

is, in fact, what Mr. Cooke has assumed in another part of his work as the proper return. This would surely seem to be the right basis of calculation. Of course we are dealing with the natural productive quality of the soil, brought out by approved but not extraordinary farming. If the tenant, by the application of unusual skill and industry, or by an outlay much exceeding the usual rate, thereby produces a greater yield per acre, the whole of such excess during the term of his lease is rightfully his, and his only. But we are considering the ordinary cases of productiveness obtained by the usual style of farming, and not those exceptional ones in which a spirited tenant exceeds the customary yield. Resuming Mr. Cooke's figures, an acre of land is supposed to produce 80*s.*, this will presume a capital of from £4 to £6 per acre; and the tenant should be entitled therefore, at 10 per cent. upon this capital, to a profit of from 8*s.* to 12*s.* per acre, on land of the first mentioned sort. In the second quality, a gross amount of 120*s.* is produced at a cost of £70. Suppose the greater expenses and the increased tithe to require a larger dose of capital by 20*s.* per acre, the tenant's profit at 10 per cent. would be 2*s.* per acre more, or from 10*s.* to 14*s.* In the third, the produce is 160*s.*, the expense 80*s.*, and perhaps the capital may amount to £8 (though this is higher than we believe tenants will be found to have, except in a few favoured regions of England), the return is 16*s.*

cent. would give just the income at which the Property Tax Act rates him; if he made more he has manifestly been too much favored by the legislature. At a meeting of the Darlington Farmers' Club, in June, 1847, Mr. Parker assumed the tenant's profit to be £1 per acre. On a farm of 215 acres he showed an expenditure of £957, exclusive of the cost of implements and stock. Supposing, then, he had £900 more thus invested, the total of his capital would be £1,807. £1 per acre or £215 would be a trifle under 12 per cent. on £1,807. Mr. McCulloch in his statistical account of the British Empire, assumed, but probably on inadequate data, the rate of profit to be about 13 per cent.

The manufacturer keeps his profit and production apart from his consumption; the farmer confounds both. He does not, if he wants a dozen shirts, or a few pairs of stockings, help himself to the manufactured material as it issues from the spinning frame, and appropriate it to himself and his family; he supplies himself, on the contrary, from the retail dealer in those very articles which he manufactures wholesale. But with the farmer it is different. He revels in the midst of the plenty with which he is surrounded; his living though not refined, is ample and full.

In Milk ..	£3	} A farmer renting to the amount of £100 per annum probably draws not less than £60 to £70 worth of produce from his farm-yard and granaries, to be consumed in his family, without giving credit to the farm or debiting his household with the quantity and value thus abstracted.
Butter ..	5	
Poultry ..	6	
Corn	25	
Meat	25	

According to one of Mr. Cooke's rules then, the tenant has 40 per cent. of the available amount; or,

8*s.* .. 20*s.* .. 32*s.*

according to another of his rules, he would have on the same quality of land respectively:—

8*s.* .. 14*s.* .. 16*s.*

These figures are irreconcilable with each other, and the complicated theory with which he has endeavoured to sustain his view must be abandoned. It is plain that it is on the *capital* embarked in the enterprise, whether that be farming or manufacturing, that the profit should be calculated, and certainly not upon the proportion of 40 or of any other per centage of the available amount. No such extravagant rate as 40 per cent. could be maintained. If men knew that with a capital of £8 per acre they were to have an occupier's profit of £1 12*s.*—or, in other words, that it was laid down as a rule that their money was to bring in 20 per cent. the rush to agricultural speculation would soon put the rules to the test: and such an inordinate rate of interest, even if ever for a brief moment it were to exist, could not fail of being speedily brought down. It might as well be argued that the manufacturer is entitled to a similar per centage of 40 per cent. on the available amount of all the articles he manufactures; that is, after deducting the cost of fuel, wages, and raw material, but not the rent of premises, the same proportion is to belong to him.

What the manufacturer looks to is a handsome return upon his capital; that *may* sometimes, and while he is in possession of some secret process, whether of economy or of effect, be 40, or even more, per cent., and give him a temporary monopoly; at other times, and of late these have neither been few nor short, business has not brought him 5, or even 3. But there is, however, an average: that average is satisfactory enough to him to induce him to continue in the trade; it may be made up of five good consecutive years, followed by five bad ones; or they may alternate differently; however this may be, when he finds the profit no longer adequate, he quits business. And thus it is with farming.

Mr. Cooke is quite right in insisting that "the value of cottages should be estimated distinct from that of the land."

"They are sometimes let immediately from the owner to the occupier; at other times they are let with the farm, in order to give the tenant an opportunity of selecting his under-tenants. In the latter case, the farmer should stipulate to under-let them upon the same terms as they were charged to him; a tenant has no right to make a profit of the cottages."

The first of these is no doubt best for the labourer; he has the

advantage of holding from a more considerate landlord: but, unless in the immediate neighbourhood of the residence of the latter, or of some principal agent, it is in practice found to be so inconvenient to collect rents and attend to the repairs of tenements occupied by the lower classes, at a distance, that landlords are generally induced to let the cottages along with the farm, which the inmates of the former would, naturally, from their inhabitancy, cultivate. And if, as Mr. Cooke contends, it is the duty of landlords to provide fit habitations for the population required for the cultivation of their estates, it is but right that the farmer who manages, and is responsible for that cultivation, should be enabled to choose by what labourers it shall be carried on. He is deprived of this right of choice if the cottages interspersed with the farm, or the only ones perhaps within a reasonable distance of it, are occupied by persons unwilling or unfit to be employed by him. Yet there are considerable districts where even when this arrangement has been made, it is of no avail in producing its contemplated effect, which is to lodge the labourer near the scene of his daily toil. It does perversely happen that master and man part company on some difference about quality of work or amount of wages. The latter seeks a new employer, the former engages another workman, and this last, instead of labouring in the immediate neighbourhood of his own dwelling, has to proceed one, two, three, or even more miles daily to the place of his work. For, in point of fact, the farmer does not eject an ordinary labourer for slight reasons. He dismisses him, or is left by him, at a week's notice; but the cottage, though nominally held at a weekly rent, and particularly if a garden is attached to it, is of necessity a yearly tenancy; and one, therefore, which can for the most part only be put an end to by a six months' notice, given at a particular time of the year. It is not easy to say how this anomaly is to be corrected. Good faith between the parties ought to be the foundation of all contracts between them, whether express or implied; and though the farmer should be free to employ whom he liked, and the labourer equally free to offer his services where they are best paid; yet the first should not lightly turn away in the winter, and when the occasion or advantage of employment are not so evident and pressing, the labourer who has faithfully remained with him during the more valuable season; nor ought the latter hastily, and under the temptation of earning a few shillings a week more at harvest or hop-picking, to quit the employer who has kept him at work during the unprofitable period of the year. Such conduct, on whatever side it originates, infallibly loosens the bond which should connect the classes deriving their livelihood from agriculture; and it should be impressed

on each that neither can take advantage of the other, without being liable in his turn to a reciprocity of treatment.

Free trade in labour may indeed be abused, and to the detriment of both parties. The labourer may compel the farmer extravagantly to increase his wages in the summer, the latter may unfeelingly dismiss him in the winter; but such a mischievous state of things would surely invite the immediate invention and application of machinery to agriculture, to a degree far beyond what is prudent just yet. The capitalist who has embarked his money in agriculture has the same motive as the manufacturer for superseding human labour by engines; not from their economy only, or even principally, but to free himself from a dictation or a desertion which he feels to be intolerable. This would undoubtedly be a serious evil. Machinery expressly invented for the purpose of dispensing with the services of troublesome men, could scarcely fail of producing a real surplus of unemployed population, wherever it was adopted. For agricultural industry, less elastic and buoyant than her manufacturing sister, cannot employ and support at a short warning the same number of persons that the latter is capable of making room for in prosperous times. Although, then, we are partial to the introduction of all machinery that tends to diminish the extreme severity of human exertion, and to substitute metallic for muscular effort, it is yet desirable that even this should be gradual.

"In the shape of rent," says Mr. Cooke, "labourers ought not to pay more than four weeks' ordinary wages for a cottage sufficient for a family, with convenience for baking; and for a good garden, immediately attached to the cottage, not more than 6*d.* per rod, including in both cases all rates and taxes."

Different notions are entertained, of course, respecting what is "sufficient for a family." Assuming that a kitchen and pantry below, and two chambers over, are indispensable, such a building, even if erected in a row with others, could hardly be built and finished at a less cost than £70—in the greater part of the country it would probably cost from £100 to £120. Allowing however that it could be put up for £70, the interest at £6 per cent. (and less than 6 per cent. on house property so subject as this to dilapidations would not do) makes the rent at least four guineas. The rent which Mr. Cooke allows, being four weeks' wages, say from 32*s.* to 48*s.* (wages varying from 8*s.* to 12*s.* average per week), would therefore be about one half that which we have shown to be required as a fair interest on the capital. The owner is besides to pay the rates, which at 2*s.* 6*d.* in the

pound on a house rated at 30*s.* would be a still further deduction of nearly 4*s.* from whatever rent he receives. It would have added much to our sense of the value of Mr. Cooke's labours, had he devoted some of his tables to showing how such cottages could be built, economically enough, that is, to afford an investment, and yet to be let to the labourers for four weeks' value of their wages.

"Suitable accommodation," he continues, "for the labourer is no less necessary than is a residence for the farmer, or shelter for his stock. The neglect of landowners to supply sufficient cottage accommodation has encouraged speculators to build, whose only object is gain, and who accordingly exact the utmost that can be obtained as a rent: unless wages therefore are increased, to enable these excessive rents to be paid, the labourer is deprived of a portion of the means of subsistence; and if it be allowed to him by the occupier, a larger proportion than that calculated on must be applied to labour, which diminishes the farmer's profit. The inconvenience being consequent on the landowner's neglect, the excess of this outgoing eventually resolves itself into a deduction from the annual value of the property, and visits indirectly the neglect to provide sufficient accommodation for the labourers."

There are instances in which this is true, but as a general proposition it is incorrect. The small tradesmen who lay out £200 or £300 in tenements of this description, or those more adventurous, who purchase an enclosure-allotment and run up a row of mean dwellings on it, are often enough severe exactors of the uttermost farthing their necessitous tenants can afford; gain no doubt is their object, we dare say, not less than that of merchants, railway directors, and other speculators. But if the rents are so excessive, the utmost, in short, why have they not been reduced by competition among the builders, by other speculators buying and building? For few parishes are so close (that is, belonging only to one proprietor) as to exclude the possibility of providing fresh cottage accommodation in a site near enough to them. And it is a curious fact, too, that in the close parishes generally, rents are lowest, and in the open ones, where property is most divided, they are highest, often so in spite of very numerous and recent erections. The cost of building is mainly composed of the wages of the brick-maker, lime-burner, sawyer, carpenter, mason, slater, and smith; and no one contends that it would be desirable, or even practicable, to reduce these: and as long as they are seen to be fully one-half more than they were in 1770, which a reference to any price-book of that period will show, so long must we, in spite of reduction of duties on timber, and the abolition of all tax on glass and slate, be resigned to

seeing the cost of all buildings, including those for the lower classes, remaining very considerable; not to mention that the requirements of modern civilization, and the dictates of health, extending themselves even among the labourers in husbandry, and suggesting more windows, more fireplaces, ventilation, and division, inevitably add to the expense.

The subject of wages necessarily requires notice in a publication of this kind; and the writer, whose reasoning on this point is shallow and inconclusive, thinks the lower classes less well off than they were a century or two ago. This he endeavours to prove from the following table.

PERIODS.	Weekly Wages.	Wheat per Quarter.	Value in Pints Weekly.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	
1642—1752.....	6 0	30 0	102
1761—1770.....	7 6	42 6	90
1780—1790.....	8 0	51 2	80
1790—1799.....	9 0	70 8	65
1800—1818.....	11 0	86 8	60

This table, however (for which he has given no authority), is incorrect. First, as to the price of wheat for the first hundred and ten years of his series, in which the quarter of wheat is alleged to have cost, on the average, 30*s.* Now, from the well-known register of the price of wheat in the Windsor market, during the 17th century, preserved in Eton College, we obtain, for the hundred and seven years commencing * 1646 and ending 1752, an average cost of 45*s.* 10*d.* As this quarter, however, includes the Windsor bushel of nine gallons, instead of eight, we must deduct one-ninth, and we then have 40*s.* 9*d.* for the *best* wheat; and again deducting one-ninth in order to obtain the medium quality, we have 36*s.* 2½*d.* as the average price, in lieu of Mr. Cooke's 30*s.* a difference at once of 20 per cent.; and even if we admit that wages were 6*s.* we shall find that those wages would command a trifle under 85 pints, and not 102 pints, which is the basis of his erroneous comparison. It would take much more time than Mr. Cooke has given to this subject, to arrive at an exact conclusion as to the rate of wages throughout this period: 6*s.* appears to us much

* From 1640 to 1645 inclusive, the registers, owing probably to the troubles, are lost: from the ten years ending 1639, the Windsor average was 44*s.* 1*d.*, or reducing as above, about 35*s.* The price during the first four years of the series from 1646 is (reduced) 39*s.* 7*d.*, 60*s.* 6*d.*, 69*s.* 4*d.*, 65*s.* 7*d.* The probability therefore is, that wheat was at least as high as the average we have given, if not higher.

higher than recorded facts would warrant us in believing. The April Quarter Sessions at Chelmsford, in 1651, fixed wages at 14*d.* per diem in summer, 12*d.* in winter; later, in 1661, in the same county, these rates are again nearly the same: so far they will bear out Mr. Cooke, but this is a comparatively metropolitan county. In Suffolk, in 1682, the Quarter Sessions fixed a shilling a day for summer, 10*d.* in winter. In Warwickshire, in 1682, 8*d.* to 1*s.* for various qualities of labour in summer, and 1*d.* less in winter. In Lancashire, in 1725, the best men were ordered to receive 1*s.*, the common 10*d.* in summer, and in winter 10*d.* and 9*d.* respectively. These items we quote from Eden's 'History of the Poor.' They are taken indiscriminately, as bearing on the period, and not selected as particularly controverting Mr. Cooke's hypothesis. It will however appear from them that the general average of 6*s.* is too high, and that the labouring class could not, between 1642 and 1790, have commanded, by means of a week's wages, a greater quantity of wheat than they have in ordinary years been able to do since.

We have been the more particular in noticing these miscalculations, because of their mischievous and discouraging tendency. If it were true, as has been contended, that the condition of the labourer had been constantly retrograding for the last two centuries, we ought to be ashamed of our wealth: but we are convinced that the direct contrary is the case, and that the physical existence, food, clothing, and lodging, of this class, has been improving, and is far superior, at the present day, to what it has been at any former period. Before the extension of the poor-law, before the general issue of allowances in aid of families, the population was kept down, and the labourer restrained from improvident marriages and excessive multiplication, by the positive experience of famine and the fear of death.

But we must return to the matter more directly before us.

Nothing can be less satisfactory than the practice resorted to by various land-surveyors in valuing buildings on a farm. We call it *practice*, for principle there is none; nor does Mr. Cooke, though he condemns several of them, appear to have substituted a correct *rationale*. Some, he says, profess to allow for them by estimating the land at a price above its intrinsic value; some consider the difference between the inside and outside measurement of the land a proper allowance for the buildings. Others estimate the accommodation afforded by the buildings at 20 per cent. on the value of the land, that is, they calculate the land is not worth so much by 20 per cent. without the buildings as with them. All these are evidently empirical; Mr. Cooke's definitions are better. He assumes that—

"A certain extent of out-buildings being requisite for the beneficial occupation of the estate, the land must, in the first place, be valued under the assumption of there being ample convenience in this respect, in accordance with the appropriation of the land. * * * Under the proposed mode of valuing, the farm-house becomes matter of arrangement irrespective of the out-buildings. The tenant is considered liable to the payment of rent for the dwelling-house, in addition to the rent of the land, on the same principle that other persons, whether in business or otherwise, and even laborers in husbandry, are chargeable for their habitations. In estimating the rental value of a farm house, it is not to be considered in relation to its connexion with the land, but to be calculated at such a rent only as the mere building and any ornamental pleasure ground that may be attached to it would, in the locality in which it is placed, be fairly worth, simply as a house, without the convenience of the land, and without any reference to its contiguity thereto. It should not, in its most recent state, be subject to a rent exceeding 5 per cent. on the original cost, declining to $2\frac{1}{2}$, and, in some cases, to 1 per cent. The repairs and insurance of the houses and premises to be borne by the landlord; and if by the tenant, the amount of premium is to be deducted from the rent."

This rider of per centage vitiates the rule. A desirable residence, which would command 7 or 8 per cent. on its cost, is to be cut down to bring it within Mr. Cooke's arbitrary *maximum*; his first position is plainer and better, the simple rent of the house in the situation, the value the thing will bring; a farmer can no more expect to live house-rent free than a manufacturer, a country gentleman, or a shopkeeper. The rent of houses, however, except in towns or populous districts, where a constant demand for every class of dwelling gives a pretty accurate measure of their value, is, after all, much a matter of guess-work.

Having disposed of the buildings, the next step is to determine the consideration payable for the land, and this again, irrespective of its physical advantages or position, will be greatly influenced by the terms and conditions of entry. The customs which prevail in this respect throughout a large portion of the southern counties of the island, cannot be too severely condemned; and it is the more fitting that public attention be directed to them in consequence of the endeavours, on the part of a portion of the agricultural interest, to obtain what is termed a tenant-right bill. It is the belief of some of the most enlightened of the body (and among them we believe Mr. Gray, of Dilston), that the benefits flowing from the adoption of such a measure, were it practicable, would by no means balance the evils and inconveniences that would result from it.

"In some of the southern counties," says Mr. Cooke, "the aggre-

gate value of tenants' right, consisting of claims unknown in the district, is often of serious amount, payable by incoming tenants, who, though they are reimbursed on quitting, are, during their respective terms, deprived of the use of no inconsiderable portion of the money that should be expended in the cultivation of the land. The valuations alluded to include charges for fallows, half-fallows, manure, coppices, and hedge-rows. If the land in the districts where this custom prevails were in better condition than in other parts of the kingdom, there might be some reason, though an insufficient one, for adhering to it; but experience proves that land free from these extraordinary charges is cultivated with greater spirit and success where this custom is unknown."

Mr. Cooke is neither new nor singular in his disapproval of these customs. Nearly twenty years ago, Messrs. Kennedy and Granger, in their '*Present State of the Tenancy of Land in Great Britain*' (1828), clearly exposed their pernicious effects in those counties into which they had crept; and every one conversant with their practical operation, and with the essentials of good husbandry, will confirm this statement. Nothing can be more demoralizing than the continuance of the custom. The outgoing tenant is careless about the execution of operations of which he is to reap the benefit, not according to the skill and judgment with which they have been performed, but according to the number of items he can impress into his bill of costs. The ploughings may have been executed on clay land when sodden with wet, the harrow may have been used at an equally unpropitious period, the manure, instead of farmyard dung, may be mere cleansings of ditches, full of weeds and seeds, all in short of a totally different character from that which he would have used in preparations for a crop for himself. No matter; the incoming tenant is to pay blindfold, according to a valuation to be settled by two valuers, that is, two farmers of the district; one, of course, the friend of the outgoer, both interested in keeping up the practice and swelling the payable amount, by which they may one day hope to benefit themselves, on quitting their own occupations. If the incomer demurs to the amount (of which the valuers, from a just distrust of their own incompetency, can seldom be induced to apportion the cost to the several items), if he inquires about an extra ploughing, or a larger quantity of dung than seems warranted by the present appearance of the turnip field, the laborers are then primed (like the celebrated "damned soul" of the Custom House, who was formerly retained in Her Majesty's service to take all the requisite false oaths about other sorts of "entries"), the hirelings, whether for hedging or swearing, are ordered forward, to support by their asseverations the tale of the

outgoer; and thus, to fraud upon the incoming stranger is added the subornation and corruption of the living instruments bequeathed to him for the future cultivation of the land.

For the sake of our northern agricultural readers, we will give a specimen of entry upon 100 acres of arable, on the four-course method, the time supposed being Michaelmas, and the scene one of the home counties. The farmer will then find 25 acres of wheat stubble; the same quantity of clover ley, from which two crops of hay will have been taken; 25 acres of barley stubble, sown with clover for the following season; and the remaining fourth of the land in turnips. Upon these latter he will be told that the following expenses have been incurred.

Twenty-five acres of turnips:—

Four ploughings, at 10s. per acre	£50	0	0
Four draggings with heavy harrows, at 1s. 6d....	7	10	0
Two rollings, at 1s.....	2	10	0
Eight times small harrowing.....	7	10	0
Ten loads of dung, at 5s.; carting, 1s.....	75	0	0
Two pounds turnip-seed, at 1s.....	2	10	0
Three hoeings.....	12	10	0
Rent, tithes, and taxes, for a year.....	37	10	0
	<hr/> 195 0 0		

Twenty-five acres of barley stubble, now sown with clover for next season. The outgoer claims half-fallows and dressings; i. e. half the sum expended in the turnip season which preceded the barley, and which is supposed not to be exhausted by one white crop

white crop	97	10	0
Clover-seed, at 10s. per acre.....	12	10	0
	<hr/> 110 0 0		

Twenty-five acres of clover-ley, only mown twice, and fed till Michaelmas (supposed to be invaluable for the incomer's wheat), at 25s. to 30s. per acre. ...
[If folded, the generous man will pay 7s. 6d. to 10s. per acre more.]

$$25 \times 25 = 31 \quad 5 \quad 0$$

Twenty-five acres of wheat stubble, to be ploughed for turnips next season; if after a ley, nothing; if after a fallow then half the expense thereof. We will, however, be merciful.

£336 5 0

From this we see at once a sum of between £300 and £400, or from £3 to £3 10s. per acre—in many instances it would be much more, for we have purposely kept down the charges—as the mere cost of taking possession of this land. The manures in the yard, the implements, may be the subjects of valuation; for them, however, there is at least some palpable worth; but for the items above mentioned the incomer has little more than the word of the outgoer. The late occupier appears, indeed, to claim, not only for money expended, but even, in the case of

clover-ley, for abstaining from absolutely exhausting the soil, to do which, in spite of the covenants to use good husbandry, it would almost appear that he had the right.*

We therefore approve of the suggestion made by others of his calling, as well as by Mr. Cooke, that these charges on entry ought to be as much as possible discouraged and got rid of; and if in no other way, by the landlord paying the amount of the inventory, and reletting, of course, at a higher rent. But here some caution is necessary. It is no doubt disadvantageous to begin by impounding a tenant's capital in the way described, when that tenant is a man of substance and enterprise; it must, however, be conceded that the admitting of mere adventurers, destitute of the requisite funds, into the possession of farms to which they could not do justice, might be facilitated by a change; and that, in the absence of other means for ascertaining the tenant's solvency, this custom, bad as it is, affords some test, as well as a security to the landlord for his rent. Instances are not wanting in which persons so circumstanced have managed to get into the occupation of land of which the owner had, in the way suggested, reduced the heavy entry, and which their want of adequate means prevented them from continuing to cultivate, after racking out of condition what had been imprudently confided to them.

The better mode of entry, if at Michaelmas, is for the incomer to be put in possession, at the Candlemas preceding, of all the wheat stubbles intended for a turnip fallow that year, in order that he may himself execute it, paying, of course, to the outgoing tenant for as much manure as the latter can dispose of to him. If at Lady-day, he should, in addition to this, have delivered over to him at the same time, or by the beginning of March, the whole of the land which has been cropped with turnips, properly cleared of that root, in order that he may get in his spring corn. Each will thus reap according to the preparation and care with which he has sown.

It is not to be inferred from what has been said in the preceding pages that we are insensible to the vast additions made to the productive force of the soil, and thereby to the landlord's revenue, by the outlay of an affluent and spirited tenantry. To encourage this is a benefit to the labouring class, and an addition to the national wealth. It would not, however, be by such measures as the bill introduced by Mr. Pusey, and which he has had

* Bayldon gives as a sample a valuation on a farm, in which the entry to 212 acres comes to £4 2s. 8d. per acre. There is also about £2 10s. per acre on 29½ acres of grass; in all, for 242 acres, an incoming of £947 7s.—p. 210, *et seq.*

the good sense to withdraw, that the object is likely to be attained. It is most unworthy to take advantage of a confiding tenant's expenditure on his farm, in order to let it over his head for a few pounds more of rent that may be offered, or to sell it, with all his unrequited improvements on it, and pocket the fruit of his toil. Such base things are sometimes done: their doers are not to be restrained by shame, or even by Acts of Parliament, unless very adroitly contrived. Still they are, as they ought to be, rare. No farmer ought, in common prudence, to lay out his money without some security;—either a lease, or an understanding, or a custom of some particular district, under which he is safe. If his landlord cannot or will not grant him such an assurance, he had better seek another holding, or farm his actual one after an ordinary inexpensive fashion. But to say that a tenant should have the right to lay out whatever he pleased on land let to him from year to year; and that no provision should be made for notice to the owner, still less for inspection, control, or obligation by the latter—who is, moreover, to be ousted from the possession of his estate, until other parties shall have pronounced that the tenant's outlay shall have been compensated—appears contrary to the principles of justice and the rights of property. It is not so with houses, or mines, or any other subject of demise: an occupier is not entitled to put up fixtures *ad libitum*, and then to insist on retaining possession, at the same rent, for his more full enjoyment of them. In short, the property of one portion of the public requires to be protected and assured to its rightful owner as much as that of any other. Contrast, too, the rigid jealousy with which Parliament insists that one department of agricultural outlay shall be watched (under the Drainage Act) with the loose provisions of Mr. Pusey's Bill. Under the former, a landowner, desirous of draining his estate, is to make application to the Commissioners, to state, for their information and to the satisfaction of the learned Mr. Derby, the length, the depth, the distance in rods, in yards, in feet, and in inches, the angle, the fall, the cost, the how, the when, the where (the requisitory document is before us—*ipse miserrima vidi*), before the ex-M.P. for Sussex, in the conscientious but inconvenient discharge of the duties of his high office, will lend an ear to his entreaties,—*i. e.*, so far as to grant a provisional certificate. Surely some of the preliminaries judged indispensable in Spring Gardens might be not altogether misplaced in any further consideration that the question of tenant-right may receive.

Corn-rents have been for a considerable period in vogue in some parts of Scotland, and are recommended for adoption in England by Mr. Cooke. We do not learn, however, that their

operation in the former country has been so just and successful as to lead either the landlords or the tenants most within reach of observing their effects, to wish to frame fresh or original contracts on such a basis, in preference to fixed money-rents, when such have been terms of the previous leases. In very large farms, extending over many hundred acres of arable land, and whose gross receipt depends mainly, if not entirely, on the sale of one or two descriptions of grain, and which are incapable of being turned to any other purpose, corn-rents may be defeasible: but even then they are occasionally most inconvenient to both parties;—to the landlord, because of the ever-varying fluctuation in his income; to the tenant, because that fluctuation by no means always leaves him in the condition intended. Suppose, for instance, that it is agreed that the rent of a given farm is to be 100 quarters of wheat, whether this fetches 50*s.*, 80*s.*, or 100*s.* per quarter; in other words, whether he pays £250, £400, or £500, is indifferent to the farmer (however it may be to the owner), *as long as the land yields him the 100 quarters to pay it with.* But assume for a moment that the deficiency of crop is in greater proportion than the rise in the *price*—an hypothesis which, with protective corn-laws, was less likely than with free trade in that article; let the yield have been only 75 quarters, while the price has reached 80*s.*, the farmer would have to pay a rent of £400 from a produce worth only £300: he would thus be a loser of £100 in a single year. Extreme cases, it is said by some of the partizans of corn-rents, are however to be met by a considerate adjustment on the part of the landlord, or by some other rider or condition which is to confine the fluctuation of corn-rent within certain limits. But, in the first place, we deny that this is an extreme fluctuation of price, or one which may not recur in the course of the next ten years; secondly, it would be intolerable if both parties, having agreed in the first place to abide by the issue of such a venture, were to re-open the terms, in order to submit them to the consideration of one of them. If a corn-rent is not good for all extremes—is not susceptible of self-adjustment, which is the least merit it should pretend to, to make up for the ups and downs to which it exposes the landowner and all who depend on him—it is good for nothing, even on large farms. On the smaller holdings, where the farmers' receipts are composed of a variety of items—grazing; dairying; agisting strange cattle; wool; team-hiring; poultry; the growing and conveying into the next town of green fodder in the summer, of roots in the winter—it is manifest that a corn-rent is unnecessary, if not mischievous, and that no stipulation is so convenient or so even as a fixed money payment, to which the various items

indicated above may in different seasons contribute in various proportions, but whose annual aggregate seldom materially alters.

It would not be surprising, in the course of a few years, with the fashionable position now assumed by agriculture, if landlords were to become themselves occupiers of large portions of their estates; not, as now, of merely pet farms of 200 or 300 acres, under the management of a bailiff, sometimes very bigoted, often very wasteful in the expenditure of his master's money, and generally at issue with the rival favorite, the keeper, who is sure to stock him up with game to the utmost limit that the farm will admit of—but on a somewhat larger and more elevated scale, in which the director or superintendent should be a gentleman of position and education, and receiving, besides a fixed salary, a proportion of the net profits realized by the undertaking. This would ensure good management and economy. At present, the farming of the landed aristocracy, though spirited (and so far valuable as they are foremost in outlay and experiment), is often the reverse of economical. It does not aim, as all good farming ought, at producing the largest amount in proportion to the expense incurred. There would be no difficulty in obtaining the requisite capital. Lord Stanley well observed, at the meeting of the English Agricultural Society in Liverpool, some years ago, that there was no bank so certain, no investment so thoroughly to be depended upon, as money laid out in the improvement of the land; and if controlled by agents of requisite intelligence and character, it is certain it would be amply forthcoming were a call for it raised. Such a movement, which is, in fact, the practice of the landed proprietary in Poland, Hungary, and Russia, would have the effect of opening the eyes of our country gentlemen to the real exigencies of their position, and afford a practical solution to many most important points, like the tenant right and game question, now in dispute, after a little practical acquaintance with their working had been acquired by the squire—the game abuse especially. We have no ill will against either rabbit or hare; both are admissible in their proper places,—the one in a curry, the other as a *rôti*, for which they may be reared and fed in distant warrens and wastes, such as much of this kingdom is well fitted to be, and remain; but far away from corn-growing districts, as neighbours or visitors to which last, when well cultivated, they should not be endured. Sir Robert Peel, who is seldom much in advance of his age or his company, told his agricultural admirers, even before he abandoned protection, that rabbits he would annihilate, and decimate even their long-eared congeners. It is to be wished his example, if he has acted up to his precept, may have weight in the midland counties, where, God

knows, it is much wanted. The country gentleman, if he really took to farming in an extensive way, as a business for profit, besides getting rid of the urgent importunities of impoverished tenants for reductions of rent and destruction of game, would become a benefactor to his estate and to the population connected with it. He would derive from it occupation, exercise, and recreation, far more instructive, healthful, and constant, than that which the fleeting sports of the field (which we by no means wish him to abandon) now afford him during a few months only of the year.

It will not, we think, be imagined that we wish to urge the British agriculturist, whether owner or occupier, to an improvident outlay upon his land. The breaking up of pastures, the erection of the additional buildings for the purpose of harvesting and thrashing out corn crops, as insisted on by the Earl of Ducie and other authorities, may lead to disappointment and loss, unless the capital adventured is sufficient to withstand temporary derangements and apprehensions. As yet we can scarcely venture to expect prices will remain free from fluctuation. The artificial level at which these were long penned up has been too violently broken down by the unexpected crisis which forced parliament to legislate upon the subject in 1846. Foreign scarcity, Irish famine, and the absence of all certainty as to the future necessities as well as capabilities of the corn-producing countries themselves, may continue to cause as they have done sudden and serious undulations, each of which washes away with it a commercial fortune. The *Mark Lane Express* of the last week of August reports failures of firms engaged in the corn trade, within a few days, to the amount of £5,000,000. Fresh complications may be expected to arise from the fact that other nations must in future occasionally, if not constantly, resort to the corn markets frequented by ourselves. M. Chevalier, a French statist, has examined this question with a view of ascertaining what is the probable supply of foreign grain on which his countrymen might calculate. Following Mr. Jacob, he considers that the ports on the Baltic and the Elbe might afford a million and three quarters; those of the Black Sea and Mediterranean, about a million more of quarters; that is less than 3,000,000 to meet the demand of the rest of Europe: while from the United States, for the four years ending 1845, the average annual export, he believes, would not be found to have exceeded 845,000 quarters. M. Chevalier, who is anxious for an increased importation into France, conceives the chief relief from the scarcity which he apprehends will accrue from salted provisions, the result of cattle fattened on maize, of which there is said to be an excess in America.

While urging upon the husbandman the improved cultivation of the extent which is, and must from the pressure of circumstances remain in pasture, it is unnecessary to insist on proper and systematic drainage, as the foundation of all successful enterprise in this branch of industry. If the land is not entirely permeable to air and moisture it must be rendered so by art. It is not within our scope to enter into an examination of the various views entertained on this subject by the practical doctors and professors of the craft, most of whom are comfortably confident in the infallibility of the operations they severally advocate, in respect of depth, distance, material, and direction. Each, indeed, may be justified by the success that has attended his performances in the limited field within which he has operated and become familiar. But when millions are to be borrowed, and charged upon the land for more than twenty years, it behoves the owner, however favorable may be the terms on which he requires the loan, to be cautious in his adoption of any one rigid theory, and to apply it at once over a great breadth of surface, unless its success has been exemplified on soils corresponding to his own, and for a period sufficiently long to inspire confidence. Publications devoted to rural affairs abound with instances of draining operations producing, at great cost, a limited benefit only at first, failing afterwards from various causes, and, at last, requiring the whole undertaking to be repeated, at a cost very little less than that originally incurred. With our present scanty knowledge (for scanty it is, compared with that which a few years' experience will impart) some mistakes will be unavoidable. It is the condition of our race, observes an eminent philosopher, to wade to truth through a slough of error; and neither Mr. Smith, of Deanston, nor Mr. Webster, Mr. Parkes, or Mr. H. Davis, can expect to escape the common lot of mortals. It is for their employers to take care that they be not plunged deeper or flounder longer in the maze than necessity and experience absolutely require.

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* * The mischief arising from the employment of ignorant or overbearing agents cannot be too strongly denounced. We know of one extensively concerned in the West of England; clever, sharp, and superficial, his original practice consisted mainly in settling building-leases round a rapidly-rising watering place in Gloucestershire, where competition for every plot of ground was naturally active, and where the lessee was content to pay almost anything that was asked of him. But the same principle will not always do when rigorously applied to mere agricultural surfaces; an error into which this individual fell.

On one estate, in Somerset, he signalized his accession to the management by requiring a general advance of rent from every farmer upon it: some agreed, others declined, and were replaced by new men. In a year or two, both young and old found the bargains too hard for them. They had engaged to pay more than the land was worth; and after many struggles and failures, a great part of the estate was given up to the landlord, who had it on hand against his will, and occupied it at a serious loss. After some years of vexation, trouble, and disappointment, the owner—a most benevolent nobleman, whose only error had been the listening to the propositions of such an agent—found himself in the receipt of a smaller income than he received before the proceedings commenced; while the ancient hereditary tenantry on his estate had been driven out to make room for a race of strangers, in no respect better, but between whom and himself there is no longer the same reciprocal confidence. On other estates owners have had the mortification of receiving threatening letters, from the discontent that their agents' extortions have occasioned. Such men, although they can scarcely visit an estate to receive its rents without receiving insults, are nevertheless indemnified, like a property-tax collector, by the per centage they receive with the rise of rent; and they are unfortunately popular with landlords and land buyers, who rejoice in what they believe to be the improved capabilities of their property: and, because they do not in the first instance hear the complaints, they imagine all is to succeed; they are deceived into a notion of wealth and prosperity, from which they are awakened too late to preserve their estate from waste, and their character from obloquy. The moral and mental capacity of the people requires some attention, as well as the mere mechanical and chemical composition of the soil; a process or a system which has succeeded in one part of the country may fail in another from want of sufficiently-qualified *personnel* to execute it. A late extensive writer on agriculture, who in his earlier days practised as a manager of land, was nearly being the ruin of a gentleman in Buckinghamshire, whom he persuaded to turn an estate of several thousand acres into two farms, whose imported tenants speedily failed; and many such instances could be cited, did our time and space permit, to enforce the caution which we venture to urge on the landlords of the country, in a matter so deeply affecting their incomes, prospects, and character.

ART. II.—*Wit and Humour, selected from the English Poets; with an Illustrative Essay, and Critical Comments.* By Leigh Hunt. London: 1846.

UNDER the pretence of illustrating Wit and Humour from the English Poets, Mr. Hunt has produced a very pleasant book. It contains a great variety of extracts and sketches of character, short and sweet, which cannot fail to elevate and enliven our notions of the poetic genius of our native country. The personality of the editor, which is summed up in his worship of Uncle Toby as the noblest of beings, mixes with all his observations that touch upon human life, or human perfection; but the reader can easily allow for this bias if he thinks proper.

It is no imputation upon Mr. Hunt to say, that he has failed in his attempt to define Wit and Humour. We should have reckoned it creditable to his literary and philosophical sagacity if his quotations had always been undoubted instances of one or other of these qualities: but, in fact, it is impossible to agree with him in ascribing either wit or humour to a great number of the passages he has cited and emphasised the beauties of. So that he may be said to have confused as much as he has cleared the discriminating boundaries of the peculiar effects in question.

The criticism of art may create out of its subject an additional gratification, as well as give a peculiar expansion and illumination of mind, by comparing a wide range of productions, and indicating, by varied illustration, the great leading attributes that belong to them. There is an effect partly artistic and partly scientific in the aggregation of examples of Sublimity, Beauty, Pathos, Humour, Eloquence, or Keeping, from the artists of every country and time; and it is instructive alike to the creator and to the lover of art. The criticisms of Aristotle and Longinus do not detract from the pleasure of reading Homer or Demosthenes; they rather produce a new intellectual effect, which some minds enjoy even more than the primary influence of great compositions. The mustering of analogies and unthought-of resemblances, from the remotest ages and situations, into one blazing heap of illustration, like the historical comparisons of Niebuhr, the geographical speculations of Humboldt, or the similes of Shakspeare, is one of the most impressive and stimulating efforts of human genius. It is the greatest known device for irradiating the obscure and enigmatical complication of the world, and running a thread of kindred and recognition through the processes of nature and the manifestations of mind. It gives the highest effect that the mere scientific faculties of man can work up. We may call it the sublime of classification.

But it requires a considerable maturity in critical distinctions, and in the knowledge of first principles of science and art, to bring together things according to their genuine likenesses; and unsuccessful attempts are apt to produce in our minds only new distraction. If there are any books that we are wiser and better for *not* having read, they are such as have theory for their object, and theorise badly, as for example, Burke 'On the Sublime and Beautiful,' not to mention the myriads of obsolete scholastic folios.

To illustrate Wit and Humour—to bring together a gorgeous array of the finest examples that human genius has created, or human life spontaneously offered of these attractive qualities,—we must first discriminate precisely what they are. The term *wit* has had an application so loose and wide, that unless it be fixed by an express definition it is unfit to enter into any accurate discussion. It formerly meant intellect generally, and the phrase, "a great or powerful wit," would have been applied miscellaneously to Shakspeare and Newton, Milton and Hobbes. In becoming narrower in its application it has not yet settled decisively on any distinct thing or quality; but is so applied as to confound matters that are wholly different, and thus prolong the reign of confused conceptions. We shall cite a few of the kinds of intellectual products that are given as Wit (or Humour), by Mr. Hunt, and not uncommonly reckoned such in ordinary speech, and then ask the reader to judge which of them the word should be confined to; premising that, in our own opinion, the best restriction would be, to whatever truly contains the *ludicrous* or *laughable*, which is an effect most distinct and peculiar, and produced by one specific and uniform cause. And undoubtedly, when a witty book is promised, the most common expectation is that it will make people laugh.

1. Felicitous *comparisons*, that render some conception remarkably clear or vivid, or that condense into a brief expression a great compass of thought. These may be either formal comparisons, introduced with "as," or "like," or "as if;" or they may be involved in a metaphorical phrase, or an epithet. As—

"Her face is like the Milky Way i' the sky;
A meeting of gentle lights without a name."

Or Goldsmith's line on Garrick:—

"An abridgement of all that is pleasant in man."

"The rank is but the guinea stamp,
The man's the goud for a' that."

"True as the dial to the sun,
Although it be not shined upon."

"'Tis with our judgments as our watches, none
Go just alike; yet each believes his own."

Or this, from the teeming pen of Shakspeare:—

"A woman moved *is like* a fountain troubled,
Muddy, ill-seeming, thick, bereft of beauty."

Or Sir Philip Sydney's saying, that "the ballad of 'Chevy Chase' stirred the heart *like the sound of a trumpet*."

Aristotle has been called "the secretary of nature, who dipped his pen in intellect."

Comparison, in its thousand shapes, is one of the greatest resources of human genius in effecting its ends: it may have a purely intellectual effect, as in making an obscure thought clear by citing an illustrative parallel, or it may involve and be concerned in producing any kind of emotion—anger, pathos, love, beauty, the ludicrous. The only *constant* effect that follows on an original and striking comparison, is a shock of agreeable surprise; it is as if a partition wall in our intellect was suddenly blown out; two things formerly strange to one another have flashed together. It is the feeling of any sudden violation or contradiction of use-and-wont, and has a sharp, pleasant, stimulating effect. Like all agreeable things it becomes painful when we get too much of it, as in reading Hudibras, or in keeping company with people that are always aiming at clever sayings. There is a great tendency to call a very striking comparison *wit*, although there be nothing laughable in it. It would be better, however, to confine ourselves to some name implying the general fact that two things have been likened or identified, such as a simile, a comparison, a discovery of likeness, a coincidence, an analogy, a flash or rush of two into one, and so forth.

2. Sudden surprise, or the agreeable crossing of our expectation, is carried to the utmost in *epigram*; which often gives us a truth under the guise even of contradiction:—

"This world, they say, is worst to the best."

Or—

"By indignities men come to dignities."

Or this, of Göethe—

"I am content, and I don't like my situation."

Pope's writings are crowded with epigrams like these—

"And most contemptible to shun contempt."

The ludicrous is not at all brought out in the greater number of epigrams; yet, perhaps there is no kind of effort apart from the

creation of the laughable that is more commonly denominated "wit," than this dexterous tampering with contraries and contradictions while expressing sense and truth. It is like tantalizing a dog before giving him a bone. But the forms and devices of epigrammatic surprise are endless. Similarities in things where they do not naturally occur, as in the sounds of the words expressing contrary things; or contrarieties in sound with sameness in sense; or bold contradictions, as, "there is nothing so uncommon as common sense;" metrical felicities; or even mere brevity, "the soul of wit," are all of this species. The copious detail of Barrow's famous passage on wit is nearly full of varieties of epigrams:—

"Sometimes it is lodged in a sly question; in a smart answer; in a quirkish reason; in a shrewd intimation; in a plausible reconciling of contradictions; or in acute nonsense. Sometimes it ariseth only from a lucky hitting what is strange: sometimes from a crafty wresting obvious matter to the purpose. Its ways are unaccountable and inexplicable; being answerable to the numberless roving of fancy and windings of language. It is, in short, a manner of speaking out of the simple and plain way (such as reason teacheth and knoweth things by)."

His account of the feelings caused by wit is an admirable expression for the effects of comparison and epigram, as we have defined them, to the exclusion of the ludicrous:—

"It raiseth admiration, as signifying a nimble sagacity of apprehension; a special felicity of invention; a vivacity of spirit; and reach of wit more than vulgar. Whence, in Aristotle, such persons are termed *εὐδελτοί*, dexterous men, and *εὐτροποί*, men of facile and versatile manners. It also procureth delight, by gratifying curiosity with its rareness or semblance of difficulty (as monsters and juggling tricks are beheld with pleasure); by diverting the mind from its road of serious thoughts; by instilling gaiety and airiness of spirit; and by seasoning matter, otherwise distasteful or insipid, with an unusual and thence grateful tang."

Supposing we are to be allowed to restrict the term "wit" to the causes of the laughable, "epigram" would be our chosen term for the class of "surprises" produced by startling, unusual, terse, or apparently contradictory phraseology.

3. There is an effect produced in the literary as well as the other fine arts, which being, as it appears to us, the very essence and cream of art itself, the most genuinely artistic impression, ought to be carefully rescued from the designation of "wit," or "witty." It is what is called harmony and melody, in music; picturesque, in painting; keeping, in poetry; and fitness and suitability of the parts, exquisite adaptation, and the essence

of beauty, in all the regions of art. When we put a number of like things together, as soldiers in a line, there is an agreeable feeling of order and uniformity; but the force of art lies in joining two or more things of quite different composition or make, which nevertheless produce a fine harmonious feeling. It is, in Greek architecture, the harmony of the columns and the entablature; in Gothic, the harmony of the spire with the arch; and, in all styles, the harmony of the decorations with the main body. In sculpture, it is the suiting of expression to mind, and of attitude and drapery to expression. In painting, it is the composition and grouping of things that will in different ways excite the same emotion. In speech, it is suiting the action to the word—the sound to the sense. In poetry, which combines music and painting, there is unbounded scope for fine harmonies: there is the capacity of the verbal or metrical dress, which is susceptible of great variety and of powerful effect by itself alone, and therefore may work wonders in combination. Take a stanza and a half from Suckling's 'Bride':—

"Her feet beneath her petticoat,
Like little mice, stole in and out,
As if they feared the light.
But oh! she dances such a way,
No sun upon an Easter Day
Is half so fine a sight.
• • • • •

Her lips were red, and one was thin,
Compar'd to that was next her chin
Some bee had stung it newly."

Here the soft melodious movement of the metre chimes in exquisitely with the picture that the artist intends to give us.

We have also innumerable harmonies brought out between outward scenery and internal feelings and passions, as in Hamlet's midnight soliloquy.

"'Tis now the very witching time of night;
When churchyards yawn, and hell itself breathes out
Contagion to this world: Now could I drink hot blood,
And do such bitter business as the day
Would quake to look on."

There is next the suiting of situation and circumstances to character, and the making actions to harmonise that are of a totally different nature; of this one of our greatest examples is Don Quixote. Under the same general head we may rank the selection or invention of those points in external appearance, expression and manner, that have a fine accordance with the individual character or profession.

Chaucer's descriptions of his Canterbury Pilgrims have never been surpassed in this respect; most strangely adduced as they are by Mr. Hunt to illustrate Wit and Humour. Take for example the hardy yeoman;

"A nut-head had he, with a brown visage ;"

And the Prioress

"That of her smiling was full simple and coy ;
Her greatest oath was but by Saint Eloy :—
Her mouth full small, and thereto soft and red :"

Or the Monk

"A manly man to ben an abbot able ;
Full many a dainty horse had he in stable,
And when he rode, men might his bridle hear
Jingling in a whistling wind as clear,
And eke as loud as doth the chapel bell :"

How finely the scholar is touched in the single line—

"And gladly would he learn, and gladly teach."

And, in like manner, we might quote from every one of the descriptions, strokes of the same picturesqueness and keeping.

When the question is very closely argued, "Is such a one a poet?" there is nothing so certain to procure an unanimous affirmative as undoubted instances of this creation of fine harmonies. Accordingly, while the claims of Johnson, or even of Pope, to the highest order of poetic inspiration are disputed, there is never any question about Chaucer, Shakspeare, Homer, Virgil, Dante, Milton, Wordsworth, Campbell, or Burns. Men may have very great force of intellect both in thought and expression, and be totally incapable of such efforts as we now allude to. They mark the extreme points of contrast between the artistic and the scientific faculty; the latter, when in its highest glory, being an entire blank in regard to the exercise of this gift of the muses, and even almost preventing the possibility of its coming into play.

4. Closely allied to the highest character of artistic creations is what we call *truth to the life*, or a representation by words that calls up the most striking images of the distant or unseen realities of the world. We wonder that the mere use of language should give to a man sitting in London the visions and spectacle, almost the very sensations, of another walking in the streets of Rome; or that we should be made to know a hero of former ages as if we had lived with him and loved him; and we are agreeably surprised by receiving, from a printed book, the exact form and pressure of what we have otherwise known by personal

experience. As, for example, such graphic descriptions of natural appearances as

"I expose no ships
To threat'nings of the furrow-faced sea:"

or the portraitures of character by great artists. Shakspeare's Fop, or his Mrs. Quickly, occur to us among the thousands of such; and Mr. Hunt's book supplies admirable cases from Pope, Dryden, Swift, Goldsmith, &c. A single stroke in 'Mary the cook-maid's letter,' is worth citing; "for I write but a sad scrawl, but my sister, Marget, she writes better." The perfection of modern poetic and prosaic art in character-drawing and life-imitation is very great; but we demur to styling this operation wit; although it is very liable to be characterised as such if done in the epigrammatic style of Pope, Dryden, or Goldsmith, more especially when executed in the malicious taking-down spirit of the first two.

5. The embodiment of a passion, or a feature of character, or a class attribute, in situations and circumstances and conduct that present it in a strong light; as for instance many of Pope's characters, and his Ode on the Ruling Passions; Randolph's Fear, Rashness, and Flattery; Swift's exposure of human selfishness, in his verses on his own death. This effort has more of abstraction and less of fulness and the varied circumstances of real life than the former; it has, in fact, a kind of scientific purpose to impress an idea or a doctrine, and uses living personification to aid the effect. It can be achieved by a less measure of the true artistic faculty than is required to set a completely filled up reality before us. The greatest of modern poetic artists abounds with perfect examples of this, as he might have been quoted for the highest harmonies, and for complete life pictures. We shall take from him two extracts in the form of speeches, each bodying forth the express image of the speaker. They are from the prelude to Faust; where the manager consults with the theatre-poet and merryman as to the business of getting up a play. The manager explains his mind on the subject thus (we use the closest translation we have been able to procure).

"You two, who have so frequently
In need and trouble me directed,
Say, what success may be expected
For our attempt, in Germany?
To please the public is my anxious study,
Because, while eating, it lets others eat.
The posts and boards are all put up and ready,
And every one is counting on a treat.

They sit there now, each one his eyebrows cocking
At ease, and quite in key for something shocking.
I know the people how they are amused ;
Yet ne'er in such a pothor did I feel ;
True, to the very best they are not used ;
But then the rogues have read a frightful deal.
When we can manage to be fresh and new,
And, with a purpose, yet be pleasing too ;
Then, with free conscience, can I see the bustle,
When to our booth the stream comes pressing straight,
And with strong heaving and repeated hustle,
Squeezes itself through our tight mercy-gate ;
When, in clear day, ere stroke of four,
They fight their way to the calm man of cheeks ;
And, as for bread in famine round a baker's door,
So, for a ticket, almost break their necks.
This wondrous power o'er masses hath the poet
Alone of men. My friend, to day, oh, show it."

Such is the manager's feeling; the poet's point of view is embodied as follows:—

"Go hence, and seek thyself another slave!
The poet, sooth, because thy pockets crave,
His highest right must basely sport away—
The manhood-right from Nature he inherits!
Wherewith bestirs he human spirits?
Wherewith makes he the elements obey?
Is't not the stream of song which out his bosom springs,
And to his heart the world back-coiling brings?
When Nature of her thread the length unending,
Placidly turning, on her spindle strings;
When crowded beings' unharmonious blending
Harsh-jingling through each other rings;
Who parts the flowing equable procession,
Imparting life that it may march in time?
Who calls the unit to the general consecration,
Where it in lordly sympathy may chime?
Who bids the tempest rage in angry bosoms;
The evening red in earnest spirits glow?
Who sheds all sweet and beautiful spring-blossoms
Upon the path where loved ones go?
Who weaves the worthless green leaves, ere they wither,
In glory wreaths for every merit known?
Makes strong Olympus, binds the gods together?
The power of Man, as in the Poet shown!"

The sketching of class peculiarities, ruling passions, or strong isolated points of character, is all that many artists can achieve. Even Ben Jonson, notwithstanding his genuine power and his

great poetic resources, stops short at this effect, oftener than he rises into the higher region of full-life description.

6. Fine and happy renderings of great or favorite sentiments, by the invention of circumstances or situations that bear them out and illustrate them strongly. In this we believe that Shakspeare carries the palm over all mortals; we may ask, like Solomon, "who has come after him" in his expression of almost any great sentiment, situation, or opinion that has come in his way? The Fear of Death, The Love of Life, the Affections, Authority, Order, Mercy, Grief, Ingratitude, the Vanities of Life, and more than we can recount, have been clothed by him in immortal shapes which have struck them deeper into the human spirit than before. A single line will serve to bring before the reader what we mean:—

"————— so loving to my mother,
That he might not beteem the winds of heaven
Visit her face too roughly."

We alluded already to the illustration of sentiment by *comparison* or simile, but this illustration by *circumstance*, or the invention of contiguous or collateral incident and situation, comes more near the true poetic effect than the other; being more allied to harmony, which is not produced by exact likeness. Fable, also, whose creation Hazlitt admires as the most enviable of human gifts, is a powerful device for conveying sentiment. Now when such embodiments and enforcements of sentiment yield nothing of the laughable, we take the liberty of excluding them also from the domain of wit.

7. Eloquent and powerful panegyric, or abuse, or stirring assertions borne out by terseness of example, illustration, proof, or epigram.

"Of these the false Achitophel was first,
A name to all succeeding ages curst;
For close designs and crooked councils fit
Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit;
Restless, unfixed in principles and place,
In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace;
A fiery soul, that working out its way,
Fretted the pigmy body to decay,
And o'er-infirm'd the tenement of clay."

Much of Swift has this character of direct downright earnest assertion of bad or good qualities. Burke's 'French Revolution' is full of it. His famous expression of trampling law and order under "the hoofs of the swinish multitude," is an oratorical thunderbolt rather than a flash of wit.

8. Indirect and insinuated expressions of good or ill regard, abuse, or praise. These are very often witty in the sense of laughable, but in general they are not so; they merely heighten the effect of the meaning conveyed, and please us by the ingenuity and dexterity that can do one thing while seeming to do a quite different thing. The extreme case of *irony*, we shall notice again.

The quotations from Marvel often exemplify this mode of speech; as in his lines on "Blood stealing the crown:"

"He chose the cassock, circingle and gown,
The fittest mask for one that robs the crown."

Voltaire's mockeries are often conveyed by insinuation, as in his critique on the Song of Solomon; "a Jew is not obliged to write like Virgil." A good instance occurs in Pope's lines on the Lord Mayor's show:

"Now night descending, the proud scene is o'er
But lives in Settle's numbers one day more."

9. In addition to all the foregoing ways of bringing out literary effect, there is a power wielded by some writers through the fertility and profusion of their style,—the mere multitude of comparisons, epigrammatic turns, harmonious circumstances, life delineations, illustrations of character and sentiment, strokes of eloquence, and touches of insinuation, that they accumulate round every subject. We must admire luxurious productiveness of intellect, and we cannot but be strongly impressed by whatever it is brought to bear upon. Such writings as those of Rabelais or Jean Paul, Shakspere, Ben Jonson or Swift, produce a huge tumultuous agitation of our faculties and feelings, by the massiveness and richness of their creations. They form a strong contrast to the artistic method of Göethe or Chaucer (in his Canterbury Pilgrims especially), or the Greeks, who execute their works by touches few and fine, and put us in a state of calm enjoyment of their exquisite harmonies.

There is a set of products of an altogether illegitimate character that have been finely exposed by Addison, under the name of False Wit, and by Johnson, in his dissertations on the Metaphysical Poets. Mr Hunt has however admitted some of this species into his collection, such as puns, macaronics, mixed languages, nonsense verses; while he condemns as heartily as Addison, the acrostics and anagrams. The best of these things can have no merit but as showing ingenuity and intellect, and they have the demerit of torturing rather than gratifying the human susceptibility. We can enjoy them only after a hardening

process, like the blunting of the natural sympathies requisite to fit a person for gladiatorial shows.

Having endeavoured to apply names to all the intellectual creations that are not in their nature ludicrous, so as to reserve the term "wit" to the cases where the laughable really predominates, we must now consider the nature and producing cause of this peculiar effect.

It is admitted on all hands that laughter is caused by *incongruity*; that it always implies the concurrence of at least *two* things or qualities, that have some sort of oppositeness of nature in them. But the question comes, what kind of incongruity or oppositeness is it that inevitably causes laughter? There are many incongruities that produce anything but a laugh. A decrepid man under a heavy burden, five loaves and two fishes among a multitude, and all unfitness and gross disproportion; an instrument out of tune, a fly in ointment, snow in May, Archimedes studying geometry in a siege, and all discordant things; a wolf in sheep's clothing, a breach of bargain, and falsehood in general; the multitude taking the law in their own hands, and everything of the nature of disorder; a corpse at a feast, parental cruelty, filial ingratitude, and whatever is unnatural; the entire catalogue of the vanities given by Solomon—are all incongruous, but they cause feelings of pain, anger, sadness, loathing, rather than mirth.

As far as we can judge, the *ludicrous* kind of incongruity is that arising from opposition in the particular quality of *Dignity*. It is the clash of coincidence of Dignity and Meanness, High and Low, Venerable and Contemptible, Eminent and Vulgar, Elevation and Humiliation, Sanctity and Commonness, Awe and Familiarity. We are not aware of any case that yields the ludicrous where there is not some inequality or incompatibility in the degrees of reverence or respect that an object inspires. A creature incapable of worship is incapable of laughter.

The outburst of laughter is nature's provision for relieving an incompatibility of mental and bodily states, that would otherwise be painful in the extreme. There are attitudes and movements of the system that, if occurring simultaneously, pull the same organ opposite ways, and produce the most terrible agony. The convulsions of disease are sometimes of this nature. Contradictory statements painfully distract the intellect, the countenance, and the active intentions. The distress of doubt is known to all men. Education is disagreeable from the struggle of opposite states of body and mind. We might even consider tears as the relief from the conflicting opposites of affection and loss.

Now, we find, on making the observation, that the feelings of

reverence, worship, respect, or awe, invariably put on one distinct attitude and expression of body, and that there is a totally opposite kind of attitude for ease, indifference, familiarity, vulgar and animal offices.

But we must first discriminate the carriage of dignity itself, and also attend to that of reverence, which is reciprocal to it, and reflect further on the elevated personage in the act of receiving homage, either by additional erectness of deportment, or by gracious condescension.

Dignity is created and maintained by power, and by no other thing whatever. It is the carriage, style, appurtenances, privileges, gifts, and accompaniments of power,—or of influence, extensive causation, active energy, the instrumentality of change or resistance, action and effect in any of the regions of nature or the world's affairs. A Hercules, killing monsters and conquering difficulties, an Orpheus, impelling rude multitudes by his eloquence; a Tyrteus, kindling the bravery of his countrymen by song; a patriarch, at the head of his family; the chief of a tribe, the rulers of a state, the dispensers of spiritual privileges, the lord of the soil, the owner of machinery and wares, the arbiters of justice to nations, the teachers of youth, the inventive genius whose thoughts enthrall the world—are men of power and dignity, they are the natural superiors of their fellows, they receive respect and homage from right-thinking men, and have badges and privileges accorded them by right-thinking societies. Some men are powerful by favor and promotion; others are so by intrinsic gifts, or by wielding with unusual force and skill the ordinary instrumentality of head and hands in ordinary situations. One set of men are dignified merely by administering great trusts; others have become so by surmounting great difficulties, by victory and conquest over matter or mind, nature, art, or science: a Wellington or Humboldt, Watt, Faraday, or Wordsworth.

Now, there is an attitude or carriage suiting the exercise and possession of power, and an accompanying state and circumstance, which strike the minds of beholders immediately into the corresponding carriage of reverence. The *person* is erect, the *chest* expanded, the *head* drawn back, the *under-lip* is strongly drawn up, the *eyes* hang with an easy downward look, or look even forward, respiration predominates over digestion, and the muscles of extension are the active sustainers of the position. If the exertion be easy to the individual, this state is an agreeable luxurious one; if it be assumed, and uninspired from within, it is fatiguing and painful. It is the state proper to the *exercise* of active power, as well as to the *show* of it; it is, in fact, the *commanding* attitude.

The carriage of respect, worship, or homage, is opposed to this in several points. The *body* is bent, not for ease, but rather with the stiffened bending of supporting a load; the *eyes* are tightened with intense upward stretch; the bowing, kneeling, and falling down, all suggest the idea of one person beckoning to another above him to stand on his prostrate person, and be kept erect and elevated at his expense.

The effect of homage and worship upon dignities is to set them more at ease in the maintenance of their stately and erect attitude; the suggestion of a bodily support gives a mental support.

Strongly contrasted with these two attitudes is the easy, loose, relaxed state of a person under the temper of indifference and unconcern about exertion, power, or dignity of any sort. The *body* is bent at ease, the chest collapsed, the abdominal muscles receive the energy of the system, the limbs and various members hang upon the bones and ligaments instead of being supported by nervous and muscular energy. Digestion prevails over respiration, and over activity of body or mind. This state lies between action and sleep; it is the state of passive animal enjoyment, so welcome to all that are blessed with a vigorous digestive system. It is, however, deemed *brutish*, because it pervades the brutes to the very lowest; *vulgar*, because common to the most insignificant of the human race; *sluggish*, because it needs no exertion; *selfish*, because it can give no pleasure but to one's self; *low* and *mean*, because it is the opposite of the state that yields great exertions and great influence and command over others.

The erect, dignified attitude has usually been provided with many outward accompaniments that harmonize with it, and become part of its expression to the world; for example, elevated seats and platforms, central position, overhanging canopies and lofty roofs, aspiring architecture, spacious halls and wide domains, glittering colors and sparkling gems, worldly abundance, trains of homage-paying attendants, voluminous music and acclamations, high-sounding speech, poetry and song, refinement upon every grossness, processions, ceremonies and rites—by the multiplication of these power increases its efficacy, and its exactions of humiliation and respect from all that draw nigh unto it.

The undignified, easy, careless, relaxed, digestive state, has its appropriate accompaniments too; it is signified by the filth that the higher feelings desire to have put away; by confusion, chaos, and the native rudeness and grossness of nature; by rags, poverty, narrow and squalid dwellings; by laziness and helplessness of demeanour; by the sluggard's fields, physical misery, a slavish and humiliating rank, low vices and grovelling ignorance, awkwardness, difficulty, and a prodigious show of effort in actions.

The beholder of any of these tokens is put into a state of feeling and carriage very different from the effect of a display of power, greatness, and majesty on the mind. And if it should happen that both spectacles come upon us at once, or are combined in one and the same object, since we cannot possibly entertain the double and contradictory emotion, the question is, what must happen?

Either we are torn on the rack of opposite forces, or one feeling entirely subdues the other, or we are agreeably relieved by laughter, which is a convulsive tottering and relapse from the high and dignified attitude to the vulgar and easy. We contemplate for an instant the lofty side of the picture, and our breast swells into sympathy with it; we catch, the next moment, the low aspect, and the elixir is violently collapsed by convulsive expirations, that shake the whole frame. The features of the face, the expression of the eye, the carriage of the body, and every part that is strung by dignity or reverence, suddenly shake and vibrate downwards to the opposite state, amid moist effusions and bold darting glances. The entire moving system of the body is under strong agitation.

Now, in a world where there are so many dignities, and so many of the shows of dignity abundantly spread, and also where there is necessarily so much of the opposite, this kind of collision is very common. The pomp and circumstance and accompaniments of greatness are so apt to be occasionally entangled with features of vulgarity, either through accident or intention, that we have abundant opportunities for the mirthful explosion. If the dignity thus brought into the dirt have a strong, serious influence, or inspire a deep earnest reverence in the spectator's mind, the effect of the degrading conjunction is suppressed at once, and the laugh is not allowed. Or any strong passion whatever, anger, grief, affection, intense desire, or resolute determination can, in like manner, stifle the budding conflict. There are people, too, that want the laughing nature, from some physical or mental singularity; in others it is kept down by a perpetual serious deportment. But mankind in general are very much alive to the effect of ludicrous conjunctions.

There are many dignities set up and emblazoned by pomp and pretension that are not universally accounted real genuine dignities, whose clash with vulgarity, therefore, not being rescued by serious homage, causes unresisted hilarity. And, in fact, this case includes a large number of all the ludicrous occasions that happen. False or faded dignities and deities; splendour and show without meaning; characters unfit for their stations; hollow pretensions, affectation, assumption and self-importance; vanity,

airs and coxcombry; all the windings of the hypocrisy that aims at seeming greater than the reality; painful strivings to gain glittering positions—are among the things that commonly induce laughter, when brought into the embrace of meanness and degrading inferiorities. It is true that, for the sake of mirthful enjoyment, we are often disposed to waive even our serious feelings of respect, and hail the descent of a true dignity with sparkling countenance, but it is against our better feelings to do so, and we are glad when the case is of the other kind.

We shall now present a few examples of the ludicrous, first, in its purest form, and next, as combining with all the other kinds of artistic and literary effect.

Lucian's dialogues, the plays of Aristophanes, Swift's 'Tale of a Tub,' or our own 'Punch,' indicate, we think, at once, the truth of our general definition; every one of them owes its effect to seizing on elevated personages and plunging them into vulgar situations. When Molière brings in the celestial messenger of the gods, sitting tired on a cloud, and complaining of the number of Jupiter's errands, Night expresses surprise that a god should be weary; whereon, Mercury indignantly asks, "Are the gods made of iron?" With all our disbelief in these deities, their highly decorated representations have on our minds the effect of dignity, and when they are dealt with thus, we are affected by the most extravagant opposition of sentiments and states, and burst into a roar.

In a court of justice, or in an assembly of more than ordinary gravity, a trifling incident causes laughter. We are screwed up into an expression of gravity and dignity that we do not feel at heart, and the slightest vulgarity, such as a loud snore, breaks us down immediately. All forced dignity of demeanour, as that imposed upon children and giddy people in certain places, is very apt to explode. In a mirthful mood, every attempt to assume the decorous and dignified is the cause of new outbreaks, as when a merry party on the road is interrupted for a moment by a grave and awful-looking passer-by. Children, mimicking the airs and strut and weighty actions of grown men, are ludicrous; but in this they are surpassed by the monkey, from its being a creature so much more filthy, mean, and grovelling, and which, therefore, in performing human actions, presents a wider contrast of dignity and debasement. Stage mimicry is made ludicrous by introducing some vulgarizing accompaniments of manner or dress.

A common device for causing laughter is to make a person pass at once from an elevated to a common or degrading action, as in Pope:—

"Here thou great Anna, whom three realms obey,
Dost sometimes counsel take, and sometimes tea."

Or in the remonstrance to a lady:—

"Perhaps it was right to dissemble your love,
But why did you kick me down stairs?"

But the more perfect the fusion of the two hostile ingredients, or the more impossible it is rendered to think of them separately, the surer is the ludicrous effect. We shall now see this in detail by exemplifying the mixing-up of the ludicrous with the different effects already enumerated, which we maintained to be not necessarily witty or laughable in themselves.

1. Ludicrous comparisons are of very frequent occurrence, and by their nature cause the incongruous features to be run very close together. We have sometimes a dignified object clothed by a mean simile, as in Butler's famous couplet, "And like a lobster boiled," &c.; and at other times a mean object illustrated by a parallel of elevated rank, as "he had torn his breeches, as if heaven and earth had come together." Shakspeare has often long strings of ludicrous similes, as in Falstaff's speeches; indeed, comic exaggeration and degradation, by comparisons heaped one upon another, seem to have been one of the easiest and most natural efforts of his genius.

2. The epigram in combination with the laughable is richly exemplified in Pope, Butler, Swift, and many others. The 'Rape of the Lock' is a sustained tissue of this character. Marvel's description of Holland contains good instances of epigram bringing the high and the vulgar into collision:—

"Who best could know to pump an earth so leak,
Him they their lord and country's father speak.
To make a bank was a great plot of state,
Invent a shovel and be a magistrate."

We may have surprises pleasant or painful—witty or not witty: when looking for the dignified, if we stumble on the common, or opposite ways, the surprise is ludicrous:—

"In short, in all things she was fairly what I call
A prodigy: her morning dress was dimity."

Under the epigram, as formerly defined, we must necessarily rank puns of every kind; where a word in expressing one idea carries with it a second meaning, suggesting something very different, perhaps contradictory, to the first. A pun will be ludicrous when the clash of meanings involves a great contrast in the feelings of dignity or importance. In the creation of puns Hood probably excels all other wits in luxuriant abundance.

"Ben Battle was a soldier bold,
And used to war's alarms;
But a cannon-ball took off his legs,
So he laid down his arms.

"Now, as they bore him off the field,
Said he, 'Let others shoot;
For here I leave *my second leg,*
And the Forty-second Foot.'"

A humorous play upon the same terms in a paragraph taken from the 'Nottingham Mercury,' is running the round of the press while we write, and it is worth preserving, as perhaps the best specimen the reader has met with of a penny-a-line extravaganza:—

"DREADFUL ACCIDENT.—A short time ago a man was cutting ling or heather in Papplewick-forest, in this neighbourhood, for the purpose of being manufactured into besoms, when, having slipped between two pieces of fallen timber which lay concealed beneath the heather, he broke his right leg. Being unable to extricate himself from his position, with a desperate resolve he seized the handbill, which he had brought for the purpose of cutting the ling, and chopped the leg clean off. Though thus liberated from the confinement under which he had previously suffered, he found himself, of course, unable to make his way over the forest on one leg, when he deliberately set himself down on a large stone, and placing the entire leg on an adjoining block, without more ado, chopped it level with the other broken leg, and trudged his way home, more than two miles, on the stumps, with his amputated legs under his arms! It may be just necessary, in order to mitigate the horror which the reader might be apt, very naturally, to feel, at the above extraordinary recital, to inform him that both the legs were wooden ones."

The pun upon Archbishop Laud is genuinely ludicrous:—

"Great praise to God, and little Laud to the devil."

So also is old Fuller's remark upon the antiquarian, Selden: "He possessed coins of the Roman Emperors and a good many more of our later English kings." Sydney Smith's account of a dinner supplied by New Zealand hospitality, which would have, among other things, some "cold clergyman on the sideboard," in addition to the admirable pun, is a concentration of ludicrous clashes. It is inferior only to Sheridan's illustration of the Addington ministry, which contained all Pitt's colleagues and subordinates under a new Premier: "The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had sitten so long, that, like Hercules, when he arose he left the sitting part of the man behind him." The following passage from Sydney Smith's third letter to Archdeacon Singleton rises above mere verbal punning:

"You must have read an attack upon me by the Bishop of Gloucester, in the course of which he says that I have not been appointed to my situation as canon of St. Paul's for my piety and learning, but because I was a scoffer and jester. Is not this rather strong for a Bishop, and does it not appear to you, Mr. Archdeacon, as rather too close an imitation of that language which is used in the *apostolic occupation of trafficking in fish?*"

3. The highest poetic harmony and keeping may be rendered ludicrous by the appropriate infusion. Shakspeare produces this effect by bringing low characters on the stage to comment, in their dialect, upon the high matters and incidents of the play, as in the grave-digger's scene in 'Hamlet.' Faust contains powerful instances of the same combination; the demeanour of Mephistopheles, in the opening scene, is intensely poetical and comic in the same breath. Few artists have brought out the highest harmonies of nature and life, and fewer still have been able to work into them the ludicrous. But we shall allude to this again in commenting upon humour.

4. Life pictures and striking representations of the actual, where the finest concords are not expressly sought so much as genuine fresh reality in its natural colours and unharmonious combinations, are very susceptible of yielding the ludicrous. They must often be so, in their very truthfulness. Pope's description of Timon's villa is admirable as a ludicrous description of a ludicrous original. With an eye for the incongruous, and the requisite power of illustration, he that paints life has a boundless command of the laughable; and if there be, in addition, an express design to produce it, and a little license taken in departing from the original, we have the comic art of Aristophanes and Plautus, Rabelais and Swift, Hogarth and Dickens. The following is a very remarkable picture of the bustle of warlike preparation, as seen in the furnishing out of ships and stores, taken from the 'Acharnians' of Aristophanes. It is in a defence of a supposed truce made with the Lacedæmonians against a war-loving party:—

—"— and so they went to war.

You'll say, 'They should not!' Why, what should they have done?

Just make it your own case. Suppose the Spartans
Had mann'd a boat, and landed on your islands,
And stolen a pug-puppy from Seriphos;
Would you then have remained at home inglorious?
Not so, by no means; at the first report,
You would have launched at once three hundred galleys,
And filled the city with the noise of troops;
And crews of ships, crowding and clamouring
About the muster-masters and paymasters;

With measuring corn out at the magazine,
 And all the porch choked with the multitude;
 With figures of Minerva, newly furbished,
 Painted and gilt, parading in the streets;
 With wineskins, kegs and firkins, leeks and onions;
 With garlic cramm'd in pouches, nets, and pokes;
 With garlands, singing girls, and bloody noses.
 Our arsenal would have sounded and resounded
 With bangs and thwacks of driving bolts and nails;
 With shaping oars, and holes to put the oar in;
 With hacking, hammering, clattering, and boring;
 Words of command, whistles, and pipes and fifes.
 Such would have been your conduct. Will you say,
 That Telephus would have acted otherwise?"*

Sydney Smith's description of what he calls an ordinary clergyman, is abundantly comic, from the choice of the phrases:—

"But substitute for him an average, ordinary, uninteresting minister; obese, dumpy; neither ill-natured nor good-natured, neither learned nor ignorant; *striding over the stiles to church with a second-rate wife, dusty and deliquescent, and four parochial children, full of catechism and bread-and-butter*; or let him be seen in one of those Shem-Ham-and-Japhet buggies, made on Mount Ararat soon after the subsidence of the waters, driving in the High Street, Edmonton, among all his penurious, saponaceous, oleaginous parishioners."

5. When, instead of full, genuine, life description, we have reality picked and garbled to unfold and illustrate some one character or feature—some passion, idea, or moral—it is very easy to produce comic effect by selecting the points in character or doctrine that yield it most readily. By choosing vanity, affectation, coxcombry, or ambition, the task is easy. Cowards with high pretensions to honour and valour, like Bessus and the bullies, in Beaumont and Fletcher's 'King and no King,' hypocrites, gallants, flunkeys, are easily dressed up in the mirthful garb of mingled high and low. Foolish admiration of glitter, and the fondness of women for the men of the sword, are vividly portrayed in Swift's 'Grand Question Debated.' From this we extract three lines of the lady's description of a captain:—

"For a captain of horse never takes off his hat,
 Because he has never a hand that is idle;
 For the right holds the sword, and the left holds the bridle."

Caricature is generally a peculiar point of character, or an idea, rendered comic by the due mixture of opposites in the composition. In this department the painter has peculiar advantages.

* Mr. Freer's translation, extracted in the 'Classical Museum,' Vol. I.

6. Sentiments, and opinions, and situations, may be illustrated in the ludicrous as well as in the serious manner, by the suitable choice of circumstance and accompaniment:—

“A lively faith will bear aloft the mind,
And leave the luggage of good works behind.”

Or Sydney Smith's illustration of the peculiar forms of the Natural History of Botany Bay.

“Then comes a quadruped as big as a large cat, with the eyes, colour, and skin of a mole, and the bill and web-foot of a duck—*puzzling Dr. Shaw, and rendering the latter half of his life miserable*, from the utter inability to determine whether it was a bird or a beast. Add to this, many other productions *that agitate Sir Joseph, and fill him with mingled emotions of distress and delight.*”

7. Eloquence, borne out and strengthened by wit, might be exemplified at any length both in our poetic and prose literature. Dryden's abuse of Shadwell, the laureate, is a perfect specimen. The supposed speaker is Flecnoe, who is on the search for a successor.

“Shadwell alone my perfect image bears,
Mature in dulness from his tender years,
Shadwell alone, of all my sons, is he
Who stands confirmed in full stupidity.
The rest to some faint meaning make pretence,
But Shadwell never deviates into sense.”

8. Ludicrous insinuation has always a richer effect than the laughable direct. Byron's ‘English Bards and Scotch Reviewers’ contains many good examples of it. An extract given by Mr. Hunt, from Rabelais, yields a beautiful illustration in point. The cowardly and lazy Panurge, in a storm, where shipwreck is imminent, becomes intensely and of course most ludicrously pious, praying himself, and reproving the oaths of the busy sailors.

“Oh! you sinn'd just now, Friar John, you did indeed; you sinn'd when you swore; think of that *my former crony!* Former, I say, because it's all over with us, with you as well as with me. Oh, I sink, I sink. Oh to be but once again on dry ground; never mind how or in what condition; *oh if I was but on firm land, with somebody kicking me.*”

Rabelais might be given as our very greatest example of the ludicrous in splendid profusion and power:—a vast genius appropriating materials from all regions of life and thought, and producing mirth and laughter as his first and foremost effect, with pictorial, moral, and doctrinal tendencies behind.

Parody and travesty and the mock heroic may be cited, as

very clearly illustrating our general description of the ludicrous. In these, a low subject is clothed in a dress borrowed from a subject of an elevated character. Thus Philips, in 'The Splendid Shilling,' makes great havoc of the style of Milton.

"Happy the man, who, void of cares and strife,
In silken or in leathern purse retains
A splendid shilling: he nor hears with pain
New oysters cry'd, nor sighs for cheerful ale;
But with his friends, when nightly mists arise,
To Juniper's Magpye, or Town-hall repairs;
Where, mindful of the nymph, whose wanton eye
Transfix'd his soul, and kindled amorous flames,
Chloe or Phyllis, he each circling glass
Wishes her health, and joy, and equal love.
Meanwhile, he smokes, and laughs at merry tale,
Or pun ambiguous, or conundrum quaint.
But I, whom griping penury surrounds,
And hunger, sure attendant upon want,
With scanty offals, and small acid tiff,
(Wretched repast) my meagre corpse sustain;
Then solitary walk, or doze at home
In garret vile, and with a warming puff
Regale chill fingers; or from tube as black
As winter chimney, or well polished jet,
Exhale mungus, ill-perfuming scent.
Not blacker tube, nor of a shorter size,
Smokes Cambro-Briton (vers'd in pedigree,
Sprung from Cadwallader and Arthur, kings
Full famous in romantic tale), when he
O'er many a craggy hill and barren cliff,
Upon a cargo of fam'd Cestrian cheese,
High overshadowing rides, with a design
To wend his wares at the Arvonian mart,
Or Maridunum, or the ancient town
Yclep'd Brechinia, or where Vaga's stream
Encircles Aricinium, fruitful soil."

Peter Pindar's parodies of Boswell and Johnson (although the subject is exceedingly susceptible of parody) are a powerful condensation of wit and ludicrous effect. Boswell's story of imitating a cow at Drury Lane, is a good instance.

"When young ('twas rather silly, I allow),
Much was I pleased to imitate a cow.
One time, at Drury Lane, with Doctor Blair,
My imitations made the playhouse stare!
So very charming was I in my roar,
That both the galleries clapp'd, and cried 'Encore.'

Blest by the general plaudit and the laugh,
I tried to be a jackass and a calf;
But who, alas! in all things can be great?
In short, I met a terrible defeat;
So vile I bray'd and bellow'd, I was hissed;
Yet all who knew me wonder'd that I miss'd.
Blair whisper'd me, 'you've lost your credit now;
Stick, Boswell, for the future, to the cow.'

Burlesque brings about the clash of dignity and vulgarity in the opposite manner from travesty. It is the application of low terms to high subjects; which is a very easy effort of art, being often produced when not intended. It generally requires a great artist to make either of these modes at all endurable.

Irony is not necessarily ludicrous, but it is often made so. The great power of this mode of address lies in its embarrassing an opponent's reply; the meaning to be conveyed being given intelligibly enough, but not being contained in the language used, it becomes hard to grapple with it. The master of well sustained irony is Swift, and probably his masterpiece is the 'Modest Proposal for preventing the Children of Poor People in Ireland from being a Burden to their Parents or the Country, and for making them beneficial to the Country.' Never was there so much coolness and gravity maintained in an exposition of a monstrous project; and the effect of the whole as a severe rebuke is tremendous, while every now and then there occurs an uncontrollable burst of the ludicrous.

Lest the details of a cannibal project, although only a jest, should be too coarse for the present age, we prefer to give, as a good example of irony, Sydney Smith's exhibition of the common-place attacks made upon political innovations and new measures in general. It is a happy aggregation of the fallacies so well dissected and exposed by Bentham. We may suppose it pronounced in parliament as

NOODLE'S ORATION.

"What would our ancestors say to this, sir? How does this measure tally with their institutions? How does it agree with their experience? Are we to put the wisdom of yesterday in competition with the wisdom of centuries? (*Hear, hear!*) Is beardless youth to show no respect for the decisions of mature age? (*Loud cries of hear! hear!*) If this measure is right, would it have escaped the wisdom of these Saxon progenitors, to whom we are indebted for so many of our best political institutions? Would the Dane have passed it over? Would the Norman have rejected it? Would such a notable discovery have been reserved for these modern and degenerate times? Besides, sir, if the measure itself is good, I ask the honour-

able gentleman if this is the time for carrying it into execution?—whether, in fact, a more unfortunate period could have been selected than that which he has chosen? If this were an ordinary measure, I should not oppose it with so much vehemence; but, sir, it calls in question the wisdom of an irrevocable law—of a law passed at the memorable period of the Revolution. What right have we, sir, to break down this firm column, on which the great men of that day stampt a character of eternity? Are not all authorities against this measure—Pitt, Fox, Cicero, and the Attorney and Solicitor-General? The proposition is new, sir; it is the first time it was ever heard of in this House. I am not prepared, sir—this House is not prepared to receive it. The measure implies a distrust of his Majesty's government: their disapproval is sufficient to warrant opposition. Precaution only is requisite where danger is apprehended. Here, the high character of the individuals in question is a sufficient guarantee against any ground of alarm. Give not, then, your sanction to this measure; for, whatever be its character, if you do give your sanction to it, the same man by whom it is proposed will propose to you others, to which it will be impossible to give your consent. I care very little, sir, for the ostensible measure; but what is there behind? What are the honourable gentleman's future schemes? If we pass this bill, what fresh concessions may he not require? What farther degradation is he planning for his country? Talk of evil and inconvenience, sir—look to other countries—study other aggregations and societies of men, and then see whether the laws of this country demand a remedy or deserve a panegyric. Was the honourable gentleman (let me ask him) always of this way of thinking? Do I not remember when he was the advocate in this House of very opposite opinions? I not only quarrel with his present sentiments, sir; but I declare very frankly, I do not like the party with which he acts. If his own motives were as pure as possible, they cannot but suffer contamination from those with whom he is politically associated. This measure may be a boon to the Constitution, but I will accept no favour to the Constitution from such hands. (*Loud cries of hear! hear!*) I profess myself, sir, an honest and upright member of the British Parliament, and I am not afraid to profess myself an enemy to all change and all innovation. I am satisfied with things as they are; and it will be my pride and pleasure to hand down this country to my children as I received it from those who preceded me. The honourable gentleman pretends to justify the severity with which he has attacked the noble lord who presides in the Court of Chancery; but I say such attacks are pregnant with mischief to Government itself. Oppose ministers, you oppose Government; disgrace ministers, you disgrace Government; bring ministers into contempt, you bring Government into contempt; and anarchy and civil war are the consequences. Besides, sir, the measure is unnecessary. Nobody complains of disorder in that shape in which it is the aim of your measure to propose a remedy to it. The business is one of the greatest importance; there

is need of the greatest caution and circumspection. Do not let us be precipitate, sir; it is impossible to foresee all the consequences. Everything should be gradual; the example of a neighbouring nation should fill us with alarm! The honourable gentleman has taxed me with illiberality, sir. I deny the charge. I hate innovation, but I love improvement. I am an enemy to the corruption of Government, but I defend its influence. I dread reform, but I dread it only when it is intemperate. I consider the liberty of the press as the great palladium of the Constitution; but, at the same time, I hold the licentiousness of the press in the greatest abhorrence. Nobody is more conscious than I am of the splendid abilities of the honourable mover; but I tell him at once, his scheme is too good to be practicable. It savours of Utopia. It looks well in theory, but it won't do in practice. It will not do, I repeat, sir, in practice; and so the advocates of the measure will find, if, unfortunately, it should find its way through Parliament. (*Cheers.*) The source of that corruption to which the honourable gentleman alludes is in the minds of the people;—so rank and extensive is that corruption, that no political reform can have any effect in removing it. Instead of reforming others—instead of reforming the State, the Constitution, and every thing that is most excellent, let each man reform himself! let him look at home;—he will find there enough to do, without looking abroad, and aiming at what is out of his power. (*Loud cheers.*) And now, sir, as it is frequently the custom in this House to end with a quotation, and as the gentleman who preceded me in the debate has anticipated me in my favourite quotation of the ‘Strong pull and the long pull,’ I shall end with the memorable words of the assembled Barons—‘*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*’”

“The merchant’s opinion of wives,” in Chaucer, is irony of the keenest character. Butler also produces it of a rare quality, sometimes laughable, sometimes not. One instance we shall give from him, which has the genuine ludicrous infusion:—

“This we among ourselves may speak,
But to the wicked or the weak
We must be cautious to declare
Perfection truths, such as these are.”

The ludicrous, mixed up with contempt, hatred, or dislike, becomes ridicule, derision, scorn, and mockery; and of these unamiable kinds the genius of man has produced great examples. But we turn from them to the consideration of a mixture of a very different character, that is to say, Humour.

Humour is felt to be a higher, finer, and more genial thing than wit, or the mere ludicrous; but the exact definition of it has occasioned some difficulty. It is the combination of the laughable with an element of love, tenderness, sympathy, warm-heartedness, or affection. Wit, sweetened by a kind, loving

expression, becomes Humour. Men who have little love to their fellows, or whose language and manner are destitute of affectionateness and soft tender feeling, cannot be humorists, however witty they may be. There is no humour in Butler, Pope, Swift, Dryden, Ben Jonson, or Voltaire.

It is, in fact, very difficult to unite the warm glowing sympathies with mirthful creations. Even when the laughing mood is also a loving mood, the *embodiment* of such a compound in expression or creation would not be easy. There are many points of character that it is hard to combine together; to find fault without giving offence; to be affectionate and authoritative at the same time; to exhibit in conduct both the *fortiter* and the *suaviter*. Laughter is from its nature more easily allied to contempt and egotism than to affection and devotedness.

Mr. Carlyle, in his various critiques on Jean Paul Richter (an admirable subject to study humour on), has presented this view of the essence of humour in all variety of phrases. "In Richter's smile itself a touching pathos may lie hidden, a pity too deep for tears." "The essence of humour is sensibility; warm, tender fellow-feeling with all forms of existence," and the power of exhibiting this in sportful ways.

Don Quixote we would place at the head of humorous creations. The hero, with all his ludicrousness, is so continually radiant with true good feeling; a chivalric devotion sits so naturally and genially upon him, that the picture of a kind heart is ever before us. Knight-errantry is taken down by the exhibition, but not ridiculed; we have a feeling for it far different from what is given by the heartless mockeries of Voltaire.

"The reason, Sancho," said his master, "why thou feelest that pain all down thy back, is, that the stick which gave it thee was of length to that extent."

The sympathetic feeling of Quixote is on every occasion real and strong, but his manner of expressing it makes it highly ludicrous.

Addison is among our greatest English humorists. Sir Roger de Coverley is a noble example of genuine humour; for while he is making fun to us by his simplicity and his irrelevance, he maintains a warm kindliness of manner, that would make him a delightful character apart from his incongruous features. But in everything that Addison writes we discern the fit and perfect expression of a genial and loving turn of mind, which converts ridicule into raillery and wit into humour. We shall quote a few paragraphs from the delineation of the worthy knight.

"I was this morning surprised with a great knocking at the door,

when my landlady's daughter came up to me and told me that there was a man below desired to speak to me. I immediately went down to him, and found him to be the coachman of my worthy friend, Sir Roger de Coverley. He told me his master came to town last night, and would be glad to take a turn with me in Gray's Inn walks. As I was wondering with myself what had brought Sir Roger to town, not having lately received any letter from him, he told me his master was come up to get a sight of Prince Eugene, and that he desired I would immediately meet him.

"I was not a little pleased with the curiosity of the old Knight, though I did not much wonder at it, having heard him say more than once in private discourse, that he looked upon Prince Eugenio (for so the Knight always calls him) to be a greater man than Scanderberg.

"I was no sooner come into Gray's Inn walks, but I heard my friend upon the terrace hemming twice or thrice to himself with great vigour, for he loves to clear his pipes in good air (to use his own phrase), and is not a little pleased with any one who takes notice of the strength which he still exerts in his morning hems.

"Our salutations were very hearty on both sides, consisting of many kind shakes of the hand, and several affectionate looks which we cast upon one another. After which the Knight told me my good friend his chaplain was very well, and much at my service, and that the Sunday before he had made a most incomparable sermon out of Dr. Barrow.

"He then proceeded to acquaint me with the welfare of Will Wimble, upon which he put his hand into his fob and presented me in his name with a tobacco-stopper, telling me that Will had been busy all the beginning of the winter in turning great quantities of them: and that he made a present of one to every gentleman in the country who has good principles, and smokes. He added that poor Will was at present under great tribulation, for that Tom Touchy had taken the law of him for cutting some hazel sticks out of one of his hedges.

"Among other pieces of news which the Knight brought from his country seat, he informed me that Moll White was dead, and that about a month after her death the wind was so very high, that it blew down the end of one of his barns. But for my part, says Sir Roger, I do not think the old woman had any hand in it.

"He afterwards fell into an account of the diversions which had passed in his house during the holidays: for Sir Roger, after the laudable custom of his ancestors, always keeps open house at Christmas. I learned from him that he had killed eight fat hogs for this season, that he had dealt about his chinees very liberally amongst his neighbours, and that in particular he had sent a string of hogs-puddings with a pack of cards to every poor family in the parish. I have often thought, says Sir Roger, it happens very well that Christmas should fall out in the middle of winter. It is the most dead, uncomfortable time of the year, when the poor people would suffer very much from their poverty and cold, if they had not good cheer, warm

fires, and Christmas gambols to support them. I love to rejoice their poor hearts at this season, and to see the whole village merry in my great hall. I allow a double quantity of malt to my small-beer, and set it a running for twelve days to every one that calls for it. I have always a piece of cold beef and a mince-pie upon the table, and am wonderfully pleased to see my tenants pass away a whole evening in playing their innocent tricks, and smutting one another. Our friend Will Wimble is as merry as any of them, and shows a thousand roguish tricks upon these occasions.

"I was very much pleased with the reflection of my old friend, which carried so much goodness in it. He then launched out into the praise of the late act of Parliament for securing the Church of England, and told me with great satisfaction, that he believed it already began to take effect, for that a rigid dissenter who chanced to dine at his house on Christmas day, had been observed to eat very plentifully of his plum-porridge.

"After having dispatched all our country matters, Sir Roger made several enquiries concerning the Club, and particularly of his old antagonist, Sir Andrew Freeport. He asked me with a kind of smile, whether Sir Andrew had not taken advantage of his absence to vent among them some of his republican doctrines; but soon after gathering up his countenance into a more than ordinary seriousness, tell me truly, says he, don't you think Sir Andrew had a hand in the Pope's procession? But without giving me time to answer him, well, well, says he, I know you are a wary man, and do not care to talk of public matters.

"The Knight then asked me, if I had seen Prince Eugenio, and made me promise to get him a stand in some convenient place where he might have a full sight of that extraordinary man, whose presence does so much honour to the British nation. He dwelt very long upon the praises of this general, and I found that since I was with him in the country, he had drawn many observations together out of his reading in Baker's Chronicle and other authors, who always lie in his hall window, which very much redound to the honour of this prince.

"Having passed away the greatest part of the morning in hearing the Knight's reflections, which were partly private and partly political, he asked me if I would smoke a pipe with him over a dish of coffee at Squires's. As I love the old man, I take delight in complying with everything that is agreeable to him, and accordingly waited on him to the coffee-house, where his venerable figure drew upon us the eyes of the whole room. He had no sooner seated himself at the upper end of the high table, but he called for a clean pipe, a paper of tobacco, a dish of coffee, a wax candle, and the Supplement, with such an air of cheerfulness and good-humour, that all the boys in the coffee-room (who seemed to take a pleasure in serving him) were at once employed on his several errands, insomuch that nobody else could come at a dish of tea, until the Knight had got all his conveniences about him."

Sir Walter Scott has given us humorous characters; and Galt's novels abound with exquisite specimens: but Burns re-

presents, perhaps, the best that Scotland can show in this region of art. His intense feelings both of tenderness and mirth, and his creative force of intellect, acting through the Scotch dialect, produced the intense humour that we find in "The Jolly Beggars," "The Address to the Mouse," "The Farmer's Mare," and "Tam o' Shanter." The opening stanzas of "The Jolly Beggars" may be quoted (if not too Scotch for many readers), to show how the most disgusting objects can receive a loving as well as a ludicrous colour:—

“ When lyart leaves bestrew the yird,
Or, wavering like the bauckie bird,*
 Bedim cauld Boreas' blast;
When hailstones drive wi' bitter skyte,
And infant frosts begin to bite,
 In hoary eraureught† drest;
Ae night at e'en, a merry core
 O' randie gangrel bodies,
In Poesie-Nansie's held the splore
 To drink their ora duddies:
 Wi' quaffing and laughing
 They ranted and they sang:
 Wi' jumping and thumping
 The vera girdle rang.

“ First, neist the fire, in auld red rags,
Ane sat, weel brac'd wi' mealy bags,
 And knapsack a' in order;
His doxy lay wi'ihin his arm,
Wi' usquebae and blankets warm,
 She blinket on her sodger;
And aye he gies the tousie drab
 The tither skelpin' kiss,
While she held up her greedy gab
 Just like an a'mous dish;‡
 Ilk smack still did crack still,
 Just like a cadger's whup,
Then staggering and swaggering
 He roared this ditty up.”

In "Tam o' Shanter," humour is only one of the many effects of that wonderful creation. The humour predominates in the opening of the story:—

“ O Tam! had'st thou been but sae wise,
As ta'en thy ain wife Kate's advice!

* The bat.

† Hoar frost.

‡ A wooden bowl or platter, which the beggars carried with them to receive their alms in, these usually consisting of meal.

She tauld thee weel thou was a skellum,
 A blethering, blustering, drunken blellum;
 That frae November till October,
 Ae market-day thou was nae sober;
 That ilka melder, § wi' the miller,
 Thou sat as lang as thou had siller;
 That every naig was ca'd a shoe on,
 The smith and thee gat roaring fou on;
 That at the L——d's house, ev'n on Sunday,
 Thou drank wi' Kirton Jean till Monday.
 She prophesied that, late or soon,
 Thou would be found deep drown'd in Doon;
 Or catched wi' warlocks in the mirk,
 By Alloway's auld haunted kirk.

Ah! gentle dames! it gurs me greet,
 To think how mony counsels sweet,
 How monie lengthen'd sage advices,
 The husband frae the wife despises!

But to our tale. Ae market night,
 Tam had got planted unco right;
 Fast by an ingle, bleesing finely,
 Wi' reaming swats, that drank divinely;
 And at his elbow, souter Jolannie,
 His ancient, trusty, drouthy erony;
 Tam lo'ed him like a vera brither;
 They had been fou for weeks thegither.
 The night drave on wi' saugs an' clatter;
 And aye the ale was growing better:
 The landlady and Tam grew gracious;
 Wi' favours, secret, sweet, and precious:
 The souter tauld his queerest stories;
 The landlord's laugh was ready chorus:
 The storm without might rair and rustle,
 Tam didna mind the storm a whistle.
 Care, mad to see a man sae happy,
 E'en drown'd himsel' amang the nappy.
 As bees flee hame wi' lades o' treasure,
 The minutes wing'd their way wi' pleasure.
 Kings may be blest, but Tam was glorious;
 O'er all the ills o' life victorious."

Falstaff must be set down as a humorous character; the kindly, loving ingredient, being shown in his resigning himself with such good heart and good grace to be the butt of all his merry companions. Justice Shallow has also well-marked traces of humour.

§ Corn sent to the miller.

The finest poetic harmony is so much akin to love, which is the harmony of human souls, that it may constitute the sweetening element of humour. Of this we know no better example than Chaucer's 'Disappearance of the Fairies':—

"In oldē dayēs of the King Artoür,
Of which that Bretons speken great honoür,
All was that land full filled of faerie;
The elf queen, with her jolly company,
Dancēd full oft in many a grene mead;
This was the old opinion as I read;
I speak of many hundred years ago,
But now can no man see none elvės mo;
For now the great charity and prayers,
Of limitours and other holy freres,
That searchen every land and every stream,
As thick as motēs in the sonnē beam,
Blessing halls, chambers, kitchenēs, and boures,
Cities and burghs, castles high and toures
Thropēs and bernēs, shepēnēs and dairies,
This maketh that there be no faeries;
For there as wout to walken was an elf,
There walketh now the limitour himself.
Women may now go safely up and down;
In every bush and under every tree,
There is none other incubus than he."

It is more easy to produce a humorous effect by bodily expression and manner than in writings. A warm, beaming countenance, an affectionate smile, and tones mirthful and soft, are more common than the power of combining wit and endearment in words. Hence, we find many humorists in common life, and on the stage; and hence painters and sketchers have been more successful in this region than poets. In our own day the sketches of George Cruickshank often exhibit the most genuine humour.

With regard to Wit and Humour generally we have to remark that they are most effective in small doses, or with a large mixture of sterling matter of the serious kind. Interesting information, strong good sense, vivid pictures, powerful eloquence or pathos, with a touch of wit occurring now and then, give the effect with the greatest degree of relish. If Swift, Addison, and Sydney Smith, had not possessed intellects that would have made them great without their wit, they never would have been great with it. Nothing but a certain amount of sensible remark, and a few touches of character, keeps Sam Slick's writings from being unendurable. But in our greatest artists, who pour forth thought, imagery, and harmony, in grand profusion, and touch every chord of human nature, the ludicrous cannot easily be overdone; and when it does occur its effect is enchanting.

This is finely illustrated by a famous passage in the "Birds" of Aristophanes, where the birds expound their pretensions to illustrious descent, and their superiority to gods and men. It is a piece of lofty and vigorous poetry, yielding the ludicrous from the purpose it is made to serve:—

"Ye children of man, whose life is a span,
 Protracted with sorrow from day to day,
 Naked and featherless, feeble and querulous,
 Sickly, calamitous creatures of clay!
 Attend to the words of the sovereign Birds
 (Immortal, illustrious, lords of the air),
 Who survey from on high, with a merciful eye,
 Your struggles of misery, labour, and care.
 Whence you may learn and clearly discern
 Such truths as attract your inquisitive turn;
 Which is busied of late with a mighty debate,
 A profound speculation about the creation,
 And organical life, and chaotical strife,
 With various notions of heavenly motions,
 And rivers and oceans, and valleys and mountains,
 And sources of fountains, and meteors on high,
 And stars in the sky. We propose by and by
 (If you'll listen and hear) to make it all clear,
 And Prodicus henceforth shall pass for a dunce,
 When his doubts are explained and expounded at once.

Before the creation of *Æther* and *Light*,
 Chaos and *Night* together were plight,
 In the dungeon of *Erebus* foully bedight.
 Nor ocean, or air, or substance was there,
 Or solid or rare, or figure or form,
 But horrible *Tartarus* ruled in the storm.

At length, in the dreary chaotical closet
 Of *Erebus* old, was a privy deposit,
 By *Night*, the primeval, in secrecy laid:
 A mystical egg, that in silence and shade
 Was brooded and hatched,—till time came about,
 And *Love*, the delightful, in glory flew out,
 In rapture and light, exulting and bright,
 Sparkling and florid, with stars in his forehead,
 His forehead and hair, and a flutter and flare,
 As he rose in the air, triumphantly furnished,
 To range his dominions, on glittering pinions,
 All golden and azure, and blooming and burnished.

He soon, in the murky Tartarean recesses,
 With a hurricane's might, in his fiery caresses
 Impregnated *Chaos*, and hastily snatch'd
 To being and life, begotten and hatch'd,
 The primitive birds; but the deities all,
 The celestial lights, the terrestrial ball,

Were later of birth, with the dwellers on earth,
More tamely combin'd, of a temperate kind;
When chaotical mixture approached to a fixture.

Our antiquity proved, it remains to be shown
That Love is our author and master alone;
Like him we can ramble, and gambol, and fly,
O'er ocean and earth, and aloft to the sky;
And, all the world over, we're friends to the lover;
And, when other means fail, we are found to prevail,
When a peacock or pheasant is sent as a present."

Of the uses and benefits of man's risible faculty in human life we should speak largely, if we had the power to express them. The amount of enjoyment that it causes is only to be described by those that can paint the blessings of sunshine, or the value of repose. In how many situations does it not smooth the intercourse of life? When we are thrown among strangers, when we encounter our fellows without the means of sympathizing with them, a stroke of merriment is the "touch of nature that makes the whole world kin."

Laughter is a source of prodigious moral power; it is a weapon that can inflict pain and torture, and largely influence the actions of men. It keeps vanity, affectation, and singularity in check; and can sometimes exterminate dignities, and abolish their worship. When opinions have been disproved to the satisfaction of all men that can judge of truth, their last hold of the human mind is generally dissolved in floods of ridicule. But, as the masters of this weapon are not always qualified or careful to discriminate the false from the true, the best things have often to endure the ordeal of being laughed at. It was at one time said that ridicule is a test of truth, which can only mean, that what cannot be dethroned from the respect and worship of men by derision, and alliance with degrading ideas, is at least well established, and has probably some truth on its side. But the opinions that defy ridicule in one age often sink under it in another.

We cannot refrain from repeating, that the great object that an artist must seek, in gratifying men through their sense of the ludicrous, is to arrest and delay the outburst of laughter, or so to interweave the mirthful occasion with other feelings and actions, that the enjoyment may be prolonged and tranquil rather than brief and violent. The laughable should be converted into a seasoning of the serious purposes, the weighty actions and the elevated pleasures of existence. This is exactly what we mean by *refinement*; it is the application of intellect to husband and control the animal impulses. He that can use the stimulus of mirth to send home a truth, to impress a moral, to rouse to useful activity, is

both a great artist and a benefactor of the species; and he that can enliven without fatiguing an assembly through a long evening by gentle and variegated touches of this one string, is a valuable agent in human life. The strong animal feelings are of themselves sudden and exhausting; but it is possible so to interrupt and dam their current that they may run slowly and sweetly, and with a gradual effusion. Out of the most unpromising of passions, the feeling of terror, Mrs. Radcliffe has distilled the most exquisite fascination, by keeping the actual objects always at a distance, and merely suggesting them indirectly to the imaginations of her readers. Abruptly to present to us a man in a mad fit of jealousy, would be simply to torture our sympathies and give unmingled pain; but to work up the case into a complicated tale of circumstance and plot—to give along with the main accident the entire train of events and the full embodiment of the love, the anger, and the despair—is to yield a feast of intellect and soul such as nothing but some terrible occasion could inspire. The passions without the intellect are brutish; the intellect without the passions is drivel. The greatest orator is not he that can produce sudden impulses, but he that can control the emotions and kindle up by their means an extensive surface of thought and resolution. The poet portrays the wrath of Achilles only through the manifold scenes and incidents of a ten years' struggle. A human passion has no greatness except as woven into the variegated tissue of life; and life uninspired by strong emotion is void of interest.

The greatest formal device for allying the ludicrous with the panoramas and pictures of the living world is the superstructure of comedy. Here the action and reaction of man on man, in business, in pleasure, in ambitious pursuits and inglorious vices, are displayed and irradiated by the flashes of laughable encounter. The convergence of dignity and littleness in one point is very easy when two parties are brought on the stage. In the intercourse of men, and in the dramatic representation of it, there is greater difficulty in keeping up level dignity than in producing incongruities. The dialogues of companionship commonly yield more of mirth than seriousness; and except where the ludicrous faculty is castrated, comedy is easier to write than tragedy. The smallest attempt of one man to influence another, is so liable to produce an effect different from what is proposed—to issue in a cross purpose, a bathos, or some disproportionate action—that one can scarcely say a word that does not run the risk of causing a joke. A single person apart may keep his dignity unsoiled, and avoid being great and little at the same instant; but when there are two, three, or many, acting together with all possible differ-

ences of character, we are sure that comedy and farce, and all the occasions of mirth, will be abundant. Accidents, the uncertainties of temper, the disappointments of daily life, and the whole fund of contradictions that occur to try human nature, contain every possible mode of incompatibility, and produce, along with griefs and sorrows, triumphs and successes, the clashes of unequal dignity and the outbursts of the ludicrous. If, therefore, a good selection of differing characters, and a story full of cross incidents and uncertainties are put well together; above all, if a really dramatic dialogue can be composed, where the production of the ludicrous is kept in view, we have the main elements of a comedy. Low and vulgar as comedy may seem, it is a genuine poetic creation in this sense, that every character must be provided with a wide variety of speech and action in keeping with itself. The more richly each character can be displayed, the more abundant and expressive the touches whereby it is manifested, the greater means will there be of producing the comic effect; and moreover, the ludicrous will be so much the more softened and diluted by the presentation of harmonious life-pictures. There is of course room for a peculiar felicity in bringing about encounters of the truly laughable sort, which is the test of the high comic genius. Aristophanes rules supreme in the ancient world in this species of creation. As a specimen of his power we may quote the contest between *Æschylus* and *Euripides* for the tragic throne in the shades, before *Bacchus*, as umpire, who had come there to seek a dramatic poet, and at his arrival had found the dispute just commencing.

“Bacchus.—Come now begin, dispute away; but first I give you notice

That every phrase in your discourse must be refined, avoiding
Vulgar absurd comparisons, and awkward silly jokings.

Euripides.—At the first outset I forbear to state my own pretensions;

Hereafter I shall mention them, when his have been refuted;
After I shall have fairly shown how he befooled and cheated
The rustic audience that he found, which *Phrynichus* bequeathed him;
He planted first upon the stage a figure veiled and muffled,
An *Achilles*, or a *Niobe*, that never show'd their faces;
But kept a tragic attitude, without a word to utter.

Bac.—No more they did; 'tis very true—

Eu.—In the meanwhile the chorus

Strung on ten strophes right-an-end, but they remained in silence.

Bac.—I liked that silence well enough; as well perhaps or better
Than those new talking characters.

Eu.—That's from your want of judgment,

Believe me.

Bac.—Why perhaps it is,—but what was his intention?

Eu.—Why mere conceit and insolence :—to keep the people waiting,
 'Till Niobe should deign to speak—to drive his drama forward.

Bac.—O, what a rascal !—Now I see the tricks he used to play me.
[To Æschylus, who is showing signs of indignation by various contortions.]

What makes you writhe and wince about?

Eu.—Because he feels my censures.

Then having dragg'd and drawl'd along, half-way to the conclusion,
 He foisted in a dozen words of noisy boisterous accent,
 With lofty plumes, and shaggy brows, mere bugbears of the lan-
 guage,

That no man ever heard before.

Æs.—Alas ! Alas !

Bac.—*[to Æschylus]* Have done there.

Eu.—He never used a simple word.

Bac.—*[to Æschylus]* Don't grind your teeth so strangely.

Eu.—But bulwarks and samanders and hippogriffs and gorgons,
 'On burnished shields emboss'd in brass,' bloody remorseless
 phrases,

Which nobody could understand.

Bac.—Well, I confess, for my part,

I used to keep awake at night with guesses and conjectures
 To think what kind of foreign bird he meant by griffin-horses ;

Æs.—A figure on the heads of ships ; you goose, you must have
 seen them.

Bac.—Well, from the likeness I declare I took it for Eruxia.

Eu.—So ! Figures on the heads of ships are fit for tragic diction.

Æs.—Well then, thou paltry wretch, explain—what were your own
 devices ?

Eu.—Not stories about flying stags, like yours, and griffin-horses ;

Nor terms nor images derived from tap'stry, Persian hangings.

When I received the muse from you, I found her puff'd and
 pamper'd,

With pompous sentences and terms, a cumbrous huge virago.

My first attention was applied to make her look genteelly ;

And bring her to a slighter shape by dint of lighter diet ;

I fed her with plain household phrase, and cool familiar salad,

With water-gruel episode, with sentimental jelly,

With moral mincemeat ; till at length I brought her into compass ;

Cephsophon, who was my cook, contriv'd to make them relish.

I kept my plots distinct and clear, and to prevent confusion,

My leading characters rehearsed their pedigrees for prologues.

Æs.—'Twas well at least that you forbore to quote your own
 extraction.

Eu.—From the first opening of the scene all persons were in action :

The master spoke, the slave replied ; the women, young and old
 ones,

All had their equal share of talk.

Æs.—Come then, stand forth and tell us

What forfeit less than death is due for such an innovation?

Eu.—I did it upon principle, from democratic motives.

Bac.—Take care my friend, upon that ground your footing is but ticklish.

Eu.—I taught those youths to specify—

Æs.—I say so too—moreover,

I say that for the public good you ought to have been hang'd first.

Eu.—The rules and forms of rhetoric, the laws of composition ;

To prate, to state, and in debate to meet a question fairly ;

At a dead lift, to turn and shift, to make a nice distinction."

Ludicrous monologue, or general reflections of a mirthful kind, do not make comedy. It is not enough to give the dramatic shape to a piece, and to produce comic effects in it; the effects must arise from the clash of the characters themselves. Comedy is the mode of ludicrous embodiment that essentially requires the form of the drama as its foundation.

But we must consider laughter also as a philosophy, a mental support and consolation against the ills of life. That there should be a sect of laughing philosophers, as well as Cynics, Stoics, Epicureans, Hermits, or weeping philosophers, is no marvel; for many have triumphed over much misery by the force of mirth. We cannot drive away the immediate pressure of distress; but the intervals of actual hunger, pain, or sickening disappointment, may be spent in a cheerful mood, rather than in gloomy forebodings and recollections. Even the sense of present uneasiness may be alleviated by a turn given to the thoughts and feelings, which is what we call philosophy. Thus we have the philosophy of Tullochgorum and John o'Badenym, which prescribes music and song; the philosophy of the poet, who, Göethe says, has received from nature the right enjoyment of the world; the philosophy that bids us drive away care by labour; the influence of the affections and friendship; the love of knowledge; and many others. But we have Burns, and Jean Paul, and thousands besides, who have filled up the periods of life-weariness, and eased the load of pain, by converting everything into fun and jollity. The light-hearted Irishman has often been known, in the dreary fatigues of a campaign, to keep up the spirits of a company by turning the laugh against each occurring misery. It were well, however, that the gifts of the poor Irish in this particular were not quite so great. There is a certain seriousness in keeping with the realities of life, and the laughing, and all other philosophies that blind us to these, only lead us to destruction.

ART. III.—*The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England.* By John Lord Campbell. Second Series. Vol. 4: *Life of Somers.*—Murray.

LORD SOMERS is one of those rare characters, whose fame, resting entirely on intrinsic merit, has lived without the aid of biographers or historians, and has preserved to this day the freshness which belongs only to the subjects of oral tradition. Indeed, the author of the 'Revolution Settlement' is far more indebted to tradition than to the biographers; for the details communicated by the latter are singularly meagre and defective. The 'Life of Lord Somers,' which appeared in 1716, and is the foundation of most subsequent narratives, is so carelessly compiled, that the author owns he was not at the pains even to inquire at which university Somers was educated. The essay on his character by his kinsman, Cooksey, abounds with inaccuracies. Somers himself, who always shunned notoriety as much as ordinary men court it, was so careless about his writings and speeches, that he has scarcely left us the means of appreciating them. And now, as Lord Campbell says, "from long neglect, several important parts of his career must for ever remain obscure; few personal anecdotes of him are preserved; and materials for his Life must be sought in college registers, county chronicles, peerages, parliamentary debates, state trials, equity reports, party pamphlets, doggerel verses, such scandalous publications at home as Mr. Manley's 'New Atalantis,' and such scarce foreign books as Bonaventuri's 'Life of Vincenzo Filicaja.'" For these reasons the biographer of the Lord Chancellors bespeaks the reader's indulgence for a work so beset with difficulties as a faithful biography of Lord Somers. The difficulties, however, have in a great measure yielded to the industry and ability of the historian; and this portion of Lord Campbell's work will undoubtedly be often referred to by the student of English history, as containing many valuable materials for estimating the character of that great man. Some portions of Lord Campbell's materials, indeed, are now made public for the first time. "I have been able," says the author, "to rectify several mistakes in the early career of Lord Somers, by inquiries which heads of houses have most patiently and obligingly carried on for me at Oxford; and to add fresh lustre to the name of this great patriot, by a number of his letters relating to the union with Scotland, from the muniments of the Earl of Leven and Melville, to whose ancestor they were addressed." But the most truly meritorious part of the author's labours, perhaps,

consists in the analysis and criticism of matter heretofore existing, indeed, but undigested.

In the environs of the ancient city of Worcester, stood, in the time of the civil wars, one of those old family seats, which are perhaps peculiar to this country, owing their existence as they do to the dissolution of the monastic houses under Henry VIII. "White-ladies" had been a nunnery. At the Reformation, the chapel, with its images, its painted glass, its sanctuaries and altars, and all those ornaments which in the eyes of the Puritans were its abominations, had been dismantled; and, at the time we speak of, there was nothing left of it but perhaps a picturesque ruin. But the more secular portions of the building had been spared. The unostentatious dormitories of the abbess and her daughters, the lofty hall, and the refectory, with its polished floor and roof of carved oak, remained, and formed the mansion of the family to whom the abbey-lands had been granted. It was of considerable extent, being described in Cromwell's time as "a large stone building, capable of holding 500 men." The occupiers of this mansion were the ancestors of the great Lord Somers. Several branches of the same family lived together in the old house, and their manner of life is thus described by their kinsman, Cooksey:—

"Their mornings were employed by each in their respective occupations,—the culture of a large farm—the clothing trade, then in a flourishing state—the producing and manufacturing of teasels, wood, madder, and all dyeing materials—the making of bricks and tiles in immense quantities, to supply the demand occasioned by rebuilding the ruined city and suburbs. The labours of the day over, they repaired for refreshment to one common table in the great hall of the old nunnery, where seldom fewer than twenty or thirty relations and friends of the family assembled daily, and passed their evenings in the utmost cheerfulness and conviviality. The products of the farm, the supplies of fish and game, and viands of every kind, received constantly from their country connections, furnished their table with abundant plenty, and entitled such contributors to a place at it without ceremony or reserve. The annual slaughter of two brawns marked the festivity of Christmas."—p. 67, 68.

The head of the house, at the time here referred to, was one John Somers, an attorney by profession, but who, on the breaking out of the civil war, had exchanged the pen for the sword, and raised a troop of horse on the Parliament side. This zealous captain, we are informed, being on one occasion quartered near Severn Stoke, attended a church where a royalist preacher indulged himself with declaiming vehemently against the godly party. Captain Somers at last lost patience, drew out a pistol, and

silenced the parson by lodging a bullet in the sounding-board over his head. But this warlike attorney did not always find his own party in the ascendant. Young Charles Stuart came to the neighbourhood of Worcester, and, whilst his army occupied the city, the Prince took up his lodging at Whiteladies, whose puritan tenants had found it prudent to withdraw themselves. After the "crowning mercy," which put an end to the hopes of the royalists, the young Prince quitted Whiteladies in disguise, for his flight to Boscobel. The relics of his wardrobe, left behind in the hurry, and consisting of "his garters, two pairs of fine fringed gloves, a waistcoat, and a pair of trunk hose," were preserved amongst the heir-looms of the republican house of Somers.

The dispersion of Charles's forces permitted Captain Somers to return home. Within a few months of the Prince's flight from Whiteladies, viz., in March 1652, the old house became the birthplace of the great Lord Somers, the Captain's only son.

On the close of the civil war, Captain Somers laid down his military title and returned to the practice of the law. He had chambers fitted up for him at the Whiteladies. By degrees he grew into considerable practice, was employed to manage the properties of the Earl of Shrewsbury and other noblemen, and became at length the principal attorney of Worcester. Meanwhile his son John, the subject of the present notice, was growing up towards manhood. At school he had given proofs of a studious disposition, and is said to have been addicted to walking and musing alone, "not so much as looking on whilst his companions were at play." His father designing him for an attorney, he was taken early from school, and without the advantage of a college education, was at once promoted to a desk in the office at Whiteladies. Here he might perhaps have plodded on for life in the obscure toils of a country attorney, had not his early talents attracted the notice of Sir Frances Winington, then rising to eminence at the bar, and who, as candidate or member for Worcester, used frequently to visit Whiteladies. By Winington's advice, Mr. Somers was induced to change his plans, and let his son study for the bar. Young Somers was entered of the Temple in 1669.

His manner of life now underwent a complete change. He was separated from the cheerful, if somewhat coarse, society of Whiteladies, and placed alone in a city where he had no acquaintance but of his own forming. Neither his prospects in life, nor his disposition, were such as might lead him to feel very anxious about success at the bar, or to push himself forward before his faculties were fully ripened. Everything encouraged

him to the patient cultivation of those studies which enlarge and refine the mind. By a happy coincidence, a friendship which had been formed in Worcestershire conspired to the same end, by bringing him acquainted with men of higher rank, and of a more general education than himself, whose superiority excited his emulation. The young Earl of Shrewsbury, having taken some disgust at Court, had withdrawn for a time from the world, and buried himself in the seclusion of Whiteladies, honoring by his society the steward of his paternal estates. Here he had made the acquaintance of young Somers, which soon grew into a close intimacy and friendship. When Shrewsbury became tired of a country life, and returned to London, he renewed his intercourse with Somers, and introduced him to many of his friends—young men of rank and refinement, whose tastes naturally had a great influence upon those of Somers. To this circumstance the latter no doubt owed that “exquisite taste of politeness” which distinguished his manhood; and to this we must ascribe it, probably, that he was not entirely free from that dissoluteness of morals which was the disgrace of the age. This kind of society probably gave him a sense of the deficiencies in his education,—deficiencies which he now exerted himself to remove. When he was twenty-four years of age, he entered himself of Trinity College, Oxford, dividing his time between the University and the Temple, so as to keep his terms at both places. In 1676, he was called to the bar; but for several years he neither entered the courts, nor otherwise sought out practice, contented, apparently, with the pursuit of his studies, the enjoyment of an agreeable society, and the prospect of inheriting a competent fortune. During this noiseless portion of his life, his character and opinions were forming themselves.

The biography of a public man must often tend to misrepresent him; because the early part of his life, containing few materials for narrative, is usually hurried over in a few pages, while the later part and close of his career are disproportionately dwelt upon, as being the season of his public transactions. Thus the reader's attention is principally drawn to that portion of the life which is incomparably the least important as regards the formation of character; and he is imperceptibly led to mistake the influences by which his hero's character has been moulded. The influences of one generation fashion the characters, which, in their turn, influence the generation that succeeds. It is this circumstance, indeed, which forms the great conservative element in society, which links age to age, and gives to history its continuity of march. But this same circumstance is apt peculiarly to mislead us in judging of characters which have been formed in periods

of great and sudden change. In most lives of Lord Somers, for instance, the biographers allot five or six times as much space to what comes after, as to what comes before, the Revolution. Yet Somers's opinions were formed, and his mind cast in its particular mould, and the great business of his life was over, by the time that William was firmly seated on the throne. The impressions which formed his mind were those which he received in the reigns of Charles and James II. It is to the politics of those reigns, therefore, that our chief attention should be directed.

The struggle between Charles I. and his Parliament had opened a controversy on almost all the fundamental questions of government. In politics, the question between monarchy and democracy; in religion, every question of forms, of creeds, of unity, of independence, had been set in issue, and fairly fought out. Almost every party had its trial, its day of triumph, and its eventual failure. And the result seems to us, viewing the matter dispassionately and from a distance, to confirm the lesson which the great philosopher of modern politics deduces from a general view of the growth of European civilization. According to M. Guizot, the history of modern Europe consists in the eternal conflict of forces, none of which can gain the permanent mastery. In the old Asiatic monarchies, in the republics of Greece and Rome, and in every other form of civilization which has run its career and worn itself out, we may trace the undisputed triumph of some one idea or principle. M. Guizot reads in this fact the secret of their decay; and, in the reverse of this fact, with regard to modern Europe, he discovers a security for the permanence, and, at the same time, the progress, of society with us. Whatever we may think of this opinion, it seems clear that the history of the civil war, from 1640 to 1660, proves at least the impossibility, in England, of placing the whole nation under the necks of any one section of it. The party which came nearest to success, and which most deserved success—the party of Cromwell, after having subdued every form of external opposition, after making itself master of the sword and the purse, after having long bowed down its worst enemies to an external conformity with a (so-called) godliness which they abhorred,—crumbled to pieces at last, and fell under an odium proportioned to its past triumph. And why? Not, surely, from any fault in the party itself, but because it was a part, and only a part, of the nation, which sought to domineer over the whole.

The result of the civil war, then, seemed to point out the necessity of some kind of compromise. In proving that no one party could govern exclusively, it showed that each party must

abate some portion of its original pretensions. Neither unbridled monarchy, nor pure republicanism, was practicable; neither the Church nor the Dissenters could be crushed. But this lesson was by no means impressed upon the statesmen of the Restoration: it had hardly found an articulate voice with politicians of any class; it was as yet but a latent instinctive feeling, unuttered, but widely spread through the people. That such a conviction did exist, however, is proved by this simple fact,—that, after the Restoration, each party, as it ran into extremes, lost popularity; whereas, during the civil war, it had been the other way.

The latter part of this assertion, at all events, needs no lengthened proof. The whole history of the popular party, from 1640 to 1657, consists in the successive development of more and more violent elements, which by turns gained the mastery and left the moderate men behind. First, the constitutional Royalists, as Hyde and Falkland, were thrown into the rear; then the Presbyterians, who were for restoring Charles upon conditions; then those who were for sparing his life. The Self-Denying Ordinance, and the two Purges of the House of Commons, are so many sea-marks from which we may discern the progress of the tide. Perhaps, indeed, it must always be thus in revolutions: violent counsels gradually gain the ascendancy, and the flood, once set free from its old restraints, acquires an impetus as it advances.

But the people grew tired of resolutions; they found the tyranny of a party no more supportable than the tyranny of a king. Cromwell's finger lifted off, the nation, like a spring released, flew violently to the other extreme; and Charles returned to subjects that seemed eager to become his slaves. When the first transports of loyalty were over, party-spirit revived. The royalists and high-churchmen began to taste the sweets of revenge. The king could scarcely hold them back so far as his own honour required: it was all he could do to prevent the shedding of blood, which he had himself engaged to spare. The presbyterians, who had taken part in the restoration, and had been courted with many promises, were now thrust from the churches, debarred from public offices and employments, not allowed the free exercise of their worship, and even had their preachers prohibited from coming into the neighbourhood of any corporate town. All this violence gradually called into play that under-current of feeling to which we have alluded. The first sign of re-action was noticed at the executions of the regicides.

"In one thing," says Burnet, "the temper of the nation appeared

to be contrary to severe proceedings; for, though the regicides were at that time odious beyond all expression, and the trials and executions of the first that suffered were run to by vast crowds, and all people seemed pleased at the sight, yet the odiousness of the crime grew at last to be so much flattened by the frequent executions, and most of those who suffered dying with much firmness and show of piety, justifying all they had done, not without a seeming joy for their suffering on that account; that the king was advised not to proceed farther, at least not to have the scene laid so near the court as Charing Cross."—'Own Times,' Vol. 1, p. 234.

And the change in public opinion was not confined to a dislike of political executions. The Puritan, or as it is now to be called the Nonconformist party, grew from the extreme of odium and weakness to considerable strength and popularity. Within the Church of England itself arose a wide-spread feeling of sympathy towards its old enemies and persecutors. A new school of clergy, the "Latitudinarians," was formed at Cambridge, who were for a more comprehensive system; who wished "to take men off from being in parties, and from narrow notions, from superstitious conceits, and a fierceness about opinions," and who sought to enlarge the bounds of the church by bringing in the more moderate Nonconformists, a project which probably was at that time far from impracticable. To this school belonged Tillotson, Patrick, Cudworth, and Stillingfleet; and the moderate and conciliatory views of these men were so much in harmony with the spirit of the time, that, in the opinion of Burnet, it was the appearance of the Latitudinarians at this juncture, which alone saved the church from "quite losing her esteem over the nation." And thus, by degrees, owing to the violence of the Royalists, grew up that union of moderate churchmen and dissenters, united by their common regard for civil liberty, which was the foundation of the old Whig party.

In the course of time, Charles's betrayal of the Protestant cause abroad, and his undisguised encouragement of Romanism at home, and his carelessness for the honour of England, and the general conviction of his dishonesty and duplicity, and the suspicion of what is now notorious,—his being all along a disguised Catholic and a pensioner of France, had alienated his people's affections. Titus Oates had set the country in a flame with his pretended plot. Charles's necessities kept him dependant on the House of Commons. His Long Parliament, which had been rendered somewhat manageable by the systematic bribery of its members, had been unwisely dissolved. That which was summoned in its place contained a great majority of the "country party," or party in opposition to the court. In a

word, the men who had been depressed from 1660 to 1679, were now in the ascendant.

But the leaders of the country party had not yet learned the lesson of moderation. Forgetting everything but their past wrongs, and under the dangerous guidance of Shaftesbury, they hurried into counsels not less violent than those of their adversaries had been. They endeavoured to keep up the now fading delusion of the popish plot. They impeached the prime minister, Danby, though he was known to have always opposed the worst designs of the court; they would not suffer him to plead the king's pardon; they would not content themselves with his banishment, and degradation from the peerage, which the king offered; they would stop at nothing short of his life. They introduced the Exclusion Bill; persisted in it long after they found the king resolved never to consent to it; rejected the largest, and seemingly the fairest offers of a compromise; and seemed bent on pushing matters to an extremity between the king and the people. Their conduct on the Exclusion Bill was certainly impolitic. It was a harsher measure to exclude James from the throne beforehand, when he was yet in a manner untried, than to expel him after he should have proved himself unfit for it. The English spirit of fairness spoke out in favour of giving him a trial; and that loyalty, which is either an instinct or a rooted prejudice in the English heart, now arrayed itself in opposition to the country party.

Two parliaments, one in London, the second in Oxford, pronounced for the Exclusion Bill. The king dissolved them both, the latter within a few days of their first assembling. And the people supported him in this act of power, not merely by their quiescence, but heartily and even loudly proclaiming their disapproval of the proceedings of the country party. This unfortunate faction fell more precipitately than it had risen. Upon the king's issuing a declaration of his reasons for dissolving the Oxford parliament, there ran through the country a contagion of loyalty which must have reminded men of 1660.

"The Declaration," says Burnet, "raised over England a humour of making addresses to the king, as it were in answer to it. The grand juries, and the bench of justices in the counties, the cities, and boroughs, the franchises and corporations, many manors, the companies in towns, and, at last, the very apprentices, sent up addresses. Of these, some were more modestly penned, and only expressed their joy at the assurances they saw in the king's declaration; and concluded, that they upon that dedicated their lives and fortunes to his service. But the greater number, and the most acceptable, were those who declared that they would adhere to the unalterable succes-

sion of the crown in the lineal and legal descent, and condemned the Bill of Exclusion. Others went higher, and arraigned the last parliaments as guilty of sedition and treason. Some reflected severely on the Nonconformists; and thanked the king for his not repealing the Act of 35th Elizabeth, which they prayed might be put in execution. Some of the addresses were very high panegyrics, in which the king's person and government were much magnified. Many of those who brought these up were knighted upon it, and all were well treated at court. Many zealous healths were drunk among them; and in their cups the old valour, and the swaggerings of the cavaliers, seemed to be revived."—'*Own Times*,' ii. 308, 309.

Charles and his counsellors were far from understanding, or even taking the trouble to inquire into the causes of this revolution of the public mind. That it might arise from a national averseness to extreme measures, was a possibility which they seemed to have thought concerned them little: it was enough for them that the country party were disarmed, and at their mercy, by having lost its popularity. From this time forth Charles placed himself entirely under the guidance of the Duke of York; determined, as was said at the time, to disappoint those who would prevent the Duke from reigning, by making him reign even before the time. The courtiers, who soon found out where the power lay, deserted the king's levee, and flocked to that of James. There was a thorough change of system. A strict economy was introduced; the expenditure brought within the fixed revenue; a resolution taken to call no more parliaments; and England again, as in the years which preceded 1640, placed under the machinery of a despotic government. But the unparliamentary interval of Charles II. commenced under happier auspices for the king than that of his father. The unpopularity of the country party for a while made all measures taken against them popular. In the reign of the elder Stuart, this attack on the rights of the subject had laid the foundation of that irreconcilable hatred and distrust of royalty which brought Charles to the block. In the reign of his son, this was the period in which the crown was most honoured, and the court party most flourishing. Such a difference can only be explained on the supposition that the excesses and violence of the country party had lost them the confidence of the people.

But James and his advisers, as well during his viceroyalty and his reign, strained these feelings too far. They ran into excesses, beside which those of Shaftesbury looked tame. They converted the courts of justice into political engines, instruments of vengeance, and nests of murder; under one hollow pretext or another, the scaffolds were stained with the blood of men whom their fellow-countrymen most honoured and venerated; all the

resources of tyranny were put in motion with a violence that was only equalled by its folly. In a word, this period of seven years was crowded with every incident that could tend to disabuse the English people of their loyal infatuation, in which alone resided the power of the Stuarts to oppress them. And what was the result? That when a foreign army was marching on the capital, that king, for whose father the best and noblest blood in the land had been freely poured, and whose own military talents had made him at one time the darling of the nation, could not muster one regiment to defend his person—could rally round him no friends or adherents—was deserted by his own children—and was forced to quit his palace in disguise as a fugitive, and to owe his safety and his life to the generosity of a foreign prince.

Thus it appears that the violence of republicanism drove the people into loyalty; that the violence of the loyalists threw them back to the country party; that the violence of the country party gave a temporary popularity to the administration of James, and that the violence and infatuation of James brought in the Prince of Orange. Like a pendulum, the public mind was swayed from side to side by the force of its gravitation towards a point in the middle. The first who appreciated this fact, and acted upon it, were the men whose counsels established the Revolution-settlement. And as all cotemporary testimony ascribes the chief merit of that settlement to Somers, we can hardly do wrong in supposing that he was led, by his studies and observation during the leisure of his early life, to see the necessity of steering that middle course in politics, which is so often stigmatized as cowardly, trimming, and inconsistent, but which, since the Revolution, has been the course most in favour with statesmen and with constituencies.

Somers's studies at the Temple and at Oxford gradually took a political and antiquarian direction. Politics and antiquities—particularly the antiquities of the English Constitution—were, at that time, closely connected together. In common with his personal friends, Lord Russell, Algernon Sydney, Sir William Jones, and others of the same party, Somers early acquired that antiquarian tone of mind, if we may call it so, which was the striking peculiarity of the Whigs of the Revolution. The leaders of that party were the very reverse of theorists: they would have disclaimed the title of constitution-makers with indignation; they aimed at restoring, not creating. In their eyes the Stuarts were criminal, not simply as oppressors, but as answering to the old Greek term of *ῥεπάρχοι*, as subverters of the liberties of a free state; and accordingly they made it their object simply to restore the ancient constitution of the realm, and the hereditary rights of the people. Theoretically, all this may seem somewhat

unreasonable: and we may justly charge these men with paying more regard to forms than to things; with overlooking the indisputable fact, that, in all essentials, the people enjoyed more real liberty under the worst of the Stuarts than the best of the Tudors or Plantagenets; and with forgetting that in politics it is not precedent but expediency—not the rights of our ancestors, but the interests of our posterity, that should be taken into consideration. But any theoretical errors of the Whig leaders were more than counterbalanced by one merit; their mode of reasoning was adapted to the temper of the times. At the end of a revolution, when the ancient landmarks are overthrown, and there is nothing stable for the mind to rest upon, there comes a time when the people distrusts and despairs of theories; and, rather than plunge into a future where all is dark, seeks refuge in the imposing spectacle of the past; just as a student, who has lost himself in metaphysics, flies for relief to history. And thus it was that the Whigs of the Revolution professed themselves restorers rather than innovators; and for this reason, while they were yet in the minority and powerless, their leaders gave themselves up with so much passion to the study of constitutional antiquities.

Somers, whether as having more leisure or aptitude for the study, or greater talents of composition than his associates, soon distinguished himself above the rest by the publication of political tracts. This kind of literature was then very much in favour. Mr. Hallam says, that "An eagerness to peruse cheap and ephemeral tracts on all subjects of passing interest, had prevailed ever since the Reformation. These had been extraordinarily multiplied from the meeting of the Long Parliament. Some thousand pamphlets of different descriptions, written between that time and the Restoration, may be found in the British Museum; and no collection can be supposed to be perfect." We are not, therefore, to estimate Somers's services as a pamphleteer by a standard that would suit the present day. It is certain that his performances were of the greatest utility to his party. The first of them which calls for our notice is a reply that was published, in 1681, to the King's Declaration of the reasons for dissolving the Oxford Parliament. Burnet says that it was written with great spirit and true judgment; that it was at first penned by Sydney, but a new draft was made by Somers, and corrected by Jones; but that the spirit of that party was now so spent, that this, though the best written paper of all that time, yet had no great effect. Soon afterwards Somers published a vindication of the grand jury which ignored the bill of indictment against Lord Shaftesbury; a tract which we only notice for the purpose of extracting one sentence, that sets in a strong light the conservative spirit

of the hero of the Revolution. He says, "Every design of changing the Constitution ought to be most warily observed and timely opposed; nor is it only the interest of the people that such fundamentals should be duly guarded, but of the King too, for whose sake those pretend to act who would subvert them." Somers also wrote a more ambitious work, entitled, 'A History of the Succession, collected out of the Records and the most authentic Historians;' of which the object was to justify the Exclusion Bill, by proving, from the precedents of former times, that Parliament had authority to change the order of succession to the throne. Somers was also known as the author of several other pamphlets, and was believed to have written many more than he owned to; it being his constant practice to publish anonymously. He wrote several pieces in verse; one of which was the occasion of a rather amusing incident. An impudent pretender had the effrontery to claim it as his own. This person happening to be introduced to Lord Somers, when Chancellor, was asked by him whether he knew who wrote the piece in question. "Yes, my Lord," he replied, "'tis a trifle; I did it off-hand." At this, we are told, his Lordship laughed heartily; and the pretended poet withdrew in confusion.

In the year 1681, Somers lost his father. He himself was now thirty years of age. Though he had been called to the bar five years, he had not yet put on his gown, or appeared desirous of practising. But now, whether he found his inheritance less than he expected, or was stirred by feelings of ambition from which he had hitherto been free, he applied himself earnestly to his profession, took chambers in Pump Court, and rode the Oxford Circuit. He was neither without friends or reputation, and soon found an opportunity of showing his powers. It was not long before he came into considerable practice. His large reading, and readiness to give his leaders the credit of his researches, made him a general favourite with the seniors.

The circumstance which brought Somers into notoriety was the trial of the seven bishops. For the defence of the accused it was necessary to establish that, by the ancient constitution of the realm, the king had not the pretended right to suspend or dispense with the execution of Acts of Parliament; and the researches necessary for that purpose could be entrusted to no one with so much propriety as to the author of the 'History of the Succession.' Some of the bishops were at first disinclined to employ an advocate whose known principles were so different from their own. But "Old Pollexfen insisted on him, and would not be himself retained without him; representing him as the man who would take most pains, and go deepest into all that depended on precedents and records." As junior counsel, Somers's

services on the trial were less conspicuous than those of his associates; and, coming last, his modesty and good sense prompted him to make a short speech. But we are told that what he said had great weight, was listened to with extreme respect, and made a deep impression on the jury; his pleading at the bar being masculine and persuasive.

William of Orange was now invited by the leaders of the Whig party to embark in an enterprize, which must have appeared at the time not less hazardous than the invasion of England by William the Norman. The extent to which James had stripped himself of power, by falling under the contempt of his subjects, could scarcely have been appreciated, until it was proved by the event. Men who had witnessed that outbreak of loyalty which had supported the cause of Charles I., unpopular as he had been, the moment his standard was reared, must have felt that in summoning a foreigner to land foreign troops on the soil of England, they were running the risk of calling forth a no less formidable ebullition of national feeling. We must not, therefore, estimate the boldness of the enterprize by the amount of opposition or difficulty which was encountered in the execution.

Somers is said, on the authority of Tindal, to have been "admitted into the most secret councils of the Prince of Orange, and to have been one of those who concocted the measure of bringing him over." It is certain that his abilities and judgment early gained him an ascendant over many men of greater standing and experience than himself; and we learn from one of his colleagues that he was "the life, the soul, and spirit of his party." But a degree of obscurity hangs over his conduct at the outset of the enterprize. If he had indeed the merit of originating the bold design, he had in after life the modesty not to boast of it. He was not one of those who signed the "Association" which invited William to England. And when the Prince first landed, Somers for some time "avoided making himself conspicuous;" though he attended the meetings of the Whig leaders, and was undoubtedly at the bottom of their counsels.

The form of the Revolution-settlement was no doubt in a great measure shaped by circumstances. The national obligations to William, the necessity for his presence to hinder the return of James, and his own resolute refusal to accept a regency, or anything short of the crown, were imperative reasons for a change of dynasty; while the same circumstances made it impossible to put an end to monarchy itself. Some kind of middle course, therefore, was dictated by necessity; while such a course, as we have shown, was equally suitable to the temper of the nation and the political doctrines of the Whig leaders. The latter looked

upon any breach of the constitution, however necessary, as an evil to be palliated and slurred over, not as a thing to be gloried in. Accordingly, their first object seems to have been to divest the Revolution, so far as possible, of its revolutionary character. For this reason, in the "Petition of Right," which may be looked upon as the draft of the treaty between the Prince of Orange and the nation, and the drawing up of which must have presented a tempting opportunity for a theorist to introduce constitutional novelties, the Commons scrupulously abstained from doing anything more than to point out what they considered James's breaches of the ancient constitution, and to stipulate that such breaches should not be repeated. They permitted the introduction of no new securities for their liberties; they only gave additional publicity and sanction to those which they originally possessed, and which, in their own opinion at least, had been unfairly wrested from them. And in the Bill which raised William and Mary to the throne, they not only left in studied ambiguity whether the title was derived from descent or election, but, as if to guard against having their own act used as a precedent, they inserted a solemn renunciation of any right which they or their posterity might have to deprive William's descendants of the throne thus conferred on them; using those remarkable words so much dwelt upon by Burke, in his 'Letters on the French Revolution,' "the said Lords, spiritual and temporal, and Commons, do, in the name of all the people aforesaid, most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their heirs, and posterities, for ever."

But while the Whigs were thus solicitous not needlessly to weaken the *prestige* of royalty, they were equally careful not to run into the other extreme. They were resolved to give the death-blow to those delusions concerning the Divine right of kings, which, during the previous reigns, had had so pernicious an effect both on the monarch and on the people. Before inducting William to the throne, they wished him to understand that his new dignity was merely that of the first magistrate of a free people. They also desired to let him feel, though they might not wish to make it too palpable to the multitude, that he was receiving the crown as the gift of the Parliament; in order that, holding of them, he might learn a due respect for their authority. This disposition was displayed more strongly in the Commons than in the Lords; and hence arose a discussion between the two Houses, in which we find Somers, who had been elected member for Worcester, taking a very prominent part.

The Commons had agreed to a resolution, drawn up by Somers, in the following terms: "That king James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of this kingdom, by breaking

the original contract between the king and the people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of this kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby made vacant." When this resolution was brought up to the Lords, the majority of the latter house proposed to make a material alteration of it. The terms of the resolution, it will be observed, establish the doctrine that the king of Great Britain derives his title from the consent of the people, and may be deposed if he violates the fundamental laws. It was not thought prudent to enounce this doctrine very distinctly, and, therefore, the circumstance of James's withdrawal from the kingdom was adroitly brought in, and the word "abdicated" used, as a milder term than that of "forfeited." The Lords now proposed to substitute the still milder term, "deserted," and to omit the clause which declared the throne vacant. To declare the throne vacant was to imply that the next who should fill it would derive his title from election; to omit this clause was to infer that James's cession of his right was only personal, not affecting his heirs, and that Mary came in by right of inheritance. The question really at issue between the Houses was no less than this; whether William should be looked upon as the founder of a new dynasty, or simply as reigning in right of his wife, considering her as the rightful heir of the Stuarts. Both parties, it is needless to observe, at that time believed, or affected to believe, that the Pretender was not the son of James and his queen. It was the question between Divine right, and the right of Parliament,—between a monarchy descending from heaven, and a monarchy established by and for the people,—that was now agitated. The manner in which this great controversy was conducted was not precisely answerable to the importance of the question at issue. It is thus described by Lord Campbell:—

"Then followed the celebrated 'Free Conference' between the two Houses, which was conducted by *vivâ voce* debate. Somers was one of the managers for the Commons, and, he being pitted against the Earl of Nottingham, the cause of 'abdication and the vacancy of the throne' rested chiefly on his shoulders. It must be confessed that the speeches on this occasion are by no means what might have been expected from enlightened statesmen settling the constitution of a great nation, and rather remind us of the quibbling argumentations of pleaders in a court of law on a special demurrer to a declaration or plea for want of form. Somers defends the word 'abdicate' by quotations from Grotius, Calvin's '*Lexicon Juridicum*,' Bressonius de Verborum Significatione, Budæus, Pralejus, and Spicilegius; and then he falls foul of the word 'desert,' which, from its etymology and its use, he contends is wholly inapplicable to a permanent renunciation,

and means only a voluntary relinquishment with the power of resumption. The 'vacancy of the throne,' he chiefly defends from the record in 1 Hen. IV., where it is said that, upon the deposition of Richard II., '*sedes regalis fuit vacua, et confestim, ut constabat ex præmissis, regnum Angliæ vacare*;' then Henry riseth up out of his place as Duke of Lancaster, and claims the crown,—'*dictum regnum Angliæ sicut præmittitur vacans, unâ cum corona, revendicat*.' Yet it is to Mr. Somers's reasons, such as they are, that Northampton and the other managers for the Lords chiefly apply themselves, in supporting their word 'desert,' and insisting that, by the constitution of England, the throne can never by possibility be, in contemplation of the law, one moment vacant. Amidst these technicalities, the real struggle was whether there should be a change of dynasty, or the experiment should be made of Protestant regents governing in the name of Popish sovereigns. Somers and the Whigs were not only afraid of the public confusion which might follow from such an anomalous administration of the government, but were strongly convinced that there could be no permanent reformation of abuses, till, by a break in the succession, the doctrine of 'Divine right' should be necessarily renounced and discountenanced by the family on the throne."—pp. 93, 94.

Lord Campbell here seems to adopt the sentiment of Bolingbroke, who says, "the dispute about the word 'abdicate' or 'desert,' might have been expected in some assembly of pedants, where young students exercised themselves in disputation, but not in such an august assembly of the Lords and Commons in solemn conference upon the most important occasion." Possibly it would have been more dignified to have followed the example of the Scottish Parliament, which came to a direct vote that James had "forefaulted" the crown; but the fault, if fault there were, was not that of pedantry, but of timidity. It can hardly be supposed that the speakers attached any real weight to the arguments they heard or used: probably there was a very different kind of discussion going on along the benches and round the fireplaces; but it was not thought wise to expose the mysteries of state to the vulgar gaze; and it was necessary to save the dignity of the Lords, by offering them ostensible reasons that might seem to justify a change of conduct. However, Somers and his party prevailed: the throne was declared vacant.

The part taken by Somers in this transaction serves to show how great an ascendant the young barrister had gained with his party, and how much he was already looked up to as one of its leaders. This elevation was the pure effect of his personal character: it was a homage paid, not so much to intellect, as to integrity and singleness of purpose. From a very early age, Somers had been accustomed to inspire all who knew him with a peculiar and involuntary respect. This is no doubt the meaning of Seward, where he informs us that, when Somers was quite a

youth, "by the exactness of his knowledge and behaviour, he discouraged his father and all the young men that knew him: they were afraid to be in his company." And to the same effect is the anecdote related by all his biographers:—

"His father," says Lord Campbell, "used to visit London during the terms, the system of agency between country and London attorneys not being then established; and, on his way, he usually left his horse at the George Inn at Acton, where he often mentioned 'his hopeful son at the Temple.' The landlord, one day, in reply to his panegyrics, said, 'why don't you let us see him, sir?' Mr. Somers, in consequence, requested his son to accompany him as far as Acton, on his return home; but, on his arrival at the George, taking the landlord aside, said, 'I have brought him, Cobbett; but you must not talk to him as you talk to me: he will not suffer such fellows as you in his company.'—Camp. pp. 71, 72.

Somers also took a very prominent part in that memorable debate, the result of which was to establish on the firmest basis the power of the Commons, and the modern system of "responsible government,"—the debate on the settling of the revenue. On the accession of Charles II., and on that of James, the Commons had settled on the king for life a revenue equal to the ordinary exigencies of government, merely leaving extraordinary demands to be met by a temporary grant. At the Restoration, the expenditure was estimated at £1,200,000 per annum; to meet which, the excise and customs duties were bestowed on the king for life. Owing to the increase of trade, the income derived from these sources at last exceeded £1,500,000 a year; and, though Charles's prodigality made even this insufficient, it was a sum that might have rendered a prudent monarch totally independent of his parliament. When the throne was conferred on William, it was proposed to place his revenue on the same footing as that of his predecessors. But Somers and his party, though they were pre-eminently "the king's friends," and though all their hopes of power depended on the king's favour, resisted this suggestion. After a long debate, they prevailed on the Commons to settle the greater portion of the revenue in a manner which made the continuance of it dependant on an annual vote of the House. From that time forth, it became impossible for the most arbitrary prince to dispense with the yearly convening of Parliament, or to retain in his service ministers from whom the Commons should withhold their confidence. This measure is therefore to be reckoned as the most important result of the Revolution of 1688.

Somers's political services, joined to his reputation as a sound and accomplished lawyer, naturally pointed him out as a subject for promotion. He was made Solicitor and Attorney-General,

and rose through the regular gradations, "always," according to Addison, "looked upon as one who deserved a superior station to that he was possessed of," until he reached the summit of a lawyer's ambition, and took his seat in the Court of Chancery. Here he presided with universal satisfaction. In an age when party-spirit ran so high as to scruple at no extreme of slander or scurrility, and in which even his own political and private conduct were maligned by his enemies without mercy, his administration of the law was so faultless that calumny itself never ventured to assail it. With this negative tribute to his praise we must rest contented; for the crude and scanty reports of his decisions, given by Vernon and Peere Williams, afford, as Lord Campbell tells us, no means of appreciating his judicial excellence.

But Somers, like many other eminent men, was to learn the lesson, that no public services can secure the lasting gratitude of the multitude, or defend the author of them from the fluctuations of party-feeling. Seven years of war and taxes had brought the Whigs to unpopularity; their parliamentary majority was melting away; and, one by one, their leaders were made the subject of attack, and driven from the councils of the king. Somers had his turn. The Commons addressed the king to remove him from the woolsack, and William reluctantly complied. His enemies hurried on his dismissal with so much precipitancy, that the seals were taken from him before a successor was fixed upon or even sought for. It was no easy matter to fill up the vacancy. The instability of the administration, and the dread of so severe a test of fitness as awaited the successor of Somers, made the more eminent members of the bar successively decline the seals; and it was not without hesitation that they were accepted by a dull *Nisi Prius* barrister, one Sir Nathan Wright, whose misplaced elevation only rendered him a butt for ridicule. So great, indeed, was the embarrassment of the ministry, that a scheme was set on foot for putting the seals into commission for a while, and restoring them to Somers when the clamour should have blown over.

Somers's friends had hoped that the depriving him of his honours would have allayed the animosity of the other faction; but nothing would satisfy the Tories except an impeachment. A variety of charges were brought against the ex-Chancellor, frivolous and vexatious in the highest degree, with one exception,—that which related to his conduct on the Barrier Treaty. It was this, in fact, which had been the cause of his temporary unpopularity. It appears that William, while he left the internal administration of the country pretty much to his ministers, was accustomed to act as his own minister in all that related to foreign affairs,—wars, treaties, and negotiations. He had resolved to enter into that arrangement with Louis XIV., for the

partition of Spain, which goes by the name of the First Barrier Treaty. He had announced his intention to Somers, and commanded him to send a commission under the great seal, in blank, for the appointment of persons to negotiate. Somers found reason highly to disapprove of the negotiation, and remonstrated with the king; but he sent the commission. The king paid no attention to his reasons, and completed a treaty, which proved most unpopular in this country. When all this became known, a storm of indignation fell on the head of Somers. The Tories, adopting for a purpose the principles of their adversaries, held that the king's command was no justification of his minister, and that Somers, having set the seals to the commission and the treaty, was personally responsible for those acts. According to modern practice, Somers should be looked upon as sharing that responsibility with the other members of the cabinet; but in William's reign, a cabinet council, though no doubt always existing, was not an organized and recognized body as at present. According to the practice of the time, Somers seems to have done nothing improper: but according to the theoretical doctrines of that constitutional party to which he belonged, he ought to have refused to perform the king's commands until they should have received the sanction of the Privy Council. This ancient and honourable body, however, had already grown too numerous to be useful for executive purposes. Things were in a state of transition; privy councils were losing their jurisdiction, while cabinet councils had scarcely acquired theirs. This circumstance, which makes the reign of William so interesting to the student of political history, makes it difficult to pronounce a positive opinion as to the conduct of Somers in this business.

While the debate touching his impeachment was proceeding in the Commons, Lord Somers, with the boldness of a man conscious of integrity, went down to the House and demanded to be heard in his own defence. This was granted, and a chair was set for the ex-Chancellor a little within the bar. He then entered into a defence of his conduct relative to the matters laid to his charge, and particularly to the Barrier Treaty. He is reported to have said, "that he thought it would be taking too much upon himself if he should have put a stop to a treaty of such consequence; that the king's letter, requiring the blank commissions, he construed as a *warrant* which he was bound to obey: that the treaty being concluded, he put the great seal to it by the king's command, as he thought he was bound to do." In another part of his speech he draws a distinction between his duty as a privy councillor and his duty as a chancellor, arguing that in the one character he was bound to advise, and in the other to obey. After having thus spoken, he withdrew. His defence is

said to have made such an impression, that, if the House had gone to the vote immediately, the majority would have certainly been for letting the prosecution drop. Sir R. Walpole, then a very young member, took Somers's part warmly, and voted in his favour; but, with his usual tact, abstained from speaking, that the effect of the Chancellor's arguments might not be weakened by an angry discussion. But Somers had other friends who were not equally discreet, and who assisted his adversaries in drawing out the debate till midnight. When the House divided, a majority of ten, out of nearly four hundred present, voted "That John Lord Somers, by advising his Majesty in the year 1698, to the Treaty for Partition of the Spanish monarchy, whereby large territories of the king of Spain's dominions were to be delivered up to France, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour."

Notwithstanding this vote, the zeal of the Commons seems to have been cooled down. Perhaps the parties in the House were too nearly balanced to admit of a very energetic course of conduct. They would neither drop the impeachment nor carry it forward, and seemed disposed to keep it hanging over the head of the accused for an indefinite period. But this Somers would not submit to. His friends in the Lords assisted him in forcing the question to an issue, by repeatedly urging the Commons to name a day for bringing up their evidence; and at last when these attempts were found fruitless, by themselves naming a day, on which the Lords resolved they would positively proceed to a trial, whether the prosecutors should appear or not. The Commons, either affronted at what they considered a discourtesy, or perhaps not displeased to find a pretext for abandoning a prosecution which was sure to be unpopular, resolved not to attend on the day appointed. Accordingly the day of trial came; the Lord High Steward's Court was convened with all due solemnity; the judges took their places, the audience thronged the hall, and the accused answered to his name: and then, no one appearing to prosecute, the Lords pronounced, by a majority of 56 to 31, "That John Lord Somers be acquitted of the articles of impeachment against him exhibited by the House of Commons, and all things therein contained, and that the said impeachment be dismissed."

A calm review of the proceedings connected with this singular impeachment must satisfy any impartial mind, we think, that whatever may have been the misconduct of Somers in this affair of the treaty, the impeachment of him was a mere outbreak of party violence; that the advocates of it were precisely those whose principles most inclined them to look leniently on conduct which was only faulty so far as it savoured of undue defer-

ence to the crown; and that it was not Somers's error in this particular case, but that great error in the eyes of the *ultra* Tories—his share in the bringing over of the Prince of Orange—which was the true ground of this attack on him. Party-spirit was then at a height now scarcely credible; but the Tories themselves were before long ashamed of having persecuted this great man.

During the remainder of William's reign, and the early part of that of Anne, Somers saw himself excluded from favour, and his personal enemies, Godolphin and Marlborough, at the head of affairs. Nevertheless, finding the administration gradually conforming itself more and more to the old Whig principles, of which he himself was so consistent an adherent, and finding it assailed by the Tories under Bolingbroke and Oxford, Somers, to his infinite credit in that corrupt age, remained a steady supporter of government.

During this period, Somers acted as one of the Commissioners appointed respectively by the Parliaments of England and Scotland, to arrange the terms of an union between the two countries. It is said, and there seems no reason to doubt it, that the negotiation was chiefly conducted by him, and that to his prudence and sagacity it mainly owed its success.

In the autumn of 1708, a change was made in the position of Lord Somers, by the death of Prince George of Denmark. The prince, for some reason unknown, seems to have taken a dislike to Somers; and in spite of that abstinence from political interference which is commonly looked upon as the prince's chief virtue, his feeling was so far manifested as to keep Lord Somers out of office during his lifetime. Upon his death, the latter was made President of the Council. During the short period of his holding this post, the Whigs were in their most flourishing state, Marlborough's victories having given a lustre to their administration, which for awhile compelled the queen to dissemble her partiality for their adversaries. According to the Duchess of Marlborough, Anne was prevailed upon by Harley or Bolingbroke to play upon Somers's ambition, with the hope, apparently, of winning him over to the Tories.

"I remember," says the duchess, "to have been at several of Lord Somers' conversations with Queen Anne, to fill out their tea, and wash their cups. 'Tis certain that as soon as he got into his post, to obtain which I so often urged the Queen, he made his court to Abigail [Mrs. Masham], and very seldom came to me; and it is true that Lord Oxford and St. John used to laugh in their cups—which came out by Lord Devonshire—that they had instructed the Queen to behave so as to make Lord Somers think he should be her chief minister. She could act a part very well when her lesson was given

her; and in a little time it appeared very plain to the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, that Somers thought of nothing so much as to flatter the Queen, and went to her personally in private."—Camp., p. 203.

But any expectation of detaching Somers from the Whigs must have been founded on an ignorance of his character. He adhered to his opinions through many vicissitudes of fortune, with a constancy which no motives of personal ambition or interest could shake. When the people grew tired of war, and the clamour for peace brought in the Tories, Somers went into opposition, and continued so till Queen Anne's death. During the last years of her reign, his health and mental faculties became gradually undermined; and, though he took a part, as a privy councillor, in welcoming George I., he was no longer fit for public life. For some time before his death he was reduced to a melancholy state of torpor and lethargy, which was terminated by a fit of apoplexy on the 26th April, 1716, in the 55th year of his age.

The character of Lord Somers has been drawn by so many skilful hands, that it would seem equally needless and presumptuous to enlarge upon it here. Its distinguishing property was dignity,—a dignity arising from self-respect, and inspiring respect in others,—a dignity which made him shun, as beneath himself, the applauses of men who could not appreciate him,—which kept him clear of every action and thought that was dishonourable,—guarded him alike from precipitancy in forming or announcing his convictions, and from lightness in abandoning them,—and held him forth to his cotemporaries, in an age when public virtue was rare indeed, a spectacle of pure unsullied integrity. To this he joined all the amenities which gain personal friends, and make the happiness of private life. Neither the cares of law or statesmanship could extinguish his taste for elegant literature and the fine arts. He was a liberal and a discerning patron. It is to him that Addison owed the leisure and competency which enabled him to write the 'Spectator,' and to pronounce that posthumous eulogy of his benefactor, which will preserve his memory as long as the English language shall exist, and in the words of which we may here conclude:—

"He had worn himself out in his application to such studies as made him useful or ornamental to the world, in concerting schemes for the welfare of his country, and in prosecuting such measures as were necessary for making those schemes effectual; but all this was done with a view to the public good that should arise of these generous endeavours, and not of the fame that should accrue to himself. Let the reputation of the action fall where it would, so his country

reaped the benefit of it, he was satisfied. As this turn of mind threw off, in a great measure, the oppositions of envy and competition, it enabled him to gain the most vain and impracticable into his designs, and to bring about several great events for the safety and advantage of the public, which must have died in the birth had he been as desirous of appearing beneficial to mankind as of being so. His life was in every part of it set off with that graceful modesty and reserve, which made his virtues more beautiful the more they were east in such agreeable shades. His great humanity appeared in the minutest circumstances of his conversation; you found it in the benevolence of his aspect, the complacency of his behaviour, and the tone of his voice. His great application to the severer studies of the law had not infected his temper with anything positive or litigious; he did not know what it was to wrangle on indifferent points, to triumph in the superiority of his understanding, or to be supercilious on the side of truth. He joined the greatest delicacy of good breeding to the greatest strength of reason. By approving the sentiments of a person with whom he conversed, in such particulars as were just, he won him over from those points in which he was mistaken; and had so agreeable a way of conveying knowledge, that whoever conferred with him grew the wiser, without perceiving that he had been instructed. His principles were founded in reason and supported by virtue, and, therefore, did not lie at the mercy of ambition, avarice, or resentment. His notions were no less steady and unshaken, than just and upright. In a word, he concluded his course among the same well-chosen friendships and alliances with which he began it."—'Freeholder,' No. 39.

R. L.

ART. IV.—1. *Report on the Dublin Improvement.* By A. Hayward, Esq., Q.C.; and C. P. Brassington, Esq., Land Surveyor, London: 1847.

2. *Statement of the Corporation of Dublin in support of the Bill for the Improvement of Dublin.*

3. *Letter to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Lincoln, M.P., on the Bill for the Improvement of the Borough of Dublin.* By John Reynolds, Esq., Town Counsellor, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Corporation having charge of the Bill, &c. London: 1847.

4. *First and Second Reports of the Tidal Harbour Commissioners, Presented to both Houses, &c.* 1846.

5. *Ireland, Historical and Statistical.* By George Lewis Smyth. London: Whittaker and Co.

THERE is, perhaps, at the present moment, no branch of the constitution which, with some exceptions, flourishes more vigorously than that represented by our Municipal Corporations. In no quarter do we see the wisdom of Lord Grey's reform measures more

signally displayed than in the beneficial results produced by restoring to the people the independent management of their affairs, in their respective localities. Not only has the public spirit of the country, and the exercise of individual enterprise, been thus promoted in an eminent degree; not only has the sphere of legitimate ambition been everywhere enlarged, and its distinctions enhanced; but the pressing exigencies of society have been more energetically met and more carefully tended; order, frugality, judgment and efficiency in the government of our towns, have been generated and fostered; and above all, the health of the inhabitants and the cleanliness and comfort of the poorer classes have been considerably extended, while upon this important point a feeling of responsibility has been awakened in the community at large, which will not be satisfied without the most effective sanitary regulations. In a word, the English Municipal Reform Act may be held to have done more in a direct and tangible way to improve the tone of the public mind, and to extend the enjoyment of practical liberty throughout the cities and boroughs of the kingdom, and more to improve the moral condition of the people, than any single act in the long series of our statutes.

It is with a deep feeling of painful regret we add that the same remark does not at all apply to the Irish Municipal Reform Act. In the hope of drawing to this important matter the attention it appears so well entitled to receive, we propose to go into a few details explanatory of the powers of the Corporations of England and Scotland, and afterwards to show how few of them are in force in Ireland, and how much they are needed in that country. In some of the former, such as Bristol and York, it must be confessed that the municipal body does not enjoy the *exclusive* right of managing *all* the affairs of the locality. The principle of giving that right to the Municipality appears to be universally recognized; but the extent to which it has been carried in practice has depended upon the comprehensiveness of the applications made to obtain it, for wherever the power has been sought it has been obtained. But where the municipal body has been supine, indifferent, or timid, from the consciousness of past mismanagement, it has obtained less ample privileges. One element, however, has been always infused into the constitution of the new body, that, namely, of requiring it to be elected *by and accountable to the rate-payers*.

The town clerk of Manchester has, since 1843, solicited and obtained about half a score bills for the more effectual government of that town. Its Corporation have taken from pre-existing trusts and commissions, the paving, lighting, cleansing, sewerage,

widening, and improving streets, &c. They have not only the supply but the manufacture of gas. They make the market-places; they maintain and regulate the markets and fairs; they maintain and manage their own police, and appoint their own stipendiary magistrate. They also manage their own bonding warehouses; and in the last session they obtained a bill for buying up and conducting the town water-works. It is their boast that gas and water are supplied to the inhabitants at a cheaper rate in Manchester by the Corporation than in any other town in England.

Liverpool enjoys similar rights. There the mayor, aldermen and burgesses have the management of the police force, and of the markets. They construct and maintain sewers and drains, widen the streets, pave, flag, and cleanse them, and they also obtained in the last session a bill for buying up and maintaining the existing water-works.

The right of doing the several things just mentioned has been extended of late years from the limits of the old Corporation to Toxteth Park, the townships of Everton and Kirkdale, and part of the township of West Derby, all embraced within the boundaries of the borough as enlarged by the Municipal Reform Bill. These rights were secured to the Corporation of Liverpool by acts commencing in the year 1842, one of which, passed in the session of 1846, deserves particular attention. By this act, two sets of commissioners in Liverpool were deprived of their authority, which was transferred to and vested in the Municipal Corporation. One of these was the Paving Commissioners of Liverpool, and the other the Paving Commissioners of Toxteth Park. The former consisted of persons, half of whom were not members of the Corporation. Hence they were set aside. The latter were superseded when the sphere of their operations was embraced in the borough jurisdiction. These commissioners were extinguished as anomalies, and not because any serious charges of mismanagement were made against them. The changes were, as a matter of course, conceded to a just and rational principle which pervades all the municipal laws of England. The Corporation of Liverpool has other powers of considerable value, relating to the docks, harbour, and the conservancy of the Mersey.

In Glasgow the Lord Provost, Bailies, and Councillors have the paving, watching, cleansing, and lighting of the streets, and the regulation and maintenance of the police and markets. The Glasgow Municipal Police Act, passed in 1846, contains distinct recitals for these purposes, which show that the powers of local self-government possessed by that city are to the full as extensive as those entrusted to the Corporations of Liverpool and Manchester. By the act of 1846 just referred to, the municipal

boundaries and jurisdiction of the borough of Glasgow were extended, and different local commissioners, amongst which was a police establishment, not under the direction of the municipal authorities, were extinguished, and the management of the whole was absorbed by the town council. Sixteen members of that body, one from each ward, were declared trustees of the Clyde, under the River Clyde Acts: and these sixteen constituting a majority of the trust, the influence of the municipality predominates in the management of the river.

The Corporation of the ancient city of Chester renewed and enlarged their municipal powers in the session of 1845, when they obtained an act for the better paving, lighting, and improving the borough, and establishing new markets. The recitals and references contained in this act, show that the Corporation have retained the usual police, watch, and wide-street powers; and the act provides for the transfer to the council of all powers previously exercised for several of these purposes by certain local commissioners. The Corporation of Chester formerly had, but have not at present, the conservancy of the river Dee, and the management of its navigation. Many years ago an act was passed incorporating a company for that purpose. The Corporation were consenting parties to that measure, and were nominated commissioners to watch over and restrain the proceedings of the company. But the change is condemned in the Report of the Tidal Harbour Commissioners, who state that the navigation has suffered from it, and intimate that the Corporation have improperly surrendered and limited their lawful rights and property in the river.

York and Bristol are towns in which a divided government appears to prevail in municipal matters. In York there are commissioners of paving, with whom the Corporation have nothing to do. In Bristol the Corporation pave, cleanse, and light portions of the borough, but not the whole. In both, however, they appoint and manage the police. In both the *ratepayers elect, and receive periodical accounts from the commissioners charged with local functions.*

This principle, it is true, is not fully carried out in the case of the London Corporation, the reform of which was deferred. The Commissioners of Paving and Sewers for the city continue to be elected by the old freemen, and not by the ratepayers at large; while the division into wards is such as to produce great inequalities of representation: but even here, the right of self-government is at least nominally recognized.

The privileges of the Corporation of London are, on the whole, far greater than those enjoyed by any municipal city in the empire. The Old Bailey, the police, paving, lighting, cleansing, the markets, the conservancy of the Thames and the port of London,

the building of bridges, and making new streets, all vest in the civic body. In one or two particulars other corporations are found to have acquired some powers which the Corporation of London does not happen to possess, but that is simply fortuitous, and ceases to be anything but an objection to the argument when the circumstances of the case are explained. For instance, in Liverpool and Manchester, matters connected with sanitary improvement, and the widening of streets, have engaged much attention of late years. This has led to the introduction of various measures by which more stringent authority has been given to the municipal bodies there, not only to cleanse streets and lanes, but private houses. Lodging houses are now subject to inspection in those towns; and the owners may be compelled to build privies and ash-pits, and even not to let the cellars as lodgings, under severe penalties. The advantage of this power has been recently seen in Liverpool, when the cellars were all cleared of the Irish victims of famine and fever, who had crowded them to such an extent as greatly to endanger the public health. So, too, in Liverpool and Manchester, power is given to pull down falling or dangerous houses, and to forbid the rebuilding of houses upon their old sites wherever that would interfere with the predominating width of the street. We believe the London corporation possess no such powers under any of their private acts. But why? Simply, because as yet they have not applied for them. It is only of late years that they have been found necessary; and it so happens, that since then the Corporation of London have not had occasion to solicit from the Legislature any measure of general improvement into which they could be appropriately introduced.*

In a word, wherever, throughout the corporate towns of Great Britain we find any of the powers of local self-government in any hands but those of the municipal body, we may trace the exception distinctly to some one or other of the defects, abuses, or chronic infirmities of the old corporations, which a few years back rendered a sweeping reform of those institutions indispensable.

Accordingly, the constitutional principle thus uniformly acted upon at this side of the Channel, and which we contend ought to be established in Ireland also, has been recognized in the *Health of Towns' Bill*, brought in during the last session by Lord Morpeth, and postponed only, as we trust, to be made more efficient and complete. That proposed to give to all the muni-

* Many of the powers here referred to were given to the London Corporation and parochial vestries by the *New Building Act*; but the machinery of local government in the metropolis is too complicated, and full of abuses, to admit of efficient sanitary regulation, without new measures of legislation; for which we are glad to see a Commission appointed.—ED.

cipal corporations in England, Wales, and Scotland, and to no other body wherever there is a municipal one, the powers necessary for its purposes.

The measure did not include Ireland, which is, we presume, to have, and certainly requires, one of its own.

It is remarkable that with the single exception of *Belfast*, no corporation in Ireland possesses the powers which are enjoyed universally in Great Britain. Nowhere is the difference in the government of the two islands more conspicuous than in this respect; and nowhere is it more unfortunate in its effects; for the want of the self-reliance which self-government alone can impart may be considered the main cause of the social evils of that country.

"Belfast, the first town in Ireland for enterprize and commercial prosperity, ranks second only to Dublin as a port, and has an income of £22,000 a year. In the year 1840, a new channel up to the town was opened, having nine feet of water at low tides, which has proved a great convenience to the fine steamers that daily run to Glasgow and Liverpool. But notwithstanding this, the improvements in the harbour are far from having kept pace with the rapid advance of the town. Until very lately the quays and docks have been private property, and thus have been permitted to oppose a barrier to improvement. The evidence furnished to the Tidal Harbour Commissioners, shows that they are still in a very neglected state; and there is so great a want of accommodation, that steamers are often obliged to discharge their cargoes alongside the quays three abreast. Complaints are made of the state of the Custom House, which is indeed a miserable concern. It is also stated that the lower dock of the Lagan navigation is only one mile and a half above the town, and thus prevents the upward flow of the tide. In consequence of this, encroachments are being made on the banks of the river, and still more extensive encroachments are threatened by railway speculation. In short, everything points to the absolute necessity of vigilant control to enable this fine port to keep pace with the rapid strides both in manufactures and trade of the capital of Ulster."—*Second Report, Tidal Harbour Commission*, p. viii.

After reading the implied censure thus conveyed by the Tidal Harbour Commissioners, the fact will probably be accepted as singularly suggestive and important, that in Belfast the only local matter not managed by the representatives of the community is the port and harbour. In every other respect the people manage their own affairs; and in all but this the superiority of Belfast over every other town in Ireland is marked and indisputable.

In 1845 the Town Council of Belfast applied for and obtained the Belfast Improvement Act; in the session just closed, they obtained an amendment of that measure, which greatly enlarges the powers originally granted, and renders their application more

efficient. No other corporation in Ireland enjoys the same powers. Dublin alone applied for, but failed to obtain them. It is a curious coincidence that the proceedings of the same session of Parliament should record a refusal of any power of improvement to the Corporation of Dublin, and the grant of an additional one to the Corporation of Belfast, the former actually soliciting less than the latter obtained.

The Town Council of Belfast, elected and acting under the Municipal Corporations' Act, 3 and 4 Vict., c. 108, under the legislative authority thus obtained, manage the affairs of the borough on a complete and effective scale. They construct new streets, cleanse the whole borough, prevent nuisances, appoint the police, regulate their duties, light the town with gas, provide and maintain the markets, license and regulate hackney coaches and porters, and levy and apply the rates necessary for all these useful purposes.

The superior prosperity of Belfast has been ascribed to various causes, of which race and religion have been insisted on as the chief. We believe the real cause is local self-government. The people have all the energy, industry, self-reliance, and enterprize, which, in all climates, and in connexion with all creeds, have ever resulted from this inestimable privilege. And as if to supply us with an *experimentum crucis* upon this subject, we find the affairs of Belfast managed as badly as the affairs of any other town in the only instance where the management is in hands which the people cannot control.

Wherever this is the case the community suffers morally, socially, politically, and financially, as the following illustrations from the *Irish Corporation and Tidal Harbour Reports* will abundantly demonstrate:—

“The Harbour of *Dublin*, and the River Liffey, offer the first example of the correctness of these statements. Within the last thirty years many improvements have taken place; the depth of water over the bar and up to the City Quays has been increased several feet, by dredging, and by the bold measure of running out the Great North Wall; the traffic and consequent revenue of the port have more than doubled; and the latter has risen to £34,000 a year. Yet the evidence shews that the foundation of the quays is generally so imperfect that they will not in their present state admit of the river being further deepened; that the South Quay, the resort of three-fourths of the shipping of the port, is encumbered at its foot by heaps of mud; that the entrance into the Grand Canal Docks is all but blocked up by sand banks; and there is great want of graving docks; that there is but one public crane; that the port charges are very high; and that the ballast, of which, by Act of Parliament, the ballast office has a monopoly, and for which it charges about double the market price,

is in many cases bad.”—*Second Report of Tidal Harbour Commissioners*, p. 6.

Further information of a striking character is furnished in Appendix A, No. 2, under the head of Port and Harbour of Dublin:—

“The ownership of the soil and bed of the river Liffey and port of Dublin is claimed by the Corporation of Dublin, under the charters of the city, granted by the 2nd John, and 13th Henry III., and in virtue of this claim they levy about £1,800 a year upon shipping, under the heads of slippage, anchorage, chapter and guild, Lord Mayor's and water bailiff's fees.

“In 1707, the river having become extremely shallow, and nearly choked up, the conservancy of the port, by an Act of the Irish Parliament, was vested in the Corporation of Dublin, with power to erect a ballast office, and to levy dues upon tonnage, &c., to be applied in amending and cleansing the river and port.

“In 1763 they were empowered to license fifty pilots. By thirteen successive grants of the Irish Parliaments, between the years 1753 and 1780, the Corporation received £57,169, to enable them to build and complete the south, or ballast-office wall, with a proviso, that they should account every three years to the Lord Lieutenant and Council; this condition it appears was not complied with.

“In 1786 all former Acts relating to the port were repealed, as having been found ineffectual, and a new board created by the style of ‘The Corporation for preserving and improving the Port of Dublin,’ which, under the more homely title of ‘The Ballast Board,’ has since managed the affairs of this port.

“This board consists of twenty-two members, of whom the lord mayor of the city, the sheriff, and three aldermen, who represent the corporation, form a part. With the exception of these five *ex-officio* members, the board is self-elected, but subject to the approval of the Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council; once elected they are members for life, provided they are not absent from the meetings of the board without leave, for three months. Their services are entirely gratuitous.

“The Act of 1786, and twelve others, the last of them being the 1st and 2nd Vict., c. 36, grant powers to the board to levy dues, to borrow money, to license pilots, to heave ballast, &c., and also defined the extent of the harbour jurisdiction, namely, from Barrack Bridge to Sutton Creek, on the north, and to Dalkey on the south, including the quays, walls, bridges, &c.

“Besides the dues and the above mentioned grants, made by the Irish Parliament to the Corporation of Dublin, it appears that the latter had borrowed large sums of money for the purpose of building the ballast office, or quay walls, whereof a certain amount was due for principal and interest; this became a debt chargeable upon the funds for improving the harbour and river. Since that time additional sums have been borrowed, and although the board received

from Government, in 1814, the sum of £100,183, as purchase money of the Pigeon-house basin and premises, the whole of which has been expended, the debt has increased, and now amounts to £99,300, for the interest of which the annual income is subject to a charge of £4,114.

"The total income of the port is about £33,000 a year; but the available portion of this appears to be £15,000, from tonnage dues, about £2,000 from surplus of ballastage, and £3,000 from quay wall rates; in all about £20,000 a year.

"The Harbour Board, as we have seen above, is composed of twenty-two members, five of whom are aldermen, &c. of the city corporation; for the remaining seventeen, the Act of Parliament requires no qualification; it is not necessary that the individual selected to fill a vacancy be a mercantile or nautical man, or represent the shipping interests, or in any way be connected with the city or its trade.

"It will not create surprise that this constitution of the board, and the results of it, are viewed with considerable dissatisfaction by members of the mercantile body, and by the public generally. Lloyd's agent, after enumerating several causes of complaint in the harbour, says, in evidence, 'ask the merchants of the city if complaints to the Ballast Board are attended to?'

"At *Waterford*, a capacious natural harbour, considerable exertion has been made to deepen the ford, and obtain a channel up to the town; but an extensive mudbank still lines the foot of the finest range of quays in the United Kingdom; the soil, dredged up in one part of the harbour, is dropped into the stream in another; thousands of tons of refuse stone are annually swept into the river, from the quarries at Granagh; while the bridge, with its thirty-six arches and corresponding piers, and an opening for ships only eight yards wide, places a bar to the extension of navigation and improvement towards Carrick-on-Suir and Clonmel.

"In 1816 an Act was passed for deepening, cleansing, and improving such parts of the river Suir as constitutes the Port and Harbour of *Waterford*. Of those constituting the board, twelve are the members of the Chamber of Commerce, and the remaining five are gentlemen of Clonmel; the Directors-general of Inland Navigation in Ireland for the time being are also members of the board. In the event of a vacancy, the respective divisions elect one from their own class to fill it. The Act directs, *inter alia*, that four of the Commissioners chosen by the Chamber of Commerce should go out every three years, but be eligible for re-election; and that the harbour accounts be published annually in one or more local newspapers.

"The income of the harbour is about £6,000 a year, arising from tonnage dues, ballast dues, and pilotage, but only about one-third of this sum is applicable to the improvement of the port, as the pilotage and ballast dues barely meet the demands on them; yet £2,000 a year steadily laid out on improvements, on a systematic plan, will do a great deal, and it would be difficult to discover in what works such a sum has been laid out for the last twenty years, unless

it be in the hulks and gangways, which, it is to be feared, may prove a source of constant expense; the number of salaried officers appears unnecessarily great, and more than the small income would seem to warrant. The expense of the dredging machine, built specially for the port, and of the alterations consequent upon the ladder being at first too long, and now too short, has been heavy; the cost of dredging also is far higher than at any other port: 6½d. per ton would be a fair average, including landing, while here it is 9½d. per ton; and the highly objectionable practice has hitherto been pursued of throwing the soil overboard in the deep water of the King's Channel.

"The chief grounds of complaint at Waterford are:—that extensive accumulations are permitted to remain at the foot of the quays; that the soil dredged up in shallow parts of the harbour is dropped into the stream in the deep water of the King's Channel; that thousands of ton of refuse stone have been swept into the river from the quarries at Granagh; that the Master of the Government Mail Packet has frequently the navigation of the river obstructed by stones thrown out by lighters; that the eastern end of the Burchell Bank has considerably increased within the last few years; and that since the present pilot master has known the port, the depth of water has decreased in many places over the shoals and banks; that the Ford Channel still requires to be dredged, as well as the Creek Point Shoal and the Bar; that buoys are wanting on Broom Hill, and especially on Seeds Bank, a dangerous slip, which extends two-thirds across the river.

"The ladder of the dredging vessel, built expressly for Waterford Harbour, is represented to be too short, so that she can only dredge at certain places and at certain times of tide. The cost of dredging is 9½d. on a ton, or nearly double the price at which soil is raised in most other harbours. The pilots are paid by salaries, and not by their earnings, and a heavy complaint is made by a merchant of New Ross, that the neglect of the Waterford pilots was the cause of the loss of his vessel on Dromore Bank, for which he could get no redress from the Ballast Board, nor even get the statement of his case listened to."

Turning from the Report of the Tidal Harbour Commissioners to that of the Commissioners of Municipal Corporations, we find that, in Waterford, there is a "local police too limited to preserve peace and order." That body is appointed and maintained by the Corporation, who, however, have not the watching and lighting of the town. The consequence of the divided authority is, that all the money authorized to be levied for lighting and watching is applied to the former purpose, and the police of the locality is neglected.

There is a Wide-Street Commission (23 & 24 Geo. III., c. 52), which has worked very inefficiently. The regulation of hackney carriages is given to the magistrates at Quarter Sessions. The

only additional local power remaining to be noticed, that of supplying water, is in the hands of the Corporation, and appears to have been satisfactorily exercised. "They had gone to considerable expense for that purpose,—and a contract was going forward for an additional supply."

Nothing is said of sewerage. It is evident that the powers extant for the purposes of local self-government in Waterford are few in number, and inefficient for the wants of the locality. How far this evil is increased by the distribution into different hands of the limited authority that exists, it is unnecessary to inquire. One thing, at least, is certain, and much to be regretted: Waterford was a place of flourishing trade; it is one no longer. Its exports are decreasing, its population almost stationary, its commercial wealth a by-gone wonder, its present aspect one of dirty languor and decay.

Cork, in point of commodious situation, facilities for commerce, and extent of trade, is one of the principal places in the empire. The number of its inhabitants, according to the last census, exceeds 100,000; the amount of receipts for its customs duties in 1845 exceeded £300,000; the value of its exports, according to the Irish Railway Commissioners, was, in 1839, £2,909,846, and of its imports, £2,751,684. These figures show all the elements of substantial importance. Unquestionably the local affairs of such a place ought to be administered upon some harmonious, approved, and satisfactory system. Here, however, we find them divided amongst a variety of incongruous bodies, courts, boards, and commissioners,—instituted at different times, ill-devised, clumsily appointed, loaded with debts—the natural consequence of ignorance, mismanagement, and corruption, acting without concert or community of aim and interest, and keeping back rather than advancing the progress of civilization and improvement.

According to the Report on Municipal Corporations in Ireland (Part I, pp. 25-55), Cork, for the recovery of debts, rejoices in a Recorder's Court, a Mayor's Court, and a Court of Conscience; the last being established under the Act, 3 Geo. IV., c. 85, which also gave birth to the Police Court, a very unpopular and ill-regulated office.

In Cork, as in Dublin, the principal funds required for local purposes are levied and applied, not by the Town Council, who represent, and are responsible to, the rate-payers, but by one of the grand juries. The "cess" is imposed pursuant to the Act, 53 Geo. III., c. 3, and is an unjust one, according to the authority of the Municipal Commissioners already referred to. But although the report to that effect was published so long ago as 1835,

neither the government, nor the corporation, nor the ratepayers, have made any effort to mend the matter. There are, besides, Street Commissioners, who derive their powers under the Act, 3 Geo. IV., c. 85; but the City Grand Jury present, and by their officers collect the paving and lighting taxes,—the former amounting to £5,600 a year, and the latter to £3,200. These commissioners had borrowed, in the year 1835, the sum of £19,000 from Government, and from private parties £26,476 18s. 5d.

Cork is a principal seat of the corn and butter trades. The sale of the former article is regulated by the Corn Market Act, 3 Geo. IV., c. 79, under which a set of trustees is appointed, consisting of the mayor, sheriffs, six town-councillors, six merchants—elected by the freemen of the city, and six landowners—presented by the grand jury. The Municipal Commissioners found that this body was in debt—and that the Corporation derived, on an average, £400 a year from the corn market.

Next, there is the Pipe-Water Company, established under four acts of parliament. The capital consists of 100 shares, 25 of which are held by the Corporation, a sum of £102 12s. being paid on each share. The management is *nominally* in a committee, appointed by the Court of D'oyer Hundred, who are elected for life; but virtually with the treasurer, who is one of the aldermen of the ward, and who has a principal interest in the affairs of the company—members of his family being holders of 22 shares.

Then there are the Harbour Commissioners, appointed under the Act, 1 Geo. IV., c. 52, and consisting of the two members for the City of Cork, the mayor and sheriffs for the time being, five persons elected by the common council, and twenty-five by the freemen. Where, here we naturally ask, are the merchants and shipowners, chiefly interested in the business of the port? and why are the freemen, so notoriously corrupt, electors of the majority of the commissioners? With such a constituency, we are prepared beforehand to find the board condemned as a monopoly by the Municipal Commissioners. More recently, this department of the local jurisdiction of Cork has been examined by the Tidal Harbour Commissioners, who say, in their Second Report, page 7:—

“The celebrated harbour of Cork stands pre-eminent for capacity and safety even in that country of fine natural harbours; the upper portion of it, which falls more immediately within the limits of this commission, extends from five miles below the city to Passage. This part, since the year 1820, has been considerably deepened; vessels of 500 tons now come up to the city, and the traffic and income of the

port have proportionably increased; yet the harbour is far from being in that state which a revenue of £8,000 a year, for the last twenty-five years, would warrant. Complaints are made that banks at the foot of the quays cause great risk to the fine steamers that ply between the city and Cove; that seven weirs cross the river Lee between $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Cork, and impede the upward flow of the tide; that a wall has been built for 1,500 yards in a doubtful direction, to cross the set of the current, and is now left in an unfinished state; that the silt dredged up the channel is laid at the back of this wall, and washed down again into the river by every high tide; and that an area of 150 acres, over which the tides used to flow, has been partly enclosed, whereby a large portion of tidal water has been excluded. Yet this large space, if enclosed by a wall properly directed, and the loss of the excluded water compensated by dredging the upper part of the bed of the river, might be a benefit to navigation, and form a park for air and exercise for the citizens, instead of being left as a nuisance; in short, to quote the words of a highly respectable witness, 'the harbour of Cork has throughout been the victim of half measures.'—*Second Report of Tidal Harbour Commissioners*, p. vii.

"*Limerick*, at the head of the estuary of the Shannon, the noblest river in the kingdom, and now, by the energy of the Board of Public Works, rendered navigable almost throughout its whole length, offers great facility for navigation and commercial enterprise. Here there is a magnificent bridge, built across the harbour at a cost of £85,000; yet, although the same Act under which it was erected expressly gives power for the construction of floating docks, the harbour still remains without a dock or place of shelter, and vessels at low water lie on the rocky bed of the river."—*Same Report*, p. vii.

"Abundant evidence has been adduced to prove that at Limerick uncommon advantages of position are thrown away, and the enterprise of her merchants is paralysed, by the obstructions in the river navigation immediately below the city, and by the insecure state of the harbour, where ships are exposed to every storm.

"Prior to 1823, the management of the port of Limerick was in the hands of the corporation of the city. In that year, an act was passed 'for building a bridge across the river Shannon, and the construction of a floating dock to accommodate larger vessels frequenting the port,' without which, the act recites, 'the bridge could not be built with convenience to the said city.' By this act, certain gentlemen connected with the county and city of Limerick and county of Clare were incorporated, under the title of the 'Limerick Bridge Commissioners;' and by a clause in the act, they are empowered to raise such sums of money as they might require for the purposes therein contained. Under this power, the commissioners borrowed £80,000 of the Board of Public Works, for the repayment of the principal and interest of which the merchants and traders of Limerick consented to the imposition of heavy rates and duties on their trade and shipping.

"In 1834, the trade of the port having greatly increased, it was found requisite to extend the powers of the former act, for the purpose of building additional quays and docks. The preamble to this amended act recites, 'that the money heretofore expended upon the works has been almost employed in the erection of the bridge and communication across the river, or in buildings connected therewith, and the shipping has as yet received no advantage from these works, while the trade and shipping have been subjected to very heavy rates and duties, which were imposed by the former act, in consideration of the benefit which the shipping trade would derive from the completion of a floating dock, &c.' The act goes on to appoint three additional commissioners, and authorizes the advance of a sum not exceeding £200,000 for the purposes of the act, upon the credit of the tolls and duties; and which sum was to be advanced, although the tolls, &c., were not of sufficient amount for the repayment of such loans, and although the actual or expected receipt or produce of the works would not be adequate to discharge the sum to be advanced within twenty years.

"In virtue of this authority, the further sum of £45,000 was borrowed, and was expended in building additional public quays, and in making compensation to proprietors, but no docks were built; the trade and shipping interests of the port, however, were subjected to a further increase of taxation, in order to repay the principal and interest of this whole debt of £125,000. Two-thirds of this sum, it is shown by the recital of the act, had been expended in building a bridge, which, however ornamental, as it may be and certainly is, to the town, is a positive obstruction to the harbour, and has already been, to a great extent, the cause of loss and damage to the shipping of the port.

"The insecure state of the present harbour may be judged of when it is mentioned, that, on the 6th and 7th January, 1839, in a heavy storm, several vessels broke from their moorings, and were dashed against Wellesley-bridge, causing serious damage. On the 26th Jan. 1842, a still heavier gale occurred, which damaged more or less every vessel in the harbour, drove many of them against the bridge, and tore down the whole of the parapet and cornice on the south side. The damage done in these two storms to shipping and their cargoes was estimated at £24,000, or more than two-thirds of the sum required to construct a floating dock.

"There are seventy-two 'Limerick Bridge Commissioners;' forty-two are for life, and fifteen are biennially elected by the ratepayers of the port; twelve of these latter are shipowners. The income of the port is about £4,000 a-year, but, as the whole of this sum is mortgaged to the Board of Public Works, the commissioners have no power to expend 1s. on the harbour, and it is stated that the reply to every application for improvement is 'that there are no funds.' It appears in evidence, that the Shannon commissioners originally proposed to effect improvements in the port, but that the bridge commissioners declined their assistance, in the belief that they would

get funds to construct a floating dock. In this, however, they were unsuccessful. To this information a few particulars from the report of Municipal Corporations may be advantageously added.

"The City Grand Jury levy for local purposes £6,000 a-year, and appoint their own treasurer and secretary, the keeper of the sheriff's prison, and the officers of the city jail.

"There are local acts for paving, cleansing, lighting, and watching the parish of St. Michael, which comprises the modern town. For this twenty-one commissioners are named in the original act; fourteen for life and seven removable at the end of two years, and thenceforward to be elected triennially by the ratepayers. The amount of assessment for 1832 was only £3,004 6s. 1d. for lighting and paving the streets, salaries of parish officers, and interest on debt.

"The tolls and markets of Limerick are in the hands of the Corporation, and a profitable source of income. There is no public supply of water, either by the Corporation, joint-stock company, or private person, described or adverted to in the report; which is also silent upon the important subject of sewerage.

"So much of late years has been done for the improvement of Limerick, and so considerable has been the increase of the shipping and trade of the port, that further and a rapid progress may be reasonably anticipated. To insure that result, an end ought to be put to the old bridge dock, and the government debts ought to be equitably compounded for; and if the management of the bridge, the harbour, and the river Shannon were replaced under the authority of the Corporation, with an Admiralty harbour-master, as at Liverpool, then we should, in all probability, see the future of this locality far exceed the past."—See Smyth's 'Ireland,' vol. ii. p. 283.

Drogheda has been much improved by steadily dredging the river Boyne, and the revenue of the port has been more than double during the last few years. There is, however, much yet to be done, and there are various symptoms of neglect, that would vanish under efficient control. Like Galway, its whole dues are mortgaged for a debt incurred in improving the harbour.

"Neither the amount of public money laid out upon the Boyne navigations, nor the total income derived from the traffic upon them, are positively known; according to one statement they have cost £120,000, and produced, in the year 1837, £775 15s."—Smyth's 'Ireland,' vol. ii. p. 300.

"The mayor, sheriffs, burgesses, and commons of Drogheda, were in 1729 constituted conservators of the river and port, and were empowered to erect a ballast-office, and to levy dues to be applied 'to amending and cleansing the harbour.' In 1759 and the following years parliamentary grants to the extent of £6,000 were made in aid of deepening the river. In 1790 certain harbour-commissioners were appointed; and in 1797 they were authorized to enclose the strand in order to build quays. In 1827 the provisions of the act relating to the

harbour-commissioners were modified, additional powers were given to the commissioners, and they were authorized to raise £15,000 on the security of the harbour tolls. They were also required to appoint and license pilots, to fix the rates of pilotage, and to make bye-laws for the government of the port. In 1842 an amended act was obtained for the improvement of the port and harbour of Drogheda, which repealed all the former acts; and the commissioners now consist of the mayor of the borough for the time being, and twenty-seven others named in the act, being persons resident within seven miles of the town. The qualification necessary for a commissioner is £50 a-year in perpetuity, or residence in a house valued at £25 per annum, or £800 of personal estate. One-third of the commissioners go out every year, but subject to re-election. This act gives power to borrow £70,000, and authorizes the commissioners to deepen and remove obstructions in the river, as far up as Oldbridge.

"The chief complaints at Drogheda are, that the channel entrance of the river is not sufficiently beacons and buoyed; that several large perches are wanted, and a buoy, on the North Bull Point; that the Carrick and other banks require to be dredged away; that, from want of depth, vessels are obliged to lie at some distance from the town quays; that a quantity of stones on the south side have fallen into the river, and the anchorage there is very bad; that the mooring rings are out of order, and that there is a want of mooring posts on the quays, and at Man-of-War Point; that the river requires to be widened at Greenhills, many of the short jetties to be removed, and the longitudinal walls to be strengthened and completed; that the piers and large buttresses of the bridge cause the water to heap up to three or four feet, and, together with other obstructions above the bridge, prevent the free flow and proper scouring of the tide."

Suggestions for remedying some of these evils are offered in Smyth's 'Ireland':—

"Another desirable measure to accompany the proposed change would be the consolidation of several small works, kindred in their nature and objects, and not far removed from each other in point of situation, into one large and respectable undertaking. In this way several enterprises taken by the Board of Works from joint-stock companies would be restored to the management of their legitimate promoters, and they might at the same time be considerably benefited in several instances by appropriate amalgamations. For instance, the Upper and Lower Boyne Navigation ought obviously to be in the hands of one body. All three under separate managements will be petty speculations, and scarcely equal to the discharge of their respective expenses. If united together and managed under one staff and one direction they would constitute a respectable and profitable undertaking."—Smyth's 'Ireland,' vol. ii. p. 383.

"There is reason to complain, too, that the improvements recommended by Nimmo, twenty years ago, have not yet been carried

out; a great part of which might have been done, even with the limited funds at the disposal of the commissioners, had a systematic course of proceeding been laid down, and steadily and vigorously acted upon."

Drogheda, if its contiguity to Dublin be considered, is a town which has displayed wonderful enterprise. Lying but thirty-one miles from the metropolis, it might be supposed to be unable to support an independent trade of its own. The fact, however—and it is a most agreeable one—is directly the reverse. The Drogheda Steam Boat Company confine their business to the commerce of the town; and they possess vessels which, in point of capacity, appointment, and successful trading, are not surpassed by any others in the kingdom: such has been the work of the people—under 20,000 in number—when labouring by and for themselves. In other matters the case is different. There is here a variety of constituted authorities, doing many things badly, which, if consolidated, might be well done. There is a Corporation, deprived of full powers of local government; a Boyne navigation, once in the hands of private enterprise, but for many years managed and yet not improved by the Government; and there are Port and Harbour Commissioners, who are in debt, and have been for years past unable to complete their undertakings.

"*Londonderry*, on the Foyle, where the river expands into a spacious navigable estuary, has great natural advantages, which have been ill seconded by art. Mud banks encumber the foot of the quays, which might perhaps be kept free by simply guiding the course of the stream. The quays, chiefly private property, are in a neglected state, and project, apparently as the owners think fit, into the river. Complaints are made by sailors and pilots of the lights on Inuishowen Head being on the same level—of the want of a light on Rathlin Island—and of the more glaring want of a beacon on the Carrigvanan Rock, which lies on the fair track of the steamers to and from the port."

Much more might be written respecting Londonderry, and the uses and abuses of corporate powers, as suggested by its past history; for in no place have more flagrant proofs of the latter been afforded than are recorded in the Report of the Irish Municipal Commissioners. We only advert to the point here for the sake of adding, that unless these powers, professing to be public and popular, be fully and freely placed in the hands of the community generally, they are almost sure to lead to evils of the worst kind, and to the most comprehensive corruption.

Galway, with the vast Atlantic in front, the immense water-power of Lough Corrib in the rear, its inexhaustible salmon and

sea fisheries, its valuable marble quarries, and a population of 40,000 souls, ought to be a flourishing and well-conducted place. But the powers conferred upon the inhabitants are shared by several hands; and the trade of the town being unequal to support so many staffs, everything appears to be inefficiently done. The work of improvement is thus found too expensive to be proceeded with. There is a gas company, which is joint-stock; there is a Board of Commissioners for managing the port and harbour, who are elected for life, and owe the Board of Public Works nearly £20,000, the interest upon which they are unable to pay; and there are also Town Commissioners, consisting of certain *ex-officio* members, such as the sheriff, recorder, and justices of the peace, and twenty-one inhabitants, elected triennially.

The case of the Irish Metropolis now demands our attention. The defects and abuses of the complicated machinery by which the local affairs of Dublin have been conducted for a long period have been pointed out and condemned in the following parliamentary documents:—1st, the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Municipal Corporations of Ireland, 1835; 2nd, the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Irish Grand Jury Laws, 1842; 3rd, the Report of the Tidal Harbour Commissioners, 1846. These reports will be found to bear full and complete testimony to the extravagance, mismanagement, and inefficiency, which prevails in the several departments for administering the affairs of Dublin, to which their contents refer. It appears, from these public documents, that for upwards of a century a great variety of experiments have been tried by the legislature for the accomplishment of this object; all anxiously avoiding the constitutional principle, and jealously withholding from the people at large the right of self-government; and all, on that account, signally failing.

The powers of paving, lighting, cleansing, and sewerage the city; of widening and improving the streets; of levying taxes for the salaries and maintenance of various city officers and establishments—such as inspectors of weights and measures, coroners, the city gaols, &c.; which ought to be in the hands of the corporation, are distributed among various separate and irresponsible authorities.

The first of these is the Paving Board, which was established by an act passed in the year 1807 (47 Geo. III., c. 109), and which has not since been altered or amended. This Board received as rates, within the year ending January 5, 1847, the sum of £43,316 0s. 8d., and expended £44,208 12s. 11d. The objections entertained against it, as set forth in the 'Statement' of the Dublin Corporation, are principally as follows:—

"That the expense of the Board amounts to 23 per cent. upon the income received, and the number of persons employed would suffice to transact more than twice the extent of all the local affairs of the city. There are upon the establishment 2 superannuated and 3 acting commissioners, a secretary with four clerks, a treasurer with a deputy and 2 clerks. There are, besides the collectors of rates, who are paid by a per-centage of sixpence in the pound on the amount collected, 36 persons in the receipt of annual salaries, although the whole of the paving, lighting, and cleansing is executed by contract.

"That although the Act of Parliament limits to the sum of £2,500 a-year all salaries and allowances, those of the commissioners, secretary, treasurer, and two supervisors excepted, that sum has been and still is considerably exceeded.

"That the streets are badly cleansed, and that some of the most frequented thoroughfares have been left for years unflagged, to the great inconvenience of the public, while an unnecessary expenditure has been incurred in unfrequented quarters.

"That the sewerage is, in some parts of the city, most defective, and, in other parts, has been totally neglected. There are no drains in such principal thoroughfares and places of residence as Sackville-street, Merriion-square, Great George's-street, Henry-street, Westland-row, etc., etc. No long ago as the year 1832 the inconvenience and danger to the health of the inhabitants, resulting from this great want, induced the Board to prepare an extended plan of drainage, but no effort has since been made to carry that or any other into effect."

The Wide-Street Commissioners and the City Grand Jury are objected to on similar grounds.

The Corporation very naturally sought to remedy these evils, and to obtain from the legislature a restoration of their constitutional rights. With this object they had the "Dublin Improvement Bill" before parliament last session. In this bill they sought nothing but what they had a perfect right to demand; for it is strictly constitutional, both as to the principles on which it is based, and the provisions it contains. It proposed to give to the inhabitant rate-payers, through the municipal representatives elected by them, the power to levy and apply the rates and taxes required for the convenience, health, and improvement of their own locality, &c.; and it borrowed all the clauses introduced for these purposes from English precedents recently passed by Parliament.

It was not to be expected that the boards in question would yield up their powers without a struggle. They represent the old ascendancy party, which was so deeply mortified by the Emancipation Bill, and still more by the reform of the Corporation, which opened the door to the Catholic citizen for the first time after centuries of exclusion: for even when the law allowed

their admission, the spirit of exclusion had been too stern to relent in a single instance; no matter what social virtue, mercantile eminence, aptitude for business, or public spirit, appealed to their sense of justice and their patriotism.

A vigorous opposition was, therefore, raised to the bill, by the minority which represents this party in the new Corporation.

When notice of an intention to apply to parliament for the bill was given to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, they appointed Abraham Haywood, Esq., Q.C., and C. P. Brassington, Esq., of Dublin, Land Surveyor, to be surveying officers, in order to ascertain whether the act was called for. These gentlemen inquired on the spot into the constitution and character of the boards, and the condition of those departments committed to their management. In the course of their investigation, they examined a number of witnesses on the part of the boards, and also on the part of the Corporation.

Their report was presented in February last, with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix. It bears out substantially all the charges made against the boards, and yet it does not recommend their abolition. The surveyors evidently sympathized with the minority of the Corporation; softening down or explaining away whatever was unfavourable to them, and giving peculiar prominence and emphasis to the charges against the Corporation. These charges have, in our judgment, been fully and satisfactorily met in the 'Statement' of the corporation, and in the very able letter to Lord Lincoln, by Mr. John Reynolds, chairman of the committee having charge of the bill, and now one of the members for the City of Dublin.

Mr. Reynolds has shown no disposition to screen the Corporation in any mal-practices. He is a rigid economist; a mortal hater of jobs; a man of indomitable courage and perseverance; in a word, an Irish Joseph Hume. We have seen him contending for economy, on the floor of the Town Council; pleading for the over-taxed poor; demanding clear accounts, when all O'Connell's influence, backed by a majority, was not very fairly used to put him down. But in vain: he stood firm as a rock, and gained his point; and we augur that he will prove an active and a useful member of the House of Commons, to which he will bring tact, firmness, energy, and knowledge, which cannot be despised, even in that assembly. He could not have a better subject matter on which to try his "prentice hand" as a legislator, than the present state of the municipal corporations of his country.

A few extracts from his pamphlet will throw more light on this subject, and give some specimens of his plain speaking.

"It is thus plain, and under the hands of commissioners them

selves, that within the short period of a year, the Paving Board made two returns of the amount of salaries of the officers of that establishment, the one amounting to £2,783 1s. 4d., and the other to £5,039 18s. 4d. I will not give this a name or character. I will not call it error, ignorance, contradiction, deception, or misrepresentation; but I will tell your Lordship, that the attention of the Surveying Officers was especially drawn by me to the discrepancy between the two accounts, and that no notice is taken of the circumstance in their report; and having done that, I am content to leave it to your Lordship to decide whether it is fit that the pockets of the rate-payers of Dublin should be left for the future to the unchecked talent of such accountants as these.

"Passing from the accounts of these gentlemen to the expense they put us to for paving our streets badly, for leaving them unswept, covered with filth, and so badly sewered that twenty per cent. of the deaths which occur in a year are sworn to have been produced by the defective sanitary condition in which this board has placed us, after having been in office for twenty years, I shall, I flatter myself, satisfy your Lordship that a very grave responsibility indeed will attach to the public man who will now stand forward and oppose the Corporation of Dublin in the legitimate effort they are making to obtain those powers, and *those only*, which have for the same purposes been granted to all Corporations in England."—p. 13.

"The heads of these several departments have been unable to enforce punctuality and efficiency from the persons employed under them, in consequence of the neutralizing and controlling effect of government interference and favour extended on various occasions to those subordinate officers. This it was that rendered them insensible to the objections alleged against the powers of the Wide Street Commissioners, and which, I am sure, need only be stated to your Lordship to procure your assent to their force and pertinence. For, my Lord, they are as objectionable as the Paving Board. They are appointed *by the Crown for life*; they are in no respect responsible to the *rate-payers*, and there is no qualification, not even residence, required for the office. They publish no accounts, although empowered to levy rates and borrow money, except under such special circumstances as those mentioned in the preceding case of the Paving Board. They have incurred a debt of £52,763 12s., for which the inhabitants of Dublin have for many years and are still bound to pay five per cent. interest, although the Commissioners might on various occasions have borrowed money on the securities they can offer at four per cent."—p. 18.

"I have next, my Lord, to invite your attention to the Grand Jury system, which I submit ought not to be continued under its present constitution. The Grand Jury is a body of gentlemen chosen at the will and pleasure of the high sheriff, and vested with an unlimited power of taxation, for the exercise of which they are under no responsibility to the rate-payers. They are invariably taken from

one small circle. They are Wide Street Commissioners and Ballast Board Commissioners, under another name—so that all our taxation is practically vested in the hands of *about twenty persons*. The citizens indeed have a right of traverse before the Court of Queen's Bench, but in practice that right is a nullity."

Mr. Reynolds thus refers to the spirit in which the report was drawn up.

"The chief object of the report, my Lord—that of which it never loses sight for a moment—is to do as much damage as possible to the Corporation, preserving at the same time, just so much regard to appearances as might give additional weight to its indirect and insidious attacks. It seeks throughout to raise the impression, without making any charge in clear and explicit language, that the Corporation is an inefficient body, a body composed of men possessing none of the qualifications usually demanded in the depositaries of power. Coincident with this design, and assistant to it, is an artfully-sustained effort to hold up the irresponsible Commissioners, whom it is sought to set aside, as meritorious public officers, whose moderation, diligence, knowledge, aptitude for business, and zeal for the general interest, present a laudable contrast to the opposite qualities of their would-be successors. It is not often that a deep diplomatist is discovered in the person of a surveying officer; yet I am satisfied, that when your Lordship has studied that production as I have done—when you have looked at all its points—the power it displays of suppressing truth and suggesting falsehood, without laying its author open to a direct charge of mendacity—its admirable disposition of the strong and weak parts of a case so as to produce an impression upon the reader agreeable to the special views of the writer, though unsupported by truth or fact—with what subtilty and skill it can insinuate an unfounded charge, or convey an unjust imputation in a seeming panegyric—when your Lordship has examined it in this light, I venture to think that you will agree with me, that the gentlemen who signed this document were much misplaced when they were selected as the under-workers of the Woods and Forests—and that their proper sphere would be in the office of a Bresson or a Guizot."—p. 37.

These public boards, appointed by Government to do the work which properly belongs to the people, are part and parcel of a system which, as Lord Clare truly said, "would beat down the most powerful nation of the earth." Those who would fully understand its pernicious effects, spreading over the whole of society like a pestilence, and accounting for all the degrading anomalies which mark Irish affairs, should read the chapter on *Public Works and Joint-Stock Enterprises*, in Smyth's 'Ireland, Historical and Statistical.' Of the general excellence of this work we have not left ourselves room to speak here, but, as connected with our subject, we earnestly recommend our readers who wish

well to Ireland, to study the fourteenth chapter, from which we shall extract a few paragraphs:—

“And so it must always be—so must the people continue to be poor and discontented while kept every way dependant—while debarred the wholesome liberty and strengthening discipline of applying the accruing profits of business, and the accumulations of industry, to create new avocations, and open out fresh sources of emolument, as their own self-improving spirit and the energy of successful experience may suggest. So must it always be, on the other hand, while the chief occupation of the local government that restrains and impoverishes them, consists in fashioning out, in filling with abject dependents, and feeding with the public money pompous institutions for taking all measures out of the hands of those who, in a free country, are the fittest to perform them.

“In Ireland, the government monopoly of everything of this kind has been penetrating and rigid beyond all example. If it is to be matched anywhere, it can only be in China. There is not a single department or office of private enterprise for which a government board has not been set up, with a liberal staff of officers and clerks, with good salaries, and the royal arms on all the seals. As stated in Chapter I., you cannot offer to make a road, improve a navigation, drain a marsh, cut a canal, construct a railway, pave a street, or light a town with gas, but you are stopped by a government board already established to point out to all men how in such cases they shall proceed;—or by a government commission appointed to furnish the necessary excuse for putting you down upon authority as a presumptuous adventurer, ignorant of the matter with which you are meddling, and every way unqualified to compete with the intelligence and acquirements of men selected by government as the only competent persons to be entrusted with the task of informing the country that no undertaking of the kind can be so well understood, or so efficiently accomplished as by a government officer, with a cabinet minister as his patron, and the Treasury as his paymaster. Thus, at every turn, and upon all occasions, the powers that be fail not to extend their guardian care, and overpower with officious assistance. Either by a commission to enquire, or a board to execute, her majesty's loyal subjects in Ireland are sure to be spared the trouble of thinking and acting for themselves wherever it happens to be the peculiar province of the community to provide as it seems best for the attainment of objects which are exclusively and pre-eminently its own. Hence it is that in Ireland a man with some money and time at his disposal, and a turn for useful exertion, is driven to be a place-hunter by the force of circumstances. For unless he can prevail upon the government to employ him, he is doomed to perpetual inactivity. No matter what his talents, or what his resources;—no matter what pursuits an apt ability or adequate powers may incite him to engage in, he finds the ground pre-occupied by a government board: he finds this board attempting everything, and improving

nothing of which all the patronage and profits are not wholly its own; and thus, ere long, he abandons the vain idea of bettering his country or himself, disgusted as often by the indifference as by the conceit of the heads of office, or thwarted by the manœuvres of their jealous dependents, who dread in the progress of independent talent the subversion of the wretched system upon which they have contrived to raise themselves to good salaries and some rank in the tinsel suite of the second-hand royalty of Ireland.

"And wretched, indeed, is that system,—spreading everywhere like an epidemic, and corrupting everything with which it connects itself. To its paralyzing consequences, much of the evil under which Ireland deeply suffers is to be traced.

"How neat a machinery of political corruption may thus be set to work,—how aptly the wasting strength of party warfare may thus be recruited,—how reluctant votes may thus be won over, and the public service may be shamefully abused, while large personal fortunes are unblushingly realized, can require no explanation here. As little can it be necessary to point out that this is neither a just nor a substantial development of the resources of the country, but a foul and scandalous sustinment of private advantages, subversive of all public virtue and national improvement. The value of such resources in the hands of an adroit and sedulous manœverer may be estimated by the assertion of close observers, who do not hesitate to declare, that there are not a few estates in Ireland the rentals of which have been doubled by a cunningly contrived application of the public money to their improvement in the manner here adverted to.

"These mercenary practices have not been of recent origin. The writer of the MS.* 'Account of Ireland,' in the British Museum, repeatedly quoted from in Chapter XII., observes, under the date of 1753, 'as a redundancy in the treasury had occasioned so much discussion and dispute, it seemed now determined that the same cause of contest should never occur again. For this purpose the House of Commons now began to appropriate a considerable part of the additional duties to their own use. This was done under the pretence of encouraging public works, such as inland navigation, collieries, and manufactories of different kinds. But the truth is that most of the public works were private jobs carried on under the direction and for the advantage of some considerable gentlemen of the House of Commons. By this means the parliamentary leaders perfectly answered their own views—they gratified their friends, impoverished the treasury, kept government under a constant necessity of asking supplies. By repeated jobbing the purpose was effected, and what is most

* "When this manuscript was first quoted in this work, the author's name was not given in the catalogues of the King's Library; it has since been added. The writer was Sir George, afterwards Earl Macartney, who was Irish secretary at the commencement of Lord Townshend's lieutenancy, and is better known as the author of the 'Journal of an Embassy to China.'"

unaccountable, government seemed to acquiesce in it without complaining.' The statements made in this chapter, and the further details still to be given, will abundantly prove that the example set by the Irish parliament in this respect has been keenly followed up and excelled by an unbroken succession of Irish members in the British legislature.

"Precisely the same ideas were expressed upon the subject by Lord Clare in his celebrated Union speech. 'But the Commons took effectual care that the question should not occur a second time, by appropriating every future surplus to their private use, under the specious pretence of local public improvements. Windmills and watermills, and canals and bridges, and spinning-jennies were provided at the public expense; and the parliamentary patrons of these great national objects were entrusted with full discretionary powers over the money granted to complete them. From this system of improvement a double advantage arose to the Irish aristocracy: it kept their followers steady in the ranks, and, by reducing the crown to the necessity of calling for supplies, made the political services of the leaders necessary for the support of government. But the precedent was fatal, and a system has gradually been built upon it which would beat down the most powerful nation of the earth.'

"This system served Lord Clare with an argument for the Union, but its abuses were continued in full play long after the Union was carried. Parliamentary loans and grants, in aid of public works and for the employment of the poor, up to our own time, have either been treated as bounties to the landed interest, or have been distributed, with a very few moderate exceptions, as favours and rewards amongst the political partisans of the government of the day, or applied to the improvement of districts in which persons of that description have held large possessions.

"Parliamentary jobbers, and improvers of their own properties out of the national funds, have not constituted the only noxious body thus engendered. An impudent race of unprincipled pretenders sprung up as soon as it became understood that the gleanings of this political harvest yielded large profits to those who were hired to reap it. As political influence decided the merits of almost every project, the profits of working each in its turn were dropped as prizes into the laps of adroit political agents. Whole families have thus made fortunes by nothing but trading in government grants and public works. While such plotters flourished, no measure, however beneficial, had the least chance of success, without official patronage in the first instance. The jackalls of the jobs thus fastened upon the Treasury were not slow in teaching the dependants and instruments of the Castle of Dublin how much it would be to their interest also if all undertakings of this class were to become, in one shape or other, government concerns. Mercenary combinations quickly followed; everything was meddled with, but nothing flourished. These men—and their race is not yet extinct—have eaten like locusts into the heart of the public

good in Ireland. Insidious, plausible, insatiable, and ever sedulously alive to gain, they have equally been remarkable for their advocacy of the cause of national improvement, and for the large sums which they have obtained under the pretence of advancing it. Destitute of honour, and incapable of party attachment, they have marked every new administration upon its accession to office as their prey, and made it their especial policy to render themselves agreeable or serviceable to it early in its career. Once their talons are fixed, they take a firm grasp, which they never relax while there is a boon to be granted, or a shilling to be expended. They have been the creatures of all governments, and have used each in its turn to their selfish purposes. Successive administrations have decayed and broken down, while these, the parasites of their power, have clung, like ivy, to the ruin, the only green and flourishing spots upon the extending waste. They have touched everything, and nothing has prospered in their hands, or been profitable to any persons but themselves; and yet such has been their address, or the infatuation of almost every minister in Ireland, that they continue to enjoy constant regard, and are pluralists of the most lucrative offices and employments in the country. With them, government mines, government canals, government navigations, government roads, and government railways, have always been favorite objects of praise and attachment. In this way the country has been made to bear the loss of millions; enormous prizes have been won in the great lottery of jobs, and proportionate gains have accrued to the flatterers and retainers of those through whose weak and partial hands these profuse applications of the national resources have passed. Nothing has been too high for their ambition, or too low for their avarice; they have taken £500 for working a quarry, and half a million for improving a navigation. Carefully and minutely should their professions and conduct be studied by all persons who, to borrow the words of one of the oldest and most pains-taking of Irish statistical writers, 'would represent the most natural causes of the poverty of the country, by discovering, not only the grand robbers of its treasure, but the lesser thieves that creep in at every window, and pilfer every house, and pick every pocket, whereby not only the noble and wealthy, but the mean and poor are daily made poorer.'*

Let the people of Ireland, then, take their work into their own hands; and let them peremptorily insist, that the Legislature shall not withhold from them the natural right to do so. Let them be firmly persuaded of this great truth in political economy, that the capital which really, healthfully, and permanently enriches a nation, must spring from the skilful and persevering industry of its own people. It is not the streams which are conducted from a distance, but the native springs, which are independent of foreign power and its fluctuations, that clothe a nation

* Smyth's 'Ireland,' &c., vol. 2, pp. 269—273-6.

with perennial prosperity. But these springs must be free; the Government must not intermeddle with them. Let the tenure of land be put on a right footing, and the savings of agricultural labour will soon accumulate into capital, which will naturally be diverted into the channels of trade and commerce. And that the commercial spirit may exert all its beneficial influence on the national character of the Irish, the condition of their towns must be attended to. A merely agricultural population is always stationary and selfish. To the towns and their influence we must look for the elements of social progress and improvement. It is by them the Irish character is to be redeemed, and the nation elevated. Travellers, in visiting Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, have often been struck with the filthy and neglected condition of many of the streets, and we have heard some of them say, "What an unimproveable race these Irish are! They blamed the old corporations for the neglected condition of the towns; but now the Celts have got into power. They have got the municipalities in their own hands, and shout for repeal in their civic robes. But they must show themselves capable of managing the affairs of a petty borough, before they can be allowed to govern a nation. Let them pave and sweep the streets, and improve their navigable rivers and harbours, and then we may give them credit for the capability of self-government. But, while they thus dream of a 'splendid phantom,' and boastingly tell us what great things they would do under certain imaginary circumstances, while realities with which they should deal are giving them the lie at their own doors,—they cannot expect us to treat their pretensions with much deference. Dwelling, as they do, contentedly in dirt and disorder, while declaiming on theories of government, they remind us of the lady described by Pope:—

'Though Artemisia talks by fits
Of councils, classics, fathers, wits,
Reads Malebranche, Boyle, and Locke,
Yet in some things methinks she fails;
'Twere well if she would pare her nails,
And wear a cleaner smock.'

The Englishmen who uttered such reproaches as these, however, were not aware that the Irish corporations were placed on a totally different footing from those of England and Scotland. The latter enjoy substantial power; the former were humoured with its shadow. The people of the "second city in the empire" cannot pave, or cleanse, or light their own streets. The functions of government are in the hands of parties over whom they have not the least control, and who, nevertheless, can tax them without limit.

But the Irish would deserve these reproaches, and a thousand times worse, were they any longer tamely to endure this truly degrading inferiority. Let them demand for their corporations all the powers enjoyed by the British municipalities. If they are to be blamed for not working, let them insist that their right arm may not be tied up by the legislature. Let Dublin set a worthy example in this matter. The case of the corporation, if fairly stated, is one that Parliament cannot disregard, if only for shame. How could Sir Robert Peel vote against the Dublin Improvement Bill, if he still recollects his important declaration as to the government of Ireland on his retiring from office? How can Lord John Russell, the friend of constitutional freedom, maintain the anomalous and irresponsible boards which now tax the citizens of Dublin? How can Lord Clarendon oppose the corporation in seeking the legal and necessary power to follow out his own excellent advice to them, in his reply to their address on his accession to office?

But let there be no more blundering, no more premature attempts, to give pretexts for opposition. Let the corporations choose able and honest men to represent them; let well-digested measures be brought forward and laid before Parliament and before the English public; and let the cause, whose justice is thus made manifest, be prosecuted with wisdom and perseverance—and then Ireland may soon be in a position to show that she only wanted to be free of the *incubus* of a government which made its seat of power in Dublin Castle the fountain-head of jobbing and corruption, and whose main object ever was to repress the energies of the people. Happily, the *principle* of that government is changed now; let the *machinery* be changed also. Let the old anomalous, inefficient, unconstitutional boards be swept away,—and let the capability, integrity, liberality, and public spirit of the new corporation be put fairly to the test. The times are favourable for such an experiment. The recent elections have shown that faction is expiring in Ireland. Conservatives, who have shown by deeds their love of country, like Mr. Monsell, and Sir Lucius O'Brien, have been preferred at the hustings to pledged Repealers; and even the priests, who backed the Repeal candidates, have complained that they could not get a hearing from their own flocks. This is a very significant change in the temper of the people, and clearly shows the Government by what means the affections of Ireland may be won.

Let justice be fully done; let Irishmen be trusted with their rights, and all will yet be well.

J. G.

ART. V.—*The Philosophy of Trade, or Outlines of a Theory of Profits and Prices, including an Examination of the Principles which determine the relative value of Corn, Labour, and Currency.* By Patrick James Stirling. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, Tweeddale Court. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1846.

A NEW work of ability on Political Economy is at all times acceptable, and it would ill become any friend of improvement to slight it as a science, at a time when England is indebted to it for one of the greatest triumphs of modern ideas,—the triumph of free trade. When the year which has last gone by shall be marked in the history of our nation, and our posterity commemorate with honour the names of Cobden and of Bright, we trust that associated with them will be the names of the Political Economists who conceived and pointed out the work. To them we are indebted for the abstract truths which the League, with an admirable perseverance, worked into legislative enactments.

Perhaps it will be difficult for a future generation to conceive how the present, for so long a period, could have been contented to remain laden with chains which it had itself forged; or how man, even among the manifold absurdities of which he is capable, could ever have thought of tying up his own legs to enable himself to walk better; for in such a light, by any thinking mind, must those tactics be regarded which seek to impede the natural tendency by which the surplus produce of one country flows into another, and the scarcity of one country is relieved by the abundance of its neighbours.

Let us hope that now, when this great mistake in the policy of our nation is rectified, not only other nations will adopt the same course, but that the same earnest struggles which have availed to carry through one great measure, will be applied to sweep away remaining abuses.

Mr. Stirling, in his preface, claims for his work the somewhat rare distinction of having been written and published from no other motive but the pursuit of truth. The result of his investigations, which lies before us in the present volume, seems at least to justify his statement, by the nature of its contents, inasmuch as the style is singularly divested of ornament, and no attempt has been made to render it interesting to the general reader.

It stands before us a strictly philosophical work, interesting only to those who are anxious to become masters of the science of political economy, or to ascertain whether they are already

masters of the ideas promulgated by the political economists who have preceded them. For this purpose the book in question seems eminently fitted, from the extreme clearness of its illustrations, and the almost geometrical form of its doctrines and demonstrations.

If then, to those who are conversant with the works of Adam Smith, Ricardo, McCulloch, and Mill, it may not furnish ideas at once new and tenable, it yet may enable them to test the accuracy of their knowledge of the doctrines of these eminent men; and in considering with the author the points in which he differs from them, his readers will necessarily be obliged to form opinions for themselves, and obtain a clearer view of the points in dispute than they otherwise would probably have done.

Mr. Stirling divides his subject into five parts. The 1st book treats of Value.—The 2nd of Labour.—The 3rd of Profits.—The 4th of Rent.—And the 5th of Foreign Trade.

In the last four of these books, wherever the doctrine of value is concerned, Mr. Stirling differs entirely from Mr. Ricardo—erroneously in our opinion, but still consistently with himself: Mr. Stirling, thinking that the value of a commodity (by which he means its exchangeable value, the price it fetches in the market) is fixed by supply and demand; Mr. Ricardo maintaining, on the other hand, that the exchangeable value of a commodity, though modified temporarily by supply and demand, is permanently fixed by the quantity of labour worked up in the commodity—in other words, its cost of production.

It is true that Mr. Ricardo creates some confusion, and subjects himself to misinterpretation by using the word value in two senses, sometimes to express exchangeable value, the market value of a commodity, and sometimes in a sense peculiar to himself to express the cost of production, which he calls the natural value of the commodity, but which properly is not *value* at all, but the regulator of value.

It is rather remarkable, however, that, notwithstanding the theory of Demand and Supply, which Mr. Stirling carries so completely through four of his five books—in the 1st book, on "Value," Mr. Stirling acknowledges the leading principles of Mr. Ricardo, though in the other books, and particularly in the next book, on "Labour," he appears to lose sight of this, and to disclaim all agreement with him. Indeed, in one and the same chapter* Mr. Stirling both agrees and disagrees with Mr. Ricardo on the same point, though in most of the other chapters he adheres to his own theory, consistently with the remaining four books.

* The 4th of the 1st book.

None will gainsay the truth of the first proposition in the 1st book, viz., "parts of a commodity cannot rise or fall in value in respect of each other." But the second chapter requires consideration.

"The value of one commodity in relation to another, or the quantity of one commodity for which a determinate portion of another will exchange, is less or greater according as the total supply of the one commodity is increased or diminished in proportion to the total supply of the other."

Here we have Mr. Stirling's Theory of supply and demand. In this instance he seems to suppose a case which would be of rare occurrence, where only two commodities are brought to market to exchange for each other. We will try Mr. Stirling's Theory first in this extreme case.

A brings a quantity of hops to market, the produce, we will suppose, of three months' labour. B brings turnips, the produce of three months' labour. A exchanges his commodities for B's, but before their bargain is concluded, C brings turnips into the market, also the produce of three months' labour. According to Mr. Stirling's theory, A's hops would now exchange not only for B's turnips, the produce of the same amount of labour as his own commodity, but for C's in addition, and B and C would be exchanging their turnips, the produce of six months' labour, for hops, the produce of half that labour. Now we deny that the exchange would take place on such terms, and maintain that B and C would refuse to part with their commodities at so great a loss to themselves, but would sooner take their commodities back and wait for another opportunity; or, in default of it, employ part of their land and labour in producing hops for themselves.

Such would be the mode of procedure in the extreme case here mentioned; but it would very seldom happen that B and C would not find other commodities at market wherewith to exchange their own at a more equitable rate, without the necessity of transferring their capital (their labour) to another branch of trade.

No one can seriously imagine that any commodity would continue diminishing in value with no alteration in the cost of production, in the manner here stated by Mr. Stirling.

Take two horses to a market, where we will suppose they can be exchanged for no other commodity than sheep. When you first arrive, there may be ten sheep, whose value may be equal to the value of your two horses. In an hour another competitor appears with a flock of sheep. How will the exchange stand now, according to Mr. Stirling? The two horses would now exchange for the first ten sheep and the whole of the last flock

added to them, or for whatever additional number may come to market, provided the supply of horses be not increased, as no limitation whatever is put to their value by Mr. Stirling.

But this is absurd: therefore it is quite clear that Mr. Stirling's proposition does not hold good, and that demand and supply, alone, do not fix the price of these commodities. It remains to be seen what does. We hold with Ricardo that cost of production fixes the exchangeable value of commodities; and we submit our principles to the same ordeal as Mr. Stirling's.

We take our horses to market; the cost of producing, training, and taking them to market, with the ordinary rate of profits, amounts (we calculate) to £50; we therefore offer them to the sheep-owners for that sum, or for its equivalent in sheep, viz., the number of sheep which in the cost of producing, rearing, and bringing to market, together with the ordinary rate of profits, make up the same sum of £50. Let the number of sheep in the market be doubled, all the sellers being in want of horses, and we at once admit that the value of the horses would be increased somewhat beyond their natural value or cost of production, since the inconvenience to the sheep-owners of not procuring a horse or disposing of their own commodity would induce them to submit to make less than the ordinary profits on this occasion, rather than wait, or adopt the alternative of providing themselves with horses in some other manner. But if the horse-dealer, taking advantage of this fact, endeavoured to obtain double the number of sheep for his horses, although the cost of production or natural value of his horses remained the same, he would speedily find out his error by finding no bidders for his horses at all.

Thus we see that fluctuations in supply and demand act only as temporary disturbing causes of value; and even that only to a moderate extent, unless in cases of necessity, in which the buyer must buy, or the seller must sell, immediately.

Strange to say, this is the very doctrine maintained by Mr. Stirling himself, in the 4th chapter:—"The entire products of equal capitals are intrinsically of equal value; and their actual value in the market always tends to par or equality." This is Mr. Stirling's fourth proposition, which we maintain as firmly as himself, but which is diametrically opposed to his favourite theory of demand and supply. What is this but Mr. Ricardo's doctrine expressed in other words? Do you not express precisely the same fact in these two propositions—The cost of production of two horses equals the cost of production of ten sheep—or, Two horses and ten sheep are the products of equal capitals? And what is capital itself but accumulated labour? What is expen-

diture of capital but expenditure of labour? The farmer who employs thirty labourers, employs capital to that amount in the form of wages of labour. The manufacturer who uses a steam engine employs capital in the shape of accumulated labour; resolve that into its elements, and you find its cost of production in the wages of the workmen employed to make the machine. In this chapter Mr. Stirling generally agrees with Mr. Ricardo; see particularly page 22, where he describes clearly the means by which any deviation from this law is rectified by the transference of capital from one branch of trade to another. Nor does Mr. Stirling make any objection to Mr. Ricardo's doctrine which will not equally apply to this chapter of his own work.

Chapter VI.—“The high value of commodities produced under a natural or artificial monopoly, is caused by a limitation of the supply.”

True; and therefore demand and supply may fairly be said to fix the price of such commodities; but to such it has never been pretended that Mr. Ricardo's theory is applicable.

Chapter VII.—“The value of freely produced commodities is governed by the same law, but competition prevents the producer of such commodities from limiting the supply beyond a certain point. Demand and Supply.—Natural and Market price.—Dr. Adam Smith's theory.—Difficulties which attend the application of that theory to the observed phenomena of trade and exchanges.”

In this chapter Mr. Stirling resumes his old position, and loses sight of his principle that the products of equal capitals are equal; but as we have already entered into that question, we will pass on to,—

Chapter XII.—“Corn, or the food of the people, a commodity *sui generis*.—Laws by which its value is regulated.”

Here we think that Mr. Stirling is under a complete error, and that corn differs in nothing from other commodities except in this, that it regulates to some extent the wages of labour, since it is the food of the people, and no labourer can for any length of time receive wages too low to supply an ordinary family with a sufficiency of this needful article. On this very account it is perfectly impossible that Mr. Stirling's theory should be true, viz.:—“that the demand for corn accommodates itself to the supply.” The demand must accommodate itself to the supply, if the supply cannot be increased; but if it can, the supply like that of any other commodity will accommodate itself to the demand. We cannot, therefore, admit Mr. Stirling's argument that, “No transference of capital to agriculture (or, if food be imported from abroad, to that department of foreign trade which furnishes the supply of food) can depress, and no withdrawal of capital from

agriculture can elevate, otherwise than temporarily, the rate of profits in that department." In our opinion, the effect of a deficiency in the supply would be, that as corn must be produced, being one of the necessities of life, recourse would be had to inferior land, rents would be raised, and the price of corn would rise, since more labour would be necessary to produce it. If corn continued permanently dearer, wages would probably rise, and profits (contrary to Mr. Stirling's opinion) would permanently fall. But take the other case, that of a transference of capital to foreign trade, for the purpose of importing foreign corn. As the foreign cost of production must be supposed to be less, the price of corn would fall; and if the producers of corn in this country strove to compete with the foreign dealers, the effect would be a fall in their profits, which would continue until a portion of their capital was withdrawn. But when it *was* withdrawn, general profits would be very likely to rise, because the cost of maintaining labour would be for a considerable time diminished.

Mr. Stirling appears to think that increase of population always originates in cheapness of corn, and thus the demand for food accommodates itself to the supply; but we contend that the rapid increase of population occasions the high price of corn, since it compels a recourse to inferior land, in order to supply the increasing demands of the people.

In the first two chapters of the second book, of "Labour," to the latter of which a long controversial note is attached, Mr. Stirling appears, as we before suggested, to have misunderstood Mr. Ricardo's meaning, owing to the ambiguous manner in which Mr. Ricardo has used the term value. With this difficulty removed, we think Mr. Stirling would no longer term Mr. Ricardo's theory self contradictory.

Take Mr. Ricardo's example:—After stating that the aggregate sum of the various kinds of labour employed in the production of a commodity, determines the quantity of other things for which it will exchange, he supposes that the labour expended in producing two pairs of stockings is exactly equal to the labour expended on one hat; he then states that two pairs of stockings would exchange for one hat, or that their value is equal. This is true, whether by the value of stockings we mean their *exchangeable* value, or their cost of production; but Mr. Ricardo also says, that if from an improvement in the manufacture of hats, two hats could be produced by the labour now required for the production of one, and two pairs of stockings, therefore, came to exchange for two hats, the value of hats would indeed have fallen, but the value of stockings would not have risen; and this evidently is not true of exchangeable value, but only of value as estimated in what

Adam Smith calls "the original purchase-money which was paid for everything,"—labour. Mr. Stirling, not perceiving the double sense of the term, argues thus:—"Suppose every commodity in the market, except stockings, to be produced by double the quantity of labour, the same quantity of stockings would now, on Mr. Ricardo's principles, exchange for only one half the former quantity of everything else, yet, according to that author, no change would even then have been effected in the value of the stockings." Certainly not, in Mr. Ricardo's peculiar sense. Their cost of production or real value remains the same; the value or cost of production of the other articles is doubled, therefore the stockings only exchange for one half the quantity of the other articles they did before. There is no absurdity in this as Mr. Stirling supposes; there is the mistake of using the word value in two senses; and the propositions of Mr. Ricardo respecting value, which Mr. Stirling controverts, will in no case be found really vulnerable in anything but the language.

Mr. Stirling says, that "Mr. Ricardo, at the beginning of his work, uses the expression 'value' of a commodity as synonymous with the quantity of any other commodity for which it will exchange; this is his definition of value, and it is a correct definition." Now it is true that in the heading of the first section of the first chapter of Mr. Ricardo's book, his words are, "The value of a commodity, or the quantity of any other commodity for which it will exchange, &c.," but the passage only proves that this is *one* of the senses in which he uses the term. The author thinks it necessary to inform the reader that he is here employing the term in that sense.

Mr. Stirling observes, in the book on "Profits," "that the theory of a constantly rising money-price of corn is irreconcilable with observed phenomena," and cites as his evidence Arthur Young's average for the 17th and 18th centuries. But even supposing that the comparative slowness of the rise in the price of corn could not be accounted for by the great improvements in agriculture, which have checked to some extent the constantly rising price of corn; still, we presume that Mr. Stirling would not deny that the price of corn has risen immensely since the reigns of James I. and Elizabeth, the epochs from which he dates the great diminution of profits. For how otherwise could he account for the rise in rents? Nor is there any doubt of the fact as a matter of history.

Profits fall as wages rise. It may be asked how is it then that in America, and in all newly cultivated countries, both wages and profits are high? Clearly for this reason. The aggregate return to capital is so large, that the absolute amount of the wages

of labour is high, though the proportion that it obtains of the total return to capital is smaller than in Europe. Profits, not gross profits, but the rate of profits, depend not upon the price of labour, tools, and materials, but upon the *ratio* between the price of labour, tools, and materials, and the produce of them—upon the proportionate share of the produce of industry which it is necessary to offer in order to purchase that industry and the means of putting it into motion.

In the book on “Rent,” Mr. Stirling clearly points out the error into which Adam Smith had fallen, of supposing that rent is an ingredient of price, in other words, that corn is high because rent is paid; and explains the whole theory of rent most clearly, both the effect of having recourse to worse land, and the effect of increasing the produce by applying additional capital to the same land with a smaller proportional return. But, in the fourth chapter, he falls into the error of supposing that the rise in the money-price of corn is caused by, or connected with, the fall in profits.

We agree with Mr. Stirling, that the progressive rise of rent is occasioned by the diminished return to capital; a supply of food less than the demand, occasioning recourse to be had to inferior land in order to procure a sufficient supply; but we do not agree with him, that a rise of the money-price of corn is an effect of the fall in general profits, but contend, on the contrary, that the high price of corn is occasioned by the increased expense of producing it, and the fall of profits is the result of the rise of wages occasioned by the rise in the price of corn from natural causes. If the labourers submit to a degradation of their condition, and wages do not rise, neither will profits fall.

In the book on “Foreign Trade” Mr. Stirling explains clearly that the rate of profits is not altered by the extension of trade to foreign countries; also the origin of Bills of Exchange and the transactions founded on them.

He also points out the evil effects of a redundant currency, or an unlimited issue of paper money inconvertible into cash, with the effects that ensue from allowing two metals to be legal tender. Mr. Stirling shows clearly likewise the means by which the redundancy of a purely metallic currency corrects itself by altering the medium of exchange with foreign countries; the interests of merchants directing them, when gold is dear at home, to effect the exchange by means of commodities; and when, through a redundant currency, gold is cheap in relation to commodities, to effect the exchange by the transmission of gold, until, by the removal of the superfluous metal to other countries, prices are reduced to their natural rate.

But, on the contrary, when the derangement in prices is caused by a degraded currency, or an unlimited issue of paper money inconvertible into gold, nothing but calling in the degraded currency, and restricting the issue of paper money, or obliging the issuers to give gold in exchange for it, will restore the currency to its original value. On these subjects, Mr. Stirling states clearly and well what many writers had stated not less clearly before him.

Again, however, in the last chapter of the book and concluding chapter of his work, Mr. Stirling falls back on his favorite Theory of Profits, and shows clearly his opinion to be that the proportion of the produce of labour accorded to the labourer is diminished instead of being increased as recourse is had to inferior lands,—thus differing to the last with Mr. Ricardo, and erroneously, in our opinion. M. E.

Our readers will notice, in the above criticism, some points of difference between the sentiments of the writer, and the principles advocated in the currency article of our last number. We are induced, therefore, to repeat a former announcement, that upon economical questions the 'Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review' is open to communications from different contributors, and that it is not always indispensable, when the quarter from which an opinion emanates is one entitled to respect, that such opinion should accord with arguments urged in former papers, nor even invariably with the views of the editor.

We will add one or two observations upon the subject discussed in the preceding.

It would be a good rule if economists would altogether avoid the use of terms received in a loose and general acceptance;—as in the instance of the word "*value*," which, as employed by Mr. Stirling, and by the public, calls up too many different associations to convey an argument with clearness and precision. "*Value*" may refer to *price*, as measured by coins; or to properties not usually estimated in money, as in speaking of the utility and importance of air and water; or to cost of production; or to *exchangeable power*. If economists, when treating of buying and selling, would use the term "*exchangeable power*," the value of commodities, in the sense of exchange, could not be confounded with their original cost.

"The worth of a thing
Is what it will bring."

What a commodity will "*bring*" is dependant upon supply and demand; and supply is, of course, regulated by cost; but "*cost of production*" alone is not value; for that which has cost the most often produces the least. A dry well may have cost a hundred pounds in the digging, and not be worth a hundred pence to the owner.

The terms "*convertible*" and "*inconvertible*" are of similar com

plexity to the word "value;" and little progress will be made in the "*rexata questio*" of the currency without discarding them, although, it may be, at the expense of some circumlocution.

The convertibility of paper money may be of several kinds. For example: 1. Paper money payable in gold on demand; as in the case of gold deposited to the full amount of the paper issue. 2. Paper money payable in gold only to the extent of one-third the issue; as in the case of the notes of the bank of England, when the issue is £21,000,000. 3. Paper money payable in gold and silver; as the notes of the bank of France. 4. Paper money payable in coin not on demand, but at distant periods; as in the case of bills of exchange, and that of the notes of the bank of England during the restriction act; the condition of which was, that the notes issued should be payable in gold six months after the restoration of peace. 5. Paper money payable in receipts for taxes, and the issue limited to the amount of the taxes;—the proposition of Mr. John Taylor. And, 6, Paper money payable in real or funded property, issued only upon mortgage securities; as proposed by the author of the article (in No. 93) entitled "Currency Principles of the Bank Charter Act." *Inconvertible* paper, in the strict sense of the term, means, paper payable in nothing; as in the case of bills of exchange accepted by bankrupts; and that of the French assignats, when first issued in excess of the disposable property of the government. Each of these different forms of convertibility and inconvertibility requires separate consideration, as involving distinct and sometimes totally dissimilar phenomena.—ED.

ART. VI.—*A Letter to Benjamin Rotch, Esq., Chairman of the Committee of Visitors; on the Plan and Government of the Additional Lunatic Asylum for the County of Middlesex, about to be erected at Colney Hatch.* By John Conolly, M.D., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London, and Physician to the Middlesex Lunatic Asylum at Hanwell. London: John Churchill, Princes Street, Soho. 1847.

A VOICE from one of the earnest men of the earth in behalf of suffering humanity. Earnestly are we called upon to listen to it. Not the rant of the mere enthusiast—not the cold abstraction of the mere logician—not the empiricism of the "practical man" are placed before us, but the earnest convictions of a man of strong heart and strong brain, quick to perceive, and resolute to practise. Such men cannot be too highly revered. They are the individual sources from whom all progress emanates, and without whom we should be as stationary as the Chinese. For no truth is more certain than that all steps in human progress emanate from individual minds; and where the original thinking

happens to be combined with persevering industry, there do we find the true "lords of progress."

To Dr. Conolly belongs the rare merit of having shown in England, on a large scale, that the whole of the barbarous system of coercion and restraint, practised in cases of physical disease producing mental aberration, was founded on a fallacy, and that insanity, as the name imports, is simply a state of unsound physical health—a state of functional disease—in the great majority of cases capable of cure, under appropriate treatment; capable also, under injudicious treatment, of being rendered permanent and incurable.

There are, apparently, two classes of imperfect minds; those of idiots or persons without ideas,* and those of what are called insane persons, who frequently have a superabundance of ideas, or one idea in too great activity. In the great mass of the latter cases, we believe, the normal state is Pride, in some cases Love, in some Anxiety, in some Religion; which latter will probably, on close analysis, be found only another form of Pride. Anger is a passion arising in prideful emotion; during its influence the blood rushes too quickly through its channels, the images on the brain become confused, the judgment is obscured, and if long continued or frequently excited, insanity is induced, of shorter or longer duration, and frequently death. In such cases, anger may be called a short madness, madness a long anger—and thence grows the horrible passion of revenge. Now it must be obvious to every one, that the surest way to keep up anger is to thwart or restrain the angry person; and we know persons of sound logical judgment, yet whose sanguine temperament, exposed to dishonest argument, becomes irritated beyond forbearance; and we are satisfied that those persons might, by the exercise of despotic restraints, be driven into incurable madness. It has often struck us that these cases of erring action of the brain are analogous to the ripples in water, which refract and multiply the images reflected on its surface. May there not be something like a ripple in the blood, which produces sometimes forms and thoughts of surpassing beauty, at others only distortions?

"Great wits to madness nearly are allied."

Disturbed action of the circulation, from whatever cause arising, and resulting in a quickened pulse, can only be relieved by removing all exciting causes. Restraint upon the patient, of whatever kind, keeps up irritation, as river-dams form cataracts; and the process of construction in the new asylum about to be erected

* Some account of an admirable institution at Biçetré, for developing the faculties of idiot children, will be given in our next number.—Ed.

at Colney Hatch, with a view to the minimizing all necessity for restraint, is the theme of Dr. Conolly's pamphlet. He thus commences—

"The first and greatest fault which I observe, is that you have not given any directions to the competing architects respecting the proportion of single sleeping-rooms to be provided; but have tacitly sanctioned the unfortunate recommendation of the commissioners in lunacy on this head; with a copy of which each competitor is furnished. The recommendation of the commissioners is thus worded: 'one-third of the sleeping accommodation should be provided for in separate sleeping-rooms or cells, and the remainder in dormitories, each containing not less than three, nor more than twelve beds.'

"On this very serious point I do hope, that instead of acting on this recommendation, which is that of gentlemen who have never lived in asylums, and have consequently no experience of the cases requiring separate accommodation at night, or of the great inconveniences arising from the want of it, you will take the opinions of medical men who have lived in asylums, or who now live in asylums, and know their state by night, as well as by day. If you do not find them unanimous on this subject, I think you will find that their want of unanimity arises from certain differences respecting important parts of the treatment of the insane, which are in the highest degree worthy of your consideration.

"I presume it to be your wish, and that of the whole of your committee, that the new building should offer every facility for the most improved modern treatment of the insane. With the small number of separate sleeping-rooms which you propose that the new asylum shall contain, you must at once exclude and render impossible some valuable parts of that treatment. The classification of your patients must inevitably be defective, the proper ventilation of the sleeping-rooms impracticable, and the safety of several of the patients constantly endangered. The classification will become almost wholly dependent on the circumstance of certain patients being tranquil in the night, however differing in character, occupation, and habits during the day. Not having a sufficient number of separate sleeping-rooms for the dirty, or for the violent, many of the dirty patients must, of course, be placed together in dormitories, which their habits will render constantly offensive, and productive of an atmosphere at all times unfavourable to the health of all the patients in the asylum.

"Several of the violent and refractory patients must, for the same reason, either be placed with others as violent as themselves, or with harmless and helpless patients, who will occasionally become the victims of their sudden fury. With such a general plan, these results can only be prevented by the extensive use of mechanical restraints; and although I cannot bring myself to believe that, with the recorded history of the Hanwell Asylum for the last eight years before you, you will willingly permit the new asylum to be disgraced by the

introduction of a single strait-waistcoat, or hand-lock, or leg-lock, or muff, or strap, or chain, or coercion chair, I am most apprehensive that, without them, your large and numerous dormitories will become the cause of very serious accidents. If the example of Hanwell can scarcely be cited by myself with propriety, or should for any reason be considered exceptionable by you, let me entreat you to remember that, in the great asylum near Lancaster, in the Gloucester Asylum, and in the Northampton Asylum,—not to speak of that of Lincoln, where the practice began,—the use of mechanical restraints has also for several years been almost wholly unknown; and that, within that period, a large asylum has been built near Glasgow, the foundation stone of which bears an inscription signifying that the building was raised on the principle that no instrument of restraint should ever be employed in it.

"Yet, whatever may be the wishes of your Committee, or however enlightened your own views, as I believe them to be, concerning the treatment of insanity, I am of opinion that if you persist in herding so many as two-thirds of your patients together in dormitories, the revival of all the detestable instruments of restraint will be forced upon you.

"At p. 106 of the late valuable Report made by the Commissioners in Lunacy, you will see that in one private asylum, at least, dormitories and restraint are associated as a matter of course; and from an avowed preference for both, on the proprietor's part, to having single rooms; and that the Commissioners, not sympathizing with this preference of violence to comfort,* direct single rooms to be built 'for the purpose of diminishing restraint.'

"The Commissioners and your Committee may be to some extent misled by references to the practice prevalent in the Continental asylums as regards dormitories. It is there not uncommon to find forty or fifty insane patients sleeping in one apartment. In France it is excused on the strange plea of a Frenchman's love of social life; but, then, in the French asylums, restraints are much abused, and a cold and severe discipline prevails, and not unfrequent punishments by the *douche*, and affusions of cold water, and other means, are notoriously permitted; all inconsistent with such a plan of treatment as the public will reasonably expect to be pursued in the new asylum. In Germany the love of mechanical restraints is and has long been a passion. It has been in Germany that many means of terrifying the patients have been proposed, and the whirling-chair and other instruments of torture spoken of with approbation almost amounting to affection. The visitor to the German asylums is still gravely assured that the non-restraint system has proved a failure in England. Such sentiments and examples are not, I trust, about to be encouraged and followed in a county already so prominent in the promotion of principles entirely opposed to all such barbarities, and which possesses already an asylum containing nearly 1000 patients, wherein no hand or foot has been bound, by night or by day, for the last eight years. It is

not in England, I trust, that such cruel arrangements will be sanctioned exclusively for the poor; for it is both remarkable and instructive to observe that this predilection for dormitories is indulged, even in the foreign asylums, for the poor alone. Nothing is better known than that such arrangements in asylums for the richer, and even for the middle classes, would not only be in the highest degree distasteful to the patients themselves, but would not be tolerated by the friends of insane patients in England. Yet the question of dormitories and of single rooms for the insane involves principles of treatment equally applicable to the poor and to the rich; and I am by no means of opinion that any of our English people, except the merest vagrants, like to sleep in bedrooms with many other occupants. The question, however, is not one of fancy or predilection, but includes important remedial considerations."

The next point insisted on by Dr. Conolly is most material, that the building should be fire-proof.

"It is to be presumed that you consider the directions of the Commissioners in Lunacy to be sufficient. Their directions are as follows:—'The staircases throughout the building should be of stone. In all cases the store-rooms for inflammable stores should be thoroughly fire-proof. If timber floors are used, their must be a disconnection of the floor and joists at all the internal doorways, by means of a stone sill; similar separations, at not greater distances apart than fifty feet, should be made in the floor and joists of the galleries or corridors; and provision should be made for a complete separation of the timbers of the roof, at distances of not more than fifty feet, according to the arrangements of the plan.'

"These directions are judicious, as far as they go; but they are not sufficient for the safety of the insane in a large public asylum. They are not sufficient to prevent fire from spreading rapidly from one story to another story, from the bottom to the top, or from the top to the bottom of the building, or even from one end of it to the other. The patients, it must be remembered, are in sleeping-rooms which open out of long galleries, and there are no doors in the galleries except at each end, and no windows out of which escape can be effected. The lives of all depend on the officers and attendants being able to go from one end to the other of every gallery, to unlock and open every door, and to direct every alarmed and bewildered patient to the particular door of the gallery which leads to safety; and this whilst flames are arising from below, or burning timbers falling from above. In all fires, suffocation by smoke is as fatal as the flames are, and the long galleries would soon become so filled with smoke as to create confusion in the sonndest mind, but terror and distraction in the excitable minds of the majority of the patients. For these reasons, it would surely be better to make the building fire-proof throughout; to separate each story by a stone floor and roof; and to make it impossible for any accidental fire to spread. The

additional expense, in a building intended to last for at least two or three hundred years, is not to be weighed in the balance against so much danger to life."

Dr. Conolly objects strongly to an asylum being erected of more than two stories in height, including the ground floor:

"The objections to an asylum three stories in height are many. The height of all parts of the building is in itself an evil, producing too much shade, and creating too much gloom. In every part of such a building three wards, containing two or perhaps three different classes of patients, must be in the same precise situation relative to the whole plan, and overlook the same airing-courts or grounds.

"'In all cases,' say the Commissioners in their directions, 'the aged, dirty, infirm, and epileptic patients should be accommodated on the ground floor, and violent and noisy patients should be as far removed as possible from the other patients, and in rooms appropriated to their exclusive use.' This direction cannot be complied with in a building of three stories. The tranquil must be disturbed by the noisy, and the decent offended by the dirty. There can be no perfect classification either within doors or without. And the crowding together of a greater number of patients within a given space in an asylum so arranged, renders it still more difficult to maintain so perfect a system of ventilation as is required to preserve the patients, attendants, and officers in a state of health. The Commissioners will, I imagine, scarcely sanction what is so inconsistent with so much that their visits to asylums have taught them the necessity for.

"Wherever there is a ward on a third story, that ward is liable to be neglected. It is in vain to deny this. Everybody in an asylum knows it to be true. The ward is out of the way, and the additional stairs add much to the fatigue of all whose duty it is to superintend every part of the building.

"This is the case even where there is only a third story here and there; but a third story all over an asylum cannot be neglected; and for the officers to inspect such an asylum 'without retracing their steps' (another point recommended by the Commissioners), is impossible: and yet this is a trifling consideration compared with that of the difficulty of conveying food, water, clothing, and every requisite, to the third story, and exercising a proper supervision of it.

"There is a speciousness in the argument offered for third stories in asylums, that many of the patients are very well able to walk up stairs to bed, and that the third story may consist wholly of bedrooms. But this arrangement is impossible in a large asylum, as many of the patients require to be frequently in their bedrooms in the daytime, and yet cannot be safely put out of hearing or the means of inspection by the attendants in the galleries. It is very questionable if such arrangements are even proper in ordinary hospitals: they crowd too many patients in a given superficial space, and perhaps exert no small

influence in retarding recoveries; in so lowering the general health of the resident officers, that they readily sink under attacks of fever, wounds received in dissection, or attacks of bronchitis and influenza; and in stamping the complexion with the peculiar hospital pallidity which is so generally discernable for many weeks after a patient is discharged. In asylums the effects of bad air are still more perceptible in the officers and attendants, whose liberty is often restricted by all the stringent regulations of a prison."

Agreeing with the general principles laid down by Dr. Conolly on this point, it yet seems to resolve itself into a question of mechanical arrangement. His objection to the third story is on the score of physical labour, in ascending and descending. But this labour would not exist in a well-arranged asylum. Apart from these considerations there is no doubt that the average atmosphere is purer and better adapted for human breathing at a height of from fifty to one hundred feet above the surface of the earth than it is at the surface, whether that surface be composed of clay or gravel. The air is drier at that height, as we get beyond the line of surface evaporation, and within that line the deleterious gases are found most prevalent. Low spirits are synonymous with moisture; the nerves become flaccid and unbraced like stringed instruments out of tune. Moist air carries off the electricity from the body; dry air does not. Moist air, with heat, is the atmosphere of fever and liver complaint. Moist air, with heat, and stillness, is the atmosphere of putridity, the paradise of mosquitoes. The writer once passed a summer in a southern climate in a large city situated on a river. The thermometer ranged from 80 deg. to 85 deg., but the air was still, and reeking with moisture. To sit still in a darkened room, and shift the light clothing as fast as it became saturated with perspiration, was all that could be done. Evaporation there was none in such a climate; and the nights were horrible, with the clouds of gnats irritating the fevered body in every accessible part, scarcely able to see for swollen eyes. Thus circumstanced, the writer remarked that the seamen in the river made a practice of sleeping in the tops of the vessels, as many as could. Asking the reason of this, the men replied, "We gets away from the musketeers"—mosquitoes. Taking the hint the writer availed himself of an intimacy with some Friars to get permission to sleep in the belfry of a monastery. At that height the climate was changed, and no gnat could enter there without being withered in the dryness, or driven away by the wind. It was a lesson the writer never forgot, and which he has had frequent opportunities of corroborating since. Surveyors in the jungles of India have been known to live and enjoy health while others perished of fever. The only

difference consisted in the practice of sleeping on the ground, or in a hammock suspended to trees or poles. There are certain parts of Southern America where cattle are slaughtered for the preparation of *charqui*, or jerked beef, which is cut into strips and dried in the sun. These districts will invariably be found dry and healthy, though the temperature be high. It is not generally known that flesh may be thus dried in England at a sufficient height in the atmosphere. And there is no doubt that, in the same mode, a good climate for invalids might be obtained.

In deep mines, and in lofty factories, where the saving of human labour is an important element in profit, machinery is adopted to raise and lower the workmen without muscular exertion. Adapting the same machinery to hospitals and asylums, there seems to be no reason why four, six, or more stories should not be available. A steam-engine, or other labour-saving power, we take it, should be a concomitant of every well-arranged asylum, in order to furnish employment—that essential to the cure of mental disease—to patients. And that employment should be as various as human tastes. The two great sources of human misery are—want of employment, and individuals being misfitted to their employment. We can conceive it possible, that an asylum under the best arrangements might be nearly self-supporting,—the patients doing nearly all the work of the establishment. Our ideas on the subject are, that the building should be of six stories in height, in the form of a parallelogram, or of two sides of a square, and with three machine-lifts; one in the centre and one at each end, rising and falling from floor to floor, alternately. The middle lift might serve as an observatory for watching the galleries. The whole should be fire-proof. The steam-engine should keep a constant supply of hot and cold water to the top of the building, and all refuse, wet or dry, should be conveyed down proper shoots. Warm or cold air should be introduced at pleasure through double floors, and gas laid on wherever required. In so large an establishment a gas-work would be a matter of course, and the workshops might be contiguous to it. As the engine would be constantly going, the lifts would be always in motion, but of course staircases would be provided for emergencies. One entire floor, probably the centre, should be appropriated for the residence of the officers of the establishment; and there is no reason why they should not be divided into suites of apartments, as private, and far more convenient than any detached houses. Along the galleries rails should be laid, on which small trucks should run with soft-tired wheels, giving no sound, and communicating with the lifts. In this mode food or fuel could be taken anywhere with the minimum of labour, either up or

down. A sound reason, we conceive, for preferring several stories to an extended area, is getting the best aspect for the greatest number of rooms. There is but one south-west, and the best form would be a re-entrant angle forming two sides of a square, one looking south and the other west, over a garden; the galleries of access being at the back of the rooms, at the salient angle. From the centre the view might thus be attained down both wings. The length of the angles being regulated by convenience, they might be multiplied in number, each having the same aspect, yet not overlooking each other.

Another suggestion of Dr. Conolly is so obviously important, that it almost startles us to think that it could ever have been omitted.

"I am disappointed not to find in your directions any reference to what our experience at Hanwell has led us to consider a very desirable addition to the building—namely, a large square room for the occasional entertainments given to the patients, and found to be so advantageous, and which are now given with much inconvenience in the long galleries and towers, or in apartments less conveniently situated. Such a room might be capable of division, by moveable partitions, into work-rooms, a reading-room, and school-rooms;—for I trust the instruction of the patients will not be thought unworthy of your consideration.

"If, beyond your own kind feelings and sense of duty, you required any inducement to make the new asylum an almost faultless building, that inducement would be found in the certainty of the new asylum being visited from all parts of the world, and copied with all the merits or all the faults it may happen to possess. It is to be erected in the most important county of England; and where the magistracy are known already to have sanctioned, supported, and fully carried out, with a rare moral courage, and in the face of much opposition and misrepresentation within and without the asylum, a most remarkable change in the management of the insane. It will be supposed that, in constructing the new asylum, no hint derivable from the experience of the older one at Hanwell has been neglected. Thus the merits of your asylum will be perpetuated in every other county and country; and if you commit great faults, the faults will be extensively pernicious, and spread their baneful influence far and wide, and into many future years."

Looking back on what we have written, the thought occurs forcibly to us, that while describing what appears to us the most eligible asylum for the insane, we have really described the most eligible kind of residence for the sane. With human drudgery minimised, and human comfort maximised, with arrangements suited equally to those who are gregarious and those who are hermit-like in their habits, we have all the advantages of the old

monasteries without their disadvantages. Hospitals and asylums have been forced into existence by the impossibility of otherwise taking care of those physically and mentally disabled; yet, in truth, they after all are but imperfect contrivances, indicating an absence of thought in our social arrangements. With the same skill and judgment applied to our social arrangements that are applied to our mills, factories, and works of production generally, hospitals and asylums would be works of supererogation. *Prima facie*, it is not a good thing that the insane should be with the insane. Like begets like. With wiser social arrangements, sick chambers would form a proportion—and a very small proportion—of every establishment. With our present miserable arrangements they are practically impossible, save in the dwellings of the very wealthy.

Dr. Conolly advocates the principle of the chief medical officer being the governor of the establishment; and not subjected to the control of a visiting "consulting physician." His reasons are thus stated:—

"The resident medical officer of an asylum is, and must always be, the most important person in it. No regulations, no caprice of committees, no appointments of other officers, lay or medical, or however designated, can alter his real position in this respect. He is constantly with the patients; their characters are intimately known to him; he watches the effects of all the means of cure to which he resorts; and his own character gives the tone to the whole house. The patients look to him as their friend, protector, and guide. They know that he has authority to control them, and power to confer many indulgences upon them; he is always at hand to be appealed to; and his moral influence is complete. If he is harassed by the visits and contrary orders of a visiting physician, or himself under the control of a governor, resident in the house, his influence is impaired, and all his views are thwarted, and the patients are agitated by continual appeals from one authority to another; and sometimes mortified by injudicious severities, sometimes unsettled by inconsiderate remarks addressed to them, or rendered unmanageable by foolish or ill-timed indulgences. In such an asylum there is no consistent plan; and the resident medical officers must either pass their lives in struggles which disturb their minds and ruffle their tempers, or become subservient and influential and insignificant.

"A consulting physician may make himself acquainted with an ordinary bodily malady by half an hour's examination, and prescribe; and it may not be essential that he should again see the patient for some days or weeks: but the symptoms of insanity cannot be so hastily appreciated. Each case requires watching; and all the symptoms, manifested by degrees, and in the course of time, and in various circumstances, must be observed by and well known to the physician,

to enable him to exercise an influence over each case, as well as to prescribe for it. Nothing can prepare him for this but a long intimacy with an asylum. It is well known that even accomplished physicians are often utterly and confessedly ignorant of mental maladies; and yet if a physician, thus unprepared, is appointed consulting physician to an asylum, he enters it full of theories, and urges a variety of measures which those resident among the insane have learned to be superfluous or hurtful. What the consulting physician deems necessary at one hour, during some transient violence or excitement of the patients, becomes unnecessary an hour afterward, when all is tranquil again; and *vice versâ*. No arbitrary or prospective rule of treatment can be followed among the insane from day to day, or even from hour to hour: their varying moods require constant consideration.

"The confidence acquired by close and intimate observation of the insane can alone encourage a physician to run the risk of making great alterations, although the welfare of the patients may be deeply concerned in the changes he meditates. In 1839, when the Hanwell Committee were induced, by the then resident physician, to entertain the startling idea that the galleries of the asylum might be cleared of the coercion-chairs, and that all the straps, and chains, and leather muffs, and canvass and leather sleeves, might be deposited among the useless stores, although they listened to these novel suggestions with great attention, and evinced a strong desire to afford every facility for giving them at least a temporary trial, they were at one time induced to hesitate, and to ask the opinion of the consulting and non-resident physician on these proceedings. This officer, who had not possessed the means of judging of the effects of the great experiment going on, who had not passed a night or a day in the asylum since it commenced, and who had never once gone through the wards with the resident physician, wrote a formal and positive opinion against the whole system of non-restraint. If the magistrates had not honoured me, at that time, with an unusual degree of confidence, the whole scheme would have been abandoned, at least for many years. But they were more constant observers of what was passing than the consulting physician was, and his opinion was rendered harmless. The resident physician was in the mean time anxiously watching the real results of the system, both by day and night; in the galleries, in the day-rooms, in the airing-grounds, in the work-rooms, and in the chapel; at the hours of rising and retiring to rest, at meal-times, and in almost every hour of the night; and his confidence was consequently unshaken, and the attempt to abolish restraints proceeded successfully."

Pleasant to us is the thought that a good and wise man—benevolent, benescent, and therefore beneficent—is thus practically engaged in working out the redemption of the great mass of human beings from their imperfect social condition; for deranged people are but as children, by whose teaching grown

people learn. Were irritating treatment abandoned in legislation, as in remedial science by Dr. Conolly, the causes of insanity would proportionately diminish. It were a curious inquiry to ascertain in what proportion of cases positive injustice to the individuals has been the original exciting cause of insanity. Injustice—of parents to children, masters to workmen and servants—legislators to people—is repaid an hundred-fold in evils to the inflictors. But the subject is one to which we must return. Several new and important works relating to it have been placed in our hands since the above was written; and it will be our duty to revert to them at an early opportunity.

J. R.

ART. VII.—*First Impressions of England and its People.* By Hugh Miller. J. Johnstone.

2. *Geology; Introductory, Descriptive, and Practical.* By David Thos. Ansted, M.A., F.R.S. In two Volumes. John Van Voorst.

3. *The Ancient World.* By D. T. Ansted, M.A., F.R.S. John Van Voorst.

4. *Explanations; a Sequel to Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation.* Second Edition. John Churchill.

5. *A History of the British Zoophytes.* By George Johnston, M.D., LL.D. In two Volumes, 8vo. John Van Voorst.

6. *Mind and Matter.* By J. G. Millingen, M.D. H. Hurst.

IF we were asked for the work best adapted of all the productions of modern literature to give a right direction to the philosophical investigation of the highest subjects of human interest, we should name the 'Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation.' And it is not hastily that we have formed this opinion; nor without having attentively considered the objections which have been urged, in numerous able criticisms, to the theory and the arguments of the author. Learned men have discovered that he is less familiar than themselves with the pedantry of science; they have triumphed in the detection of slips of the pen, mistakes in technicalities, and some inaccuracies of fact; but these detract but little from the merit of a work which may be fairly characterised as the most skilful generalization that has yet appeared, of the results of geological, astronomical, and physiological researches, made to bear upon the history of the first

and most momentous of all problems—the order and plan of creation.

It would be well if the public were accustomed to define, and if each of us were to keep clearly before our minds throughout life, the distinction between learning and true wisdom. What should be the object of knowledge? What is it that we should seek to know? Is it words, or even things? Neither: it is *causation*; the order in which events have occurred that may occur again. It is in the discovery of principles and processes of operation that we are chiefly interested. The past is nothing to us; but in the laws which have governed the past we may read the future. The knowledge of these is the true end of philosophy; but of this philosophers have been too generally unmindful. One man compiles dictionaries; another catalogues the stars; a third describes new or unobserved species of plants or animals; a fourth collects rare specimens of minerals and fossils; all useful and honourable employments, but only useful as subsidiary to the grand inquiry, beyond these—the laws of mind and matter by which the world is governed. The recent discovery of a new planet will immortalize the names of M. Leverrier and Mr. Adams; but the fact of one planet more or less in the solar system is of absolute insignificance, compared with the knowledge of that universal principle of gravitation which supplied the data for calculating the path of the new planet, before its exact place on a particular night had been pointed out in the heavens. The recognition of this great truth—that the object of human inquiry should be the knowledge of *law*, and its application to a class of phenomena hitherto assumed to have had an arbitrary origin, is the feature of the ‘Vestiges’ by which it is chiefly characterized.

Between the author and his opponents there is a wide difference of aim; but it cannot be better described than in his own words:—

“It is no discredit to scientific men, that they are, almost without exception, engaged each in his own department of science, and able to give little or no attention to other parts of that vast field. From year to year, and from age to age, we see them at work, adding, no doubt, much to the known, and advancing many important interests, but at the same time doing little for the establishment of comprehensive views of nature. Experiments, in however narrow a walk, facts, of whatever minuteness, make reputations in scientific societies. All beyond is regarded with suspicion and distrust. The consequence is, that philosophy, as it exists among us, does nothing to raise its votaries above the common ideas of their time. * * * * * Let me call upon the reader to bring to his remembrance the impressions

which have been usually made upon him by the transactions of learned societies, and the pursuits of individual men of science. Did he not always feel, that while there were laudable industry and zeal, there was also an intellectual timidity, rendering all the results philosophically barren?

"Perhaps a more lively illustration of their deficiency in the life and soul of nature-seeking could not be presented, than in the view which Sir John Herschel gives of the uses of science, in a treatise reputed as one of the most philosophical ever produced in our country. These uses, according to the learned knight, are strictly material—it might even be said sordid—namely, 'to show us how to avoid attempting impossibilities; to secure us from important mistakes, in attempting what is in itself possible by means either inadequate or actually opposed to the end in view; to enable us to accomplish our ends in the easiest, shortest, most economical, and most effectual manner; to induce us to attempt, and enable us to accomplish, objects which, but for such knowledge, we should never have thought of undertaking.'

"Such results, it will be felt, may occasionally be of importance in saving a country gentleman from a hopeless mining speculation, or in adding to the powers and profits of an iron foundry or a cotton mill, but nothing more. When the awakened and craving mind asks what science can do for us in explaining the great ends of the author of nature, and our relations to Him, to good and evil, to life and to eternity, the man of science turns to his collection of shells or butterflies, to his electric machine or his retort, and is mute as a child who, sporting on the beach, is asked what lands lie beyond the great ocean which stretches before him."*

In the above and many similar passages we trace the spirit of earnest religious inquiry; and the reader would search in vain for any evidence in the work of that sceptical impidity of which, in some quarters, the author has been accused. He starts with the admission of the existence of a Divine Being, benevolent and omniscient, by whom the world was planned and created. He admits and supports the evidence of design, as demonstrated by Paley, and the authors of the Bridgewater treatises; and carefully guards his hypothesis from any possible identification of the argument (but that arising from a careless mis-construction) with the theory of Lamarck, which attributed varieties of organization to the innate properties of matter alone, differently acted upon in fortuitous circumstances. There is nothing in the '*Vestiges*' that might not be proclaimed from the pulpit, and preached from the text—"In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." The essential fact of creative intelligence as the final cause of all things is stated and re-stated by the author, in numerous instances; and it is only as an interpreter of the *order*

* '*Explanations*,' by the author of the '*Vestiges*,' page 178, second edition.

of creation that his conclusions are at variance with the crude but popular conceptions which generally prevail upon the same subject.

The view taken in the '*Vestiges*' of the true age of the world is that which is now held in common by all astronomers and geologists; and, on this account, it is somewhat singular that the cry of irreligion should have been raised against the author, not by the orthodox, but by the very class of persons who are themselves, on similar grounds, amenable to the charge of heresy. The most unworthy attempt to damage a work by the weapon of religious intolerance that we have noticed for some years, was that of the criticism upon the '*Vestiges*,' which appeared in the '*Edinburgh Review*' for July, 1845; and yet the writer of the article was understood to be a member of the geological section of the British Association, with which certain dignitaries of the cathedral of York declined to break bread, on the ground that the doctrines they had propounded of the antiquity of the earth's strata did not harmonize with the Mosaic cosmogony, as received and explained by the church! Among the votaries of science, however, as among the professors of religion, the greatest antagonism is usually seen not in the case of those who the most widely differ, but among those who the most nearly agree. High Calvinists and low Calvinists are less easily reconciled to each other than either would be to the society of Turks or Hindoos; a Primitive Methodist would rather seek fellowship with a Jew than with a member of the "New Connection;" and so with philosophers. Let him beware who would deviate but a single step from the beaten track. He is a pretender in science; an infidel in religion: and even these terms of opprobrium are almost too good for him. *Anathema, maranatha!*

We have looked a second time at the article of the '*Edinburgh Review*,' with the view of noting what it might contain of sound logic or facts militating against the theory of the '*Vestiges*,' to warrant the assumption of a tone of authoritative condemnation; but a careful examination of the criticism only proves it to be the production of a mind so disingenuous that we can scarcely find a single proposition in the '*Vestiges*' which the critic has not distorted into something wholly different from the meaning intended to be conveyed, with the view of overwhelming it with ridicule, or crushing it beneath the weight of unreasoning prejudice. A single instance of this will suffice to show that time and labor would be thrown away in answering a reviewer, who at least gives himself no trouble to master the argument he proposes to confute, although we believe incapable of intentionally misrepresenting it.

The universality of light is noticed in the 'Vestiges,' among the proofs adduced by the author of unity of design; and he reasons from this to the conclusion, that the inhabitants of other planets may be presumed, like ourselves, to have eyes: upon which, the critic of the 'Edinburgh' describes the 'Vestiges' as denying the fact of prospective wisdom in the construction of the organs of vision; as representing "that light made the eyes by some natural necessity;"* and takes the trouble to point out to the reader that the eyes of an infant are formed prior to its birth—in the darkness of the womb—where light never reaches them.

The reply of the author of the 'Vestiges' to his critics, has been correctly entitled 'Explanations;' for almost his sole task has been to clear up the obscurity of particular passages, and remove misconceptions of meaning, originating, not with him, but in the opinions with which the minds of many of his readers had been pre-occupied. Some errors, however, which appeared in the first impressions of the work, have been corrected in later editions; and some remain. Our present purpose is not to defend every position in the 'Vestiges,' as forming part of a complete philosophical system, perfect in all its parts, for upon many points we dissent; but neither do we think it important to discuss all the imperfections of a masterly work. Our object in recurring to the subject, is to assist in settling the general basis of further investigation in the same field of inquiry; and, without confining ourselves to the 'Vestiges,' to the neglect of other authorities, we will glance at the leading propositions of cosmogonical science which may now be considered as established.

And first, in reference to the principles of geological deduction, and in answer to the whole of that class of objectors, who, while insisting upon scriptural authority, forget that "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day," we cannot do better than introduce the argument by quoting the reply of Mr. Hugh Miller† to a Presbyterian divine, who remarked that, "for ought that appeared in the bowels of the earth, the world might have been called into existence yesterday."

"We stand in the middle of an ancient burying-ground in a northern district. The monuments of the dead, lichened and gray, rise thick around us; and there are fragments of mouldering bones lying scattered amidst the loose dust that rests under them, in dark

* 'Edinburgh Review,' July, 1845, p. 80.

† 'First Impressions of England and its People,' by Hugh Miller, p. 325. A geological tour through the northern counties, diversified with sketches of remarkable places and striking customs. A work full of information, and replete with interest.

recesses impervious to the rain and the sunshine. We dig into the soil below: here is a human skull, and there numerous other well-known bones of the human skeleton—vertebræ, ribs, arm and leg bones, and those of the jaws, breast, and pelvis. Still, as we dig, the bony mass accumulates; we disinter portions, not of one, but of many skeletons, some comparatively fresh, some in a state of great decay; and with the bones there mingle fragments of coffins, with the wasted tinsel mounting, in some instances, still attached, and the rusted nails still sticking in the joints. We continue to dig, and at a depth to which the sexton almost never penetrates, find a stratum of pure sea-sand, and then a stratum of the sea-shells common on the neighbouring coast,—in especial, oyster, muscle, and cockle-shells. It may be mentioned in passing, that the church-yard here referred to, though at some little distance from the sea, is situated on one of the raised beaches of the north of Scotland; and hence the shells. We dig a little further, and reach a thick bed of sandstone, which we penetrate, and beneath which we find a bed of impure lime, richly charged with the remains of fish of strangely antique forms. ‘The earth, for anything that appears to the contrary, might have been made yesterday?’ Do appearances such as these warrant the inference? Do these human skeletons, in all their various stages of decay, appear as if *they* had been made yesterday? Was that bit of coffin, with the soiled tinsel on the one side, and the corroded nail sticking out of the other, made yesterday? Was yonder skull, instead of having ever formed part of a human head, created yesterday, exactly the repulsive-looking sort of thing we see it? Indisputably not. Such is the nature of the human mind—such the laws that regulate and control human belief,—that in the very existence of that church-yard, we do, and must recognize positive proof that the world was *not* made yesterday.

“But can we stop in our process of inference at the mouldering remains of the church-yard? Can we hold that the skull was not created a mere skull, and yet hold that the oyster, muscle, and cockle-shells beneath, are not the remains of molluscon animals, but things originally created in exactly their present state, as empty shells? The supposition is altogether absurd. Such is the constitution of our minds, that we must as certainly hold yonder oyster-shell to have once formed part of a mollusc, as we hold yonder skull to have once formed part of a man. And if we cannot stop at the skeleton, how stop at the shells? Why not pass on to the fish? The evidence of design is quite as irresistible in them as in the human or the molluscon remains above. We can still see the scales which covered them occupying their proper places, with all their nicely designed bars, hooks, and nails of attachment: the fins which propelled them through the water, with the multitudinous pseudo-joints, formed to impart to the rays a proper elasticity, lie widely spread on the stone; the sharp-pointed teeth, constructed like those of fish generally, rather for the purpose of holding fast slippery substances than of mastication, still bristle in their jaws; nay, the very plates, spines, and scales of the

fish on which they had fed, still lie undigested in their abdomens. We cannot stop short at the shells: if the human skull was not created a mere skull, nor the shell a mere dead shell, then the fossil fish could not have been created a mere fossil. There is no broken link in the chain at which to take our stand; and yet having once recognized the fishes as such—having recognized them as the remains of animals, and not as stones that exist in their original state, we stand committed to all the organisms of the geological scale.

"But we limit the Divine power, it may be said: could not the Omnipotent First Cause have created all the fossils of the earth, vegetable and animal, in their fossil state? Yes, certainly; the act of their creation, regarded simply as an act of power, does not, and cannot, transcend His infinite ability. He could have created all the burying grounds of the earth, with all their broken and wasted contents, brute and human. He could have created all the mummies of Mexico and Egypt as such, and all the skeletons of the catacombs of Paris. It would manifest, however, but little reverence for His character to compliment His infinite power at the expense of His infinite wisdom. It would be doing no honour to His name to regard Him as a creator of dead skeletons, mummies, and church-yards. Nay, we could not recognize Him as such, without giving to the winds all those principles of common reason which in His goodness He has imparted to us for our guidance in the ordinary affairs of life."

Mr. Miller has some sensible remarks upon the unwarranted inference often drawn from the continuity of the scripture narrative, that there had been no creation prior to the fiat which separated the land and waters, and rendered this earth a habitable globe for man; and he quotes the authority of the Rev. Alexander Stewart, an original-minded and accomplished theologian, in support of the opinion that there is no irreconcilable difference between Bible truths and geological facts. Biblical criticism is not within our province; but we may refer the reader to this portion of Mr. Miller's new publication, as calculated to relieve the painful scruples of some timid and conscientious inquirers; and we will add to it one word of comment. It is obvious that upon neither the hypothesis of plenary inspiration nor traditional record can it be justly inferred that the words "He made the stars also," were intended to convey a belief that the entire galaxy of heaven—containing such multitudes of stars, that Herschel, when observing the milky way, computed, in one instance, two hundred and fifty-eight thousand to have passed through the field of his telescope in forty-one minutes, and the light of many of which, it is known, must have taken millions of years to reach our system—were all created at one and the same moment of time. "He made the stars also," implies that the same Being who

created the earth created the stars. To find more than this in the phrase, is to put a forced construction upon the terms employed. But there is one sense in which it is not less philosophically than theologically correct to speak of the entire work of creation as planned and executed at once. If we define the Great First Cause as a Being to whom the past and future are equally present—as the Great Eternal Now—it follows that to the Supreme Intelligence, everything begun appears at once as completed; the end exists at the same moment as the beginning.

It is an old metaphysical conclusion that time, or succession, exists only as *perceived*; that is, as a law of finite minds. Both time and space belong to the plan of creation; we cannot conceive of them as abstract or independent entities, existing apart from material forms, and apart from the order in which material forms present themselves to our observations. Leaving, however, speculations which appear beyond the proper grasp of the human faculties, we confine ourselves to the fact that time and space exist to us. To *us* and for *us* all events occur in a fixed order: the past, the present, and the future, are to us an infinite series of links; and the order of the series in ages gone by is all that we can understand of the work of creation.

This is an important truth, and we should not, while engaged in the present investigation, lose sight of it for an instant. We are in absolute ignorance, and, apparently, must ever remain in ignorance, of the nature of the connexion of cause and effect. The cause of an event we can only describe as that state of things which is invariably antecedent to another state of things, which we call an effect,—invariably consequent. A spark explodes a train of gunpowder;—it falls among snow, and is extinguished. Why does gunpowder explode, and not snow? We deceive ourselves by supposing that we have explained the matter when we say, that gunpowder is a composition of nitre, sulphur, and charcoal,—and that snow is only congealed water. We advance a step further, and discover that water is composed of two gases (hydrogen and oxygen), both separately inflammable, and learn that water thrown upon the metal *potassium*, will set it on fire; causing it to burn with a red flame. Reasoning, *à priori*, from these facts alone, we should inevitably conclude that snow was inflammable. We know to the contrary; but were an explosion to be the result of a spark falling among snow, it would not be in itself more wonderful than any other event of daily occurrence, which we call natural, and at which we express no surprise, from its familiarity. Experience teaches us that snow is not an explosive mixture. Why it is not, we cannot tell; and we can only say of it, as of every other instance of cause and

effect,—“such is the order of nature, and it has not been otherwise ordained.”

This consideration is one to dispel the illusion under which some critics of the ‘*Vestiges*’ have laboured, in assuming that a theory of “development” must, in some way, propose to rob the Divine Being of his creative attributes. *Causation, development, creation, growth*, are all terms of corresponding meaning,—names of processes, of which we can give no explanation but that of the order in which they transpire. Nothing can well be more akin to the old atheistical argument than the doctrine which limits creation to the past;—which assumes, that “in the beginning” matter was created and endowed with certain properties which, thenceforward, continued, and still continue, to work by their own vital energy. The notion of a deity, no longer indispensable in his own universe, was the natural parent of the doubt, whether matter itself might not be the only final cause. But what is matter, and what is spirit? Let us cease to play upon these terms. The essence of both escapes us. Our knowledge of either is confined to its effects. We know nothing of matter but through the forms which it assumes, and those forms are continually changing.

The work of creation is described in Genesis as one of new combinations. “The Lord God formed man *out of the dust of the ground* ;” and out of the dust of the ground we continue to be formed. Food is constantly being assimilated into the solids and fluids of the human frame; that food first extracted from the ground, and composed of earthy elements. What is this, in the case of the growth of a child into a man, but a visible *creation* of bone and muscle, flesh and blood; whether by another process, or the same with that through which the first man became “a living soul?” What is growth in the vegetable world different from a continued *creation* of bark and woody fibre? When we are told that a single acorn contains the germ of a whole forest, does the term *germ* convey any intelligible idea of a vital property to our minds? Is the acorn anything more to us than a sign, that, certain conditions fulfilled, the creative energy which is universally present will develop into being the shrub, the tree, and ultimately the forest?

With this sentiment on our minds, we have often watched in spring the development of young shoots and blossoms, and always with the highest interest. The process in the case of the horse-chestnut tree is one of great rapidity. A bud forms, half an inch in length, and within a fortnight, in favourable seasons, the bud expands into a shoot twelve inches long, with pendant leaves, resembling a green parasol. We have asked ourselves the ques-

tion,—Is it possible that a fortnight ago this green parasol was shut up in the small bud which then drew our attention? It is not to be believed. The bud was the beginning of a change which has been followed by other changes. Were those changes so rapid, that, within as many seconds as now days and years, a full-grown chesnut tree should start out of the earth before our eyes, we should exclaim, “a miracle!” “This is the hand of the Creator.” And why are we not to recognize the hand of the Creator because the miracle is of less speedy accomplishment? Is not every stage of the process, every stroke of the master workman, a separate miracle, over which we are invited to pause, and wonder, and adore? It is a beautiful thought, and one that belongs to the sublimest conceptions of both philosophy and religion, that the work of creation has *not* ceased with the past; that every birth is the creation of a new being; that every spring is, to the vegetable world, a *resurrection*, as literal as that which has been promised to man; that the impulse of gravitation—the centripetal and centrifugal forces—all the laws of nature, are the direct acts of Deity, guided by His own infinite wisdom.

Although scientific men have not hitherto been much accustomed to view the operations of nature in this light, they have been led to conclude that the formation of distant spheres might now be going forward; and astronomers have even announced that a process, analogous to creation, might be observed through the telescope. Sir William Herschel threw out the idea, that the cloud-like appearances termed *nebulae*, which the highest telescopic power known in his time could not resolve into stars, and which appeared as masses of diffused luminous matter, in different degrees of condensation, might be the preparatory state of solar systems. This idea was followed up by Laplace, who showed, that, assuming the existence of such luminous matter, and *nuclei* established within it, a rotatory motion would be given to the *nuclei* by the slightest obliquity in the direction of different currents, and that each *nucleus* would then become a centre of aggregation for surrounding particles, forming a rotating mass, the exterior portion of which would ultimately be thrown off by its own centrifugal force, and take the form of a ring, such as that of Saturn, or of a planet.

An illustration of this theory is quoted by the author of the ‘Vestiges’ in his 5th edition and in his ‘Explanations’ (page 14), from the experiments of Professor Plateau, of Ghent; subsequently repeated by Dr. Faraday:—

“Placing a mixture of water and alcohol in a glass box, and therein a small quantity of olive oil, of density precisely equal to the mixture, we have in the latter a *liquid mass relieved from the operation of*

gravity, and free to take the exterior form given by the forces which may act upon it. In point of fact, the oil instantly takes a globular form by virtue of molecular attraction. A vertical axis being introduced through the box, with a small disc upon it, so arranged that its centre is coincident with the centre of the globe of oil, we turn the axis at a slow rate, and thus set the oil sphere into rotation. 'We then presently see the sphere *flatten at its poles* and *swell out at its equator*, and we thus realize, on a small scale, an effect which is admitted to have taken place in the planets.' The spherifying forces are of different natures, that of molecular attraction in the case of the oil, and of universal attraction in that of the planets; but the results are analogous, if not identical, quickening the rotation makes the figure more spheroidal. When it comes to be so quick as two or three turns in a second, 'the liquid sphere first takes rapidly its maximum of flattening, then becomes hollow above and below, around the axis of rotation, stretching out continually in a horizontal direction, and finally abandoning the disc, is *transformed into a perfect regular ring*.' At first this remains connected with the disc by a thin pellicle of oil; but on the disc being stopped this breaks and disappears, and the ring becomes completely disengaged. The only observable difference between the latter and the ring of Saturn is that it is rounded instead of being flattened, but this is accounted for in a satisfactory way.

"A little after the stoppage of the rotatory motion of the disc, the ring of oil losing its own motion, gathers once more into a sphere. If, however, a smaller disc be used, and its rotation continued after the separation of the ring, rotatory motion and centrifugal force will be generated in the alcoholic fluid, and the oil ring, thus prevented from returning into the globular form, divides itself into '*several isolated masses, each of which immediately takes the globular form*.' These are almost always seen to assume, at the instant of their formation, *a movement of rotation upon themselves*; a movement which constantly takes place *in the same direction as that of the ring*. Moreover, as the ring, at the instant of its rupture, had still a remainder of velocity, the spheres to which it has given birth tend to fly off at a tangent; but as on the other side, the disc turning in the alcoholic liquor, has impressed on this a movement of rotation, the spheres are especially carried along by this last movement, and revolve for some time round the disc. Those which revolve at the same time upon themselves, consequently, then present the curious spectacle of *planets revolving at the same time on themselves and in their orbits*. Finally, another very curious effect is also manifested in these circumstances; besides three or four large spheres into which the ring resolves itself, there are almost always produced one or two very small ones, which may thus be compared to satellites."

A further illustration is given in favour of the same hypothesis, supported by the authority of Herschel and Professor Nichol, in the rotatory motion of the whirlpool produced by the meeting and

intermingling of currents of water. We are of course still left to account for the existence of "luminous masses," the "nuclei," and that "obliquity" of motion which is necessary to produce rotation; for two currents of equal force proceeding in exactly opposite directions and meeting, would come to a state of rest. These, to be understood, would have to be referred yet some steps further back, nearer to the final cause.

The Herschel conjecture, that the nebulae consist of luminous masses of vaporous matter in different stages of condensation, may be regarded as overturned by the revelations of Lord Rosse's telescope. The nebula in the sword of Orion having now been resolved into stars, it may be reasonably concluded that the whole of the nebulae are in like manner clusters of stars at immense distances. But the supposed vaporous character of the nebulae was but one of many considerations favorable to the hypothesis of Laplace. There is evidence that the earth once existed in a gaseous, or at least in a liquid state; a luminous vaporous matter is the substance of comets, and probably also, the cause of that appearance surrounding the sun, visible in tropical climates, called the zodiacal light.

The reasons for concluding that the primordial state of matter was gaseous or vaporiform, are the following:—

First. The most abundant substances in nature are the gases. Water is composed of oxygen and hydrogen; oxygen and nitrogen compose the air; and oxygen enters largely into the composition of every rock in the crust of the earth. Remove these, and the solid matters of the globe would sink comparatively into a nutshell.

Second. The state in which the solids and fluids now exist appears to be wholly governed by temperature, pressure, and chemical affinity.

"Water, when subjected to a temperature under 32° Fahrenheit, becomes ice; raise the temperature to 212°, and it becomes steam, occupying a vast deal more space than it formerly did. The gases, when subjected to pressure, become liquids. For example, carbonic acid gas, when subjected to weight equal to a column of water 1,230 feet high, at a temperature of 32°, takes this form. The other gases require various amounts of pressure for this transformation; but all appear to be liable to it when the pressure proper in each case is administered. Heat is a power greatly concerned in regulating the volume and other conditions of matter. The chemist will, probably, yet tell us what additional amount of heat is required to vaporize all the water of the globe; how much more to disengage the oxygen which is diffused, in nearly a proportion of one-half, through its solids; and, finally, how much more would be required to cause the whole to

become vaporiform. He may calculate, with equal certainty, what would be the effect of a considerable diminution of the earth's temperature; what changes would take place in each of its component substances; and how much the whole would shrink in bulk."^{*}

Third. The basis of all animal and vegetable substances is a globule, or cell; the expansion and multiplication of which constitutes membranous tissue, and the hardening or solidification of which, by secretion and concentration, constitutes bone and fibre. The carboniferous and calcareous strata of the earth are chiefly composed of these organisms disintegrated.

Fourth. The lowest known stratum of the earth is a crystalline floor; and indicates that the substance of which it is composed had been previously in a soft or liquid state. Granite, which is the foundation rock of the earth's crust, is composed of crystals of quartz, mica, felspar, and hornblende.

Fifth. There is an observable tendency in the operations of nature to increased solidification. Nearly three-fourths of the whole surface of the globe are water; but it is indubitable that the proportion of water to land must, at a remote period, have been much greater than at present. The space now occupied by the calcareous rocks, limestone, chalk, marble, gypsum—composed of elements which, in great part at least, must have been held in solution, and secreted from water by worms of the coral and polypi species,† is alone equal to the displacement of another ocean.

The data may not be decisive, but that the whole of the fifty-five simple substances, of which chemists tell us the earth is composed (many of which may hereafter be discovered to be compounds) first existed in a vaporiform state, is strongly presumptive. Assuming this to have been also the first state of matter throughout the whole solar system, and a nucleus formed with a rotatory motion, throwing off its external masses by centrifugal force, as in the experiments of M. Plateau, we have

* 'Vestiges of Creation,' p. 30. Fifth Edition.

† "The prodigious extent of the combined and unintermitting labours of these little world architects must be witnessed in order to be adequately conceived or realized. They have built up four hundred miles of barrier reef on the shores of New Caledonia; and, on the north-east coast of Australia, their labours extend for one thousand miles in length; and these reefs may average, perhaps, a quarter of a mile in breadth, and one hundred and fifty feet in depth; and they have been built amidst the waves of the ocean, and in defiance of its fiercest storms. The geologist, in contemplating these stupendous operations, learns to appreciate the circumstances by which were deposited, in ancient times, and under other conditions than those which now characterize our climate, those mountain masses of limestone, for the most part entirely coralline, which abound in many parts of our native island."—"The Ancient World," by T. D. Ansted, p. 32.

the most probable explanation that has yet appeared of the origin of the sun and planets, or of what may be termed the second stage of the process of their creation. The next stage was probably that of condensation, compression, and crystallization; chiefly, perhaps, conducted by gravitation and electrical agency. And here we abandon the region of speculation for that of authentic records, written in stone.

The first chapter of Geological History relates to a time when the crust of the earth existed without layers or stratification; a period of crystalline rocks; rocks covered wholly or in the greater part by water, and surrounded, as now, by air.

We reject the theory of incandescence. There is evidence that vast masses of rock were, at an early period, in a state of fusion; but there is no proof of universal and simultaneous fusion. The particles of common granite are agglomerated in a form often more indicative of sedimentary deposit than the action of fire,* and very different to that in which we find the same elements existing in the trap and basaltic rocks, which are confessedly of igneous origin; and in modern lava.

The supposition that the original state of matter was vaporiform does not, however, necessarily involve the conclusion that it existed in a state of higher temperature than at present, or as an "universal fire mist" — a phrase not happily chosen by the author of the 'Vestiges,' and which suggests, as he himself admits, the difficulty of a change or suspension of the known laws of heat, the repulsive energy of which would now counteract the influence of attraction or gravitation in the compression of vaporous masses into planetary bodies. Another serious difficulty would be to account for that waste of the forces of nature which is implied in the hypothesis of a globe gradually cooling from a state of incandescence. If heat be continually escaping from the earth by radiation, where does it escape to? If the answer be, that the excess of heat formerly concentrated in the globe is now diffused through infinite space, we may still inquire why such an excess should have been necessary at a former period, and not under existing circumstances?

The crust of the earth exhibits no appearances inexplicable upon the assumption that the whole of the natural forces which existed when the globe first became a planet continue in operation,

* This is the case with much of the Cornwall granite, composed of very coarse grains; and the crystals of which sometimes occur as large blocks, as in a conglomerate of stones rudely thrown together by the action of the sea. Geologists have too hastily concluded, that because granite, in numerous instances, has been subject to fusion and re-crystallization, that it was through fusion the materials of all granite first assumed the form of a composite rock.

and remain unimpaired. Its crystalline and laminated structure may, in part, be traced to electricity; the fusion of masses of the primitive rocks to volcanic action, and volcanic action to chemical changes. It has been shown by Sir H. Davy, Dr. Daubeny, and others, that the waters of the ocean, penetrating to the seat of the un-oxidised metals of the earths and alkalies (or, as suggested by Mr. Daniell, to metals de-oxidised by hydrogen), would, as in the instance before mentioned, of water and potassium, produce the intense heat which characterizes volcanic phenomena. An explanation strengthened by the facts, that volcanoes are chiefly on the sea-coast; that they exhale steam and gases, such as are found to be the products of decomposed salt water; that the fumes of Vesuvius deposit common salt; and that, according to Humboldt, in the case of some of the South American volcanoes, at a distance from the sea, and supposed to be supplied by subterranean lakes, quantities of fish are sometimes thrown out during eruptions.

The high temperature of mines, as compared with the surface of the earth, and the increase of that temperature in proportion to their depth, although not in an uniform ratio, seems to warrant the inference, that the whole central mass of the earth is even now in a state of igneous fluidity; but, on the other hand, we have the fact, that the temperature of the ocean diminishes from the surface downwards, at the mean rate of 1° in twenty-eight fathoms in temperate latitudes, and 1° in twenty-five fathoms in the tropics.* Further researches will probably identify the high temperature of the earth at great depths with the electric currents. The reasoning of Mr. Lyell against the Leibnitz doctrine of central heat is, to our minds, conclusive.†

* Ansted's 'Geology,' p. 498, vol. 1. Mr. Ansted states, that in the polar seas the colder water descends, and is replaced by warmer from below; and he concludes, that, at a certain depth, there is a constant equal temperature.

† 'Principles of Geology,' by Charles Lyell. Murray. In the second volume of this work, the theory of central heat, and the causes of volcanic action are ably discussed. The following is an extract. (Page 437, Chapter 19):—

"In Mr. Daniell's recent experiments for obtaining a measure of the heat of bodies at their point of fusion, he invariably found that it was impossible to raise the heat of a large crucible of melted iron, gold, or silver, a single degree beyond the melting point, so long as a bar of the respective metals was kept immersed in the fluid portions. So in regard to other substances, however great the quantities fused, their temperature could not be raised while any solid pieces immersed in them remained unmelted, every accession of heat being instantly absorbed during their liquefaction. These results, are, in fact, no more than the extension of a principle previously established, that so long as a fragment of ice remains in water, we cannot raise the temperature of the water above 32° Fr.

Geological investigations are, of course, confined to a comparatively small section of the earth, and there are but few data for forming even a plausible conjecture of the state of its centre. The upturned strata of the earth expose rocks which, when in their original horizontal position, are in some instances supposed to have been buried upwards of twenty miles below the present surface,* but a rupture even of this extreme depth is, as compared with the distance of the centre from the surface (3,956 miles), but as the scratch of a pin on the rind of an orange.

"If then, the heat of the earth's centre amount to 450,000° Fr., as M. Cordier deems highly probable, that is to say, about 20 times the heat of melted iron, even according to Wedgwood's scale, and upwards of 160 times according to the improved pyrometer, it is clear that the upper parts of the fluid mass could not long have a temperature only just sufficient to melt rocks. There must be a continual tendency towards a uniform heat; and until this were accomplished by the interchange of portions of fluid of different densities, the surface could not begin to consolidate. Nor, on the hypothesis of primitive fluidity, can we conceive any crust to have been formed until the whole planet had cooled down to about the temperature of incipient fusion.

"It may be said that we may stand upon the hardened surface of a lava current while it is still in motion,—nay, may descend into the crater of Vesuvius after an eruption and stand on the scorise while every crevice shows that the rock is red-hot two or three feet below us; and at a somewhat greater depth, all is, perhaps, in a state of fusion. May not, then, a much more intense heat be expected at the depth of several hundred yards or miles? The answer is, that until a great quantity of heat has been given off, either by the emission of lava, or in a latent form by the evolution of steam and gas, the melted matter continues to boil in the crater of a volcano. But ebullition ceases when there is no longer a sufficient supply of heat from below, and then a crust of lava may form on the top, and showers of scorise may then descend upon the surface and remain unmelted. If the internal heat be raised again, ebullition will recommence, and soon fuse the superficial crust. So in the case of the moving current, we may safely assume that no part of the liquid beneath the hardened surface is much above the temperature sufficient to retain it in a state of fluidity.

"It may assist us in forming a clearer view of the doctrine now controverted if we consider what would happen were a globe of homogeneous composition placed under circumstances analogous, in regard to the distribution of heat, to those above stated. If the whole planet, for example, were composed of water, covered with a spheroidal crust of ice fifty miles thick, and with an interior ocean having a central heat about two hundred times that of the melting point of ice, or 6,400° Fr.; and if between the surface and the centre, there was every intermediate degree of temperature between that of melting ice and that of the central nucleus, could such a state of things last for a moment? If it must be conceded in this case, that the whole spheroid would be instantly in a state of violent ebullition, that the ice (instead of being strengthened annually by new internal layers), would soon melt, and form part of an atmosphere of steam, on what principle can it be maintained that analogous effects would not follow in regard to the earth, under the conditions assumed in the theory of central heat?"

* Lyell's 'Principles of Geology,' vol. ii. p. 441.

"The mean density of the earth has been computed by La Place to be about $5\frac{1}{2}$, or more than five times that of water. Now the specific gravity of many of our rocks is from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3, and the greater part of the metals range between that density and 21. Hence some have imagined that the terrestrial nucleus may be metallic—that it may correspond, for example, with the specific gravity of iron, which is about 7. But here a curious question arises in regard to the form which materials, whether fluid or solid, might assume, if subjected to the enormous pressure which must obtain at the earth's centre. Water, if it continued to decrease in volume, according to the rate of compressibility deduced from experiment, would have its density doubled at the depth of ninety-three miles, and be as heavy as mercury at the depth of 362 miles. Dr. Young computed, that at the earth's centre, steel would be compressed into one-fourth, and stone into one-eighth of its bulk. It is more than probable, however, that after a certain degree of condensation the compressibility of bodies may be governed by laws altogether different from those which we can put to the test of experiment; but the limit is still undetermined, and the subject is involved in such obscurity that we cannot wonder at the variety of notions which have been entertained respecting the nature and conditions of the central nucleus. Some have conceived it to be a fluid, others solid: some have imagined it to have a cavernous structure, and have even endeavoured to confirm this opinion by appealing to observed irregularities in the vibrations of the pendulum in certain countries."

The opinion of some philosophers that the interior of the earth is cavernous, is strengthened by the considerations that the superstructure left by falling bodies, as in old mines and ruinous buildings, invariably settles in the form of a vault or arch, and that the tendency of the forces of gravitation, or of the centripetal and centrifugal motions, is to produce an annular or circular arrangement of all substances. Planets do not fall into the sun, although it is the common centre of gravitation, but move round it in an elliptical orbit; and from the same influences the solids and fluids of the globe may be necessarily confined to its circumference, forming a crust of possibly not more than 400 miles in thickness. But the fact, if it be one, will probably be found susceptible of mathematical demonstration.

The natural history of the earth subsequent to the era of compression, condensation, and crystallization, may be in great part described as a series of operations still continued in the laboratory of nature, for the formation of strata adapted to the support of vegetable and animal life. And here we are led to understand the use of that vast mass of waters which constitutes three-fourths

* Lyell's 'Principles of Geology,' vol. ii. p. 430.

of the earth's surface. The ocean has been the universal mother of all living forms,—the creator and fertilizer of soils,—the immediate instrument of the Divine Being in the fulfilment of his plans, when the command was issued,—“Let the dry land appear.”

With the aids furnished by science we can unquestionably look back to a period, remote indeed though it be, when not a blade of grass grew in this now green world. Then, as now, the predominating mineral was silica, but not then as now, existing in that finely comminuted state which fits it to enter into the texture of plants; but as quartz rock. Before the various earths which constitute the frame-work of both plants and animals could be secreted by their absorbent vessels, the rocks of which the earths were composed had to be pulverized, and mixed up together in the proportions required for the vegetable and animal structures to be formed. This process of reduction and intermingling has been accomplished by the action of water; partly by rain and running streams, but chiefly by the more forcible abrasion of the waves of the sea.* The intention of nature in this grinding-

* It will be seen from the following analysis of granite, taken from ‘Ansted’s Geology,’ that all soils are principally composed of the ingredients of this rock, disintegrated, and its particles combined in new proportions:—

“Quartz is a mineral too well known, and too widely extended, to require any detailed description. It occurs sometimes crystalline, and sometimes massive; and is often seen forming veins in those unstratified rocks, such as granite, which contain a large proportion of it in their ordinary structure.

“Felspar is an earthly mineral, occurring both massive and disseminated. there are several varieties of it, all of which scratch glass. Their structure is always laminated; they yield with more or less ease to mechanical cleavage; and they are composed of variable proportions of siliceous, alumina, and potash, with a little iron. Felspar is one of the most abundant minerals in nature.

“Mica is a well-known mineral, which splits readily in one direction. It occurs abundantly in granite, and in several of the best known igneous rocks. The plates of which it is composed are readily separated, and are flexible, and very elastic. They are also brilliant and translucent, so as to be capable of being used instead of window-glass.

“Hornblende is also a mineral abundantly distributed in several igneous and altered rocks. It is characterized by its dark green or velvet black colour, its peculiar form of crystallization, and its shining lustre. It is opaque, and tough, but yields pretty easily to the knife. It contains a considerable proportion of iron (the blacker varieties especially), combined with silica, alumina, lime, and magnesia. It has a distinct cleavage, and a coarse, uneven fracture, and yields a peculiar smell when breathed upon. *Augite* is another form of the same mineral, distinguished from hornblende by its higher lustre, greater hardness, and conchoidal fracture; and it is more frequently found in volcanic rocks of comparatively modern date than in the oldest igneous and altered rocks.

up of the original crystalline rocks, is the same as that of the husbandman in ploughing and manuring a field. The soil must be permeated by air and fluids, and all the substances required for vegetable growth must be so intermixed that the roots of a plant may find them, or there will be no harvest.

Bearing this proposition in mind (the truth of which is almost self evident), we may form in our own minds a clear idea of what must have been the order of the natural phenomena which preceded the introduction of life, and accompanied it through its different stages.

1. Crystalline rocks, broken into fragments; rolling and grinding together at the bottom of the sea, until the soluble or diffusible portion of them (such as rock salt) had been taken up by the water, and the rest left as a vast deposit of a coarse-grained sand,—the material of the composite rock called *granite*.

2. Deposits of substances diffusible only in water, or but slightly soluble, such as fine sand, alumina, and lime. Hence the clay slates, which form what is considered the oldest stratified rock of Great Britain, resting upon the granite of Skiddaw; and hence the argillaceous, gritty, and calcareous constituents of the next oldest series of stratified rocks, first discovered by Mr. Murchison, in Wales, and named by him the Silurian system.*

3.—Dry land, consisting of fossiliferous strata, chiefly limestone, elevated above the surface of the water. These form the basis of what is called the carboniferous system, in which we first find *coal*;—the decayed, buried, and stratified products of the first forests and jungles.

"The following are the mineral constituents of the most common forms of felspar, mica, and hornblende. Quartz consists of nearly pure silica, with a trace, however, of alumina, and sometimes iron:—

	Felspar.	Mica.	Hornblende.	Augite, from Etna.
Silica	66·75	48·00	42·00	52·00
Alumina	17·50	34·25	12·00	3·33
Lime	1·25	—	11·00	13·20
Potash	12·00	8·75	a trace	—
Magnesia	—	—	2·25	10·00
Oxide of Iron	0·75	4·50	30·00	14·66
Oxide of Manganese	—	0·50	0·25	2·00
Water	—	—	0·75	—
	98·25	96·00	98·25	95·19

—Jameson's *Mineralogy*.

"From the proportion of silica found in each of the three substances of which granite rocks are composed, it would appear to be the most abundant mineral in the earth. Its metallic base is termed *silicon*. Silica is formed by the combination of oxygen and silicon in equal parts."

* From a tribe of its ancient inhabitants—the Silures.

In the rocks of this series are discovered the first fossils, or remains of organized beings; and in the upper portion of the series, limestone of coralline formation. The next series of rocks, termed the "old red sandstone," and "the Devonian system," show but a repetition of the same sub-aqueous processes—granitic particles worn by longer attrition into a finer sand, further deposits of alumina and other substances, previously diffused in water or held in solution.

In considering this progressive series as the natural order of creation, we have to view it as one subject to interruption, from the disturbing influences (whatever be their nature) which have repeatedly depressed the land in one part of the globe while elevating it in others, shifted the bed of the ocean, overwhelmed with its sandy or argillaceous deposits the life-bearing surface of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and produced that violent disruption and partial fusion of the stratified rocks of which we find every where a record, written in fire.

The causes of this disturbance require our attention. Volcanic action, which is but a secondary effect, does not explain them. We account for the extinction of many ancient volcanoes, by the fact that the sea which supplied them with fuel has receded from the coast. But why have new volcanoes been opened? Why has the sea receded from one coast and advanced upon another? Why, at the end of that period when England was the seat of a luxurious tropical vegetation, was it again overwhelmed by the waters of the ocean, and the gigantic ferns of our coal measures buried beneath the immense sub-aqueous deposits of the "lower new red conglomerate," and magnesian limestone? It is important to note the high temperature which Geology has demonstrated once prevailed in northern latitudes, as bearing upon this part of our investigation. Changes of temperature, a shifting from time to time of the bed of the ocean, the breaking out of new volcanoes, may all have a connexion with some uniform process of nature which, once understood, would enable us to unravel those enigmas of cosmogony which have hitherto been involved in mystery. It was an unexpected and somewhat startling discovery that the strata most productive of fossils of the tertiary period, embracing chiefly the remains of animals of existing species, were those of islands in the frozen seas of the arctic circle, where no living animal of the temperate regions could now subsist. Several examples of this, perhaps less familiar to the reader than others, will be found in the narrative, recently pub-

* Ansted's 'Geology.' Vol. 1, page 199.

lished, of Von Wrangell's expedition to the Polar Sea.* The following is his account of one of the islands of the new Siberian group—Kotelnoi, in latitude $75\frac{1}{2}$ N., taken from the Appendix to the work :—

“On the hills in the interior of the island, Sannikow found the skulls and bones of horses, buffaloes, oxen, and sheep, in such abundance that these animals must formerly have lived there in large herds. At present, however, the icy wilderness produces nothing that could afford them nourishment; nor would they be able to endure the climate.”

Mammoth bones were also found in every part of the island, and large trees, dead and partially fossilized. Of the remains of the mammoth, an animal which could only have existed in a region where the vegetation was most abundant, he says :—

“The whole soil of the first of the Linkhow Islands (lat. $73\frac{1}{2}$) is covered with them. For about eighty years the fur hunters have every year brought large cargoes from this island, but as yet there is no sensible diminution of the stock. A sandbank on the western side is the most productive of all; and the fur hunters maintain that when the sea recedes, after a long continuance of easterly winds, a fresh supply of mammoth bones is always found to have been washed on this bank, proceeding apparently from some vast store at the bottom of the sea.”

The division of labour has many advantages, but it is attended with this misfortune, that in the devotion of scientific men to some one branch of knowledge, they are apt to forget the general relation of the sciences, and the help which often might be derived from one science in the explanation of another. Hence the indifference of astronomers to facts of geology, such as the above, which, if studied, would probably sometimes lead to the detection of errors and oversights in astronomical calculations; and hence the ignorance of geologists of astronomical problems, always assumed to have no connexion with their own particular subject of investigation.

There is one problem of the earth's motion, connected with what is called the precession of the equinoxes, of which only an imperfect and unsatisfactory solution has hitherto been given, and which has a most important bearing upon the geological phenomena to which we are now alluding. By the precession of the equinoxes is understood an annual change of the place or precise spot at which the sun in the ecliptic crosses the plane of the equator, producing, twice in the year, equal days and equal

* Edited by Lieut.-Col. Sabine. Madden and Co. Page 496, 2nd edition.

nights all over the world. The two points of intersection, of the spring and autumnal equinox, recede from east to west at the rate of $50\frac{1}{4}$ sec. annually, or one degree in $71\frac{1}{4}$ years; and travel round the entire circumference of the earth in 25,869 years—the period which was termed by the ancients “a Platonic year.” Its physical cause is “the attraction of the sun and moon upon the protuberant mass of matter accumulated about the earth’s equator, combined with the diurnal rotation.”*

The effects of this attraction have been described by astronomers as producing both the precession of the equinoxes and a slight oscillation of the axis of the earth, called its *nutation*, by which, twice in the year, the plane of the equator inclines towards the ecliptic, and returns as often to its former position.

It is now held by some, that this motion of the earth’s axis is not oscillatory but spiral; involving a gradual change in the relative position of the different parts of the earth in reference to the equatorial and polar regions, although the mass itself retains the same general inclination:—as in a spinning ball, which has always an upper and a lower side, although the *same* side is not always the upper nor the lower. This change, we are told, is so minute as to be scarcely perceptible in a hundred years, but amounts in the course of the precessional round of the Platonic year, to a difference in the latitudes of all places of about three and a half degrees.

For the mathematical data upon which this hypothesis is founded—first submitted to the members of the Astronomical Society by Captain Bergh—we must refer the reader to the tables of M. de la Lande, the observations of Dr. Maskelyne, in 1788, and Vince’s Astronomy.† The fact of any change in

* ‘Encyclopedia Britannica,’ vol. xviii., p. 506.

† The data are also partly given in an ‘Essay on the Coincidence of Astronomical and Geological Phenomena,’ by W. D. Saull, Esq., published in 1836; and in two papers, supporting the same views, in the last April and May numbers of the ‘Civil Engineer,’ by Mr. O. Byrne; from which the following is an extract:—

“It would appear that all astronomers and philosophers of every description had made up their minds to change everything before they would allow the latitudes to change, although such a change is shown to exist, whether the subject under consideration be astronomical, geological, or geographical.

“The latitude of ordinary places may differ from time to time, in a greater or lesser degree, from the inaccuracy of instruments, observations, or measurements; but it ought to excite a suspicion to find the latitudes of observatories changing where oversights have no possible chance to enter into such a simple problem as the determination of the latitude. Now, it is a noted fact, that every astronomer in Europe counts his observatory to be in a different latitude from that of any of his predecessors, if such have had a predecessor; even

the axis of the earth, excepting that of a semi-annual oscillatory movement has been stoutly denied, and the question will admit of much discussion; but the evidence in favour of the new theory has made sufficient impression upon our minds to induce us to call attention to the subject, and, assuming its correctness, we would briefly note the conclusions to which it leads.

The rotatory motion of the earth, and solar attraction, the influence of which is of course greatest upon those parts which are nearest the sun, cause the earth to assume a spheroidal form, or to be flattened at the poles, and elevated to a corresponding extent at the equator; so that the earth's diameter at the equator is greater by a thickness of about thirty-four miles than at the poles. It follows that any cause that would change, however slowly, the relative position of these parts of the globe, so that the existing equatorial region should become the most distant from the sun, and the existing polar regions the nearest to the sun, would involve the elevation of the lands and seas of the present arctic and antarctic circles, and the depression of the lands and seas now lying within the tropics. The order of this elevation and depression would be governed by the varying resistance of the solids and fluids of the earth to the force acting upon them. The ocean would rise or fall slowly and equably to its appointed place. The stratified rocks affected by the change, would, in some

astronomers called Royal, in enlightened England and France, differ respecting the latitudes of their respective observatories, given by their several predecessors, but their differences are seen to be saddled upon any cause except the true one—the actual change of the place with reference to the poles. These facts are so well known that it would be useless to give a list of the latitudes in which the several observatories have been said to stand.

"It would likewise be useless to state the different latitudes which have been given to the same remarkable places on coasts and elsewhere; these were changed without the slightest compunction, as time could not be spared for them to undergo the like cookery which the latitudes of observatories have undergone.

"Not only the change of the latitudes of objects and places shows this change in the earth's axis; but among many other observed facts, we may here mention that the foundations of all our old churches, which were laid out due east and west, and due north and south, have shifted to comply with the right motion of the earth's axis, and that, too, in direct proportion to the dates of their standing. One of the most remarkable instances of this kind that has fallen under our notice is that presented by the position of the city of Philadelphia, in the United States of America. The surveyors, under the direction of William Penn, the founder, laid out Market-street and Broad-street, crossing each other at right angles, due east and west, and due north and south; but now they point in different directions, accommodating themselves to the universal law, which is here for the first time shown to exist."

cases, crumble down by sub-aqueous attrition into new deposits, and in others would retain, from the firmness of their structure, their present form and position, until at last broken up with violence by the increasing strength of the gravitatory influence combined with new volcanic action, that would act upon them from above or beneath.

It will be seen at a glance, that the theory is one of great interest. Not only does it account, and satisfactorily, for the disruption of ancient strata, the up-heaving of mountain ranges, the subsidence of continents, and those numerous alternations of marine and land deposits which have been traced by geologists, but if correct, it will by-and-by enable us to ascertain the exact date of the different geological epochs. Grant that latitudes change by a consequence of the fixed laws of motion or of gravitation, which has escaped observation in the complexity of their results, and the amount of annual change known, a school-boy will be enabled to calculate back the number of centuries which have elapsed since tropical plants and animals, of which the fossils are preserved in our museum, flourished upon English soil.

Returning now to the natural order of creation as it prevails in periods of repose, undisturbed by conflicting forces, we will proceed to consider the probability of a simultaneous appearance on the earth of the whole of the vegetable and animal tribes, or of their progressive introduction as members of a series, commencing with the simplest forms and ascending to the complex and higher organizations. The 'Edinburgh Reviewer' tells us that he has spent years of active life among the ancient strata, looking for, "even longing for," some arrangement of the fossils which might fall in with his preconceived notions of a natural ascending scale, but that he had looked in vain. He says :—

"The *Radiata*, such as corals and encrinites are found throughout ; but they are found along with the higher types, and they abound more in the upper than in the lower bands of the *protozoic* system."*

Again, he remarks, that—

"It may be true that sea-weeds came first, but that of this we have no proof ; and of land plants we have not the shadow of proof that the simple forms came into being before the more complex. The simple and complex forms are found together in our most ancient flora."†

Future antiquarians, in examining our cemeteries, will discover the remains of children and their parents buried together ; but will not, probably, like our critic, reason from this to the conclusion that children and parents were born together. It was not

* Page 31, No. 165, for July, 1845.

† Page 42.

necessary to the hypothesis of development that the simplest forms, because the first created, should have ceased to exist before the higher organizations came into being; on the contrary, it is a principle essential to that hypothesis that the simplest forms will continue to be developed to the end of time in circumstances favourable to a renewal of the same creative operation at the same initiatory stage. The statement that there is not a shadow of proof that the simple forms of land plants came into being before the more complex, is one of which the refutation might be left not to a geologist but to a common gardener. A Cambridge professor would find it difficult to persuade the most unlettered horticulturist among our peasantry, that when the rocks of the earth were bare of vegetable mould they grew majestic oaks; and that the humble *lichen* did not come first to supply the pabulum of their future substance.

Independent of all geological facts, our daily experience of the operations of nature, in which we see growth dependent upon decomposition, death the means of life, instructs us that the carnivorous and omnivorous races were preceded by herbivorous races, and herbivorous races preceded by herbs or plants. Something to feed upon must first be provided for all creatures that are to live by food. The farmer sows his turnips before he buys his sheep.

The marine origin of all soils, proves that the first organisms were those of marine vegetation, and it is admitted by all geologists that marine animals were the first of living creatures; a corroboration, so far, of the Mosaic account of the Creation; in which (it may be observed by the way), there are several points of coincidence with the results of modern scientific investigation, not a little remarkable if we are to view the narrative merely as a traditional record of high antiquity. The narrative in Genesis describes an abyss of *waters*,—the formation of land,—the production of vegetation,—the *waters* bringing forth abundantly “every living creature that moveth,” including fowl; afterwards the *earth* giving birth to cattle and creeping things, and finally, man created to have dominion over all. This is the order of Palæontology,—the newly-named science which treats of the beings that lived in the early ages of the world. Fishes, water-fowl, amphibious animals of the lizard species, land animals,—but no human beings. Of human existence there is no record in that part of the earth’s history which is written upon stone tablets.

The precise order of succession of each of the innumerable subdivisions of the vegetable and animal tribes that now exist, or that have existed, on the earth, can never of course be accurately traced. The subject is too vast for more than approxi-

mate and general conclusions, and we find it will be impossible to condense into the space to which we are confined, the summary we had proposed of the known facts most intimately connected with that graduated scale of progress, which we hold to prevail not less in the physical than in the moral world, and regard as the appointed manifestation of the divine will. In our further remarks we must confine ourselves to the task of removing misconceptions and supporting the positions we have already advanced.

It will be admitted by most persons that there is a law of adaptation—that plants are adapted to soils and soils to plants—food to animals and animals to food; that the mammoth and the megatherium were not created to devour forests before forests existed for them to devour. In this admission, however, is involved a recognition of the fact upon which we have insisted, that the simpler forms of organization must have preceded the complex; for, as nature does nothing in vain—as it does not, for example, create a mammoth to crush a buttercup, it follows that the creatures that lived upon the first vegetable organisms did not possess a more complicated organization than was necessary for the assimilation of such simple food* or the means of procuring it. Organs for attack and defence, and organs suitable for the digestion of new substances, would be provided in the order in which they would be required for use, and not otherwise; as in the case of the human teeth, which not being needed for sucking, are not developed till after the first months of infancy. But the most striking illustrations of this principle of progressive organization, and which bring the most clearly home to the mind the creative energy in *present* operation, are furnished by the zoophytes. We take the following from Dr. Johnston's new work on this, perhaps the most interesting branch of natural history. It relates to one of the species of marine worms or polypi, first described by Tremblay, called the *Actinia*.

"The size of the prey is frequently in unseemly disproportion to the prey, being often equal in bulk to itself. I had once brought me a specimen of *Act. crassicornis*, that might have been originally two inches in diameter, and that had somehow contrived to swallow a valve of *Pecten maximus* of the size of an ordinary saucer. The shell fixed

* Dr. Johnston in his 'History of British Zoophytes,' is at a loss to account upon the theory of development for the muscles and nerves with their ganglions possessed by the *animalculum tintinnabulum*, and the loss of them when it ceases to enjoy a nomadic existence. He has not remarked that the suppression of organs no longer required, is as much insisted upon as a natural process by the author of the 'Vestiges,' as the addition of new organs in circumstances rendering them necessary.

within the stomach was so placed as to divide it completely into two halves, so that the body, stretched tensely over, had become thin and flattened like a pancake. All communication between the inferior portion of the stomach and the mouth was of course prevented; yet instead of emaciating and dying of an atrophy, the animal had availed itself of what undoubtedly had been a very untoward accident to increase its enjoyments and its chances of double fare.* A new mouth, furnished with two rows of numerous tentacula, was opened upon what had been the base, and led to the under stomach—the individual had indeed become a sort of Siamese twin, but with greater intimacy and extent in its unions."

It may be said that the development of organs in our own case stops at a certain point, and that nature does not enable us to produce new teeth, or new arms and legs, in proportion to the need felt for them. This is true; but nature does that which is much better: it teaches us to facilitate digestion by cookery, and to construct machines which, for power and speed, supply the place of a thousand limbs. The development of instincts and reasoning faculties is but another of the modes of creative power.

"The Actiniae are very patient of injuries, and rival the Hydra in their reproductive powers. They may be kept without food for upwards of a year; they may be immersed in water hot enough to blister their skin, or frozen in a mass of ice and again thawed, and they may be placed within the exhausted receiver of the air-pump without being deprived of life, or disabled from resuming their usual functions when placed in a favourable situation. If the tentacula are clipped off they soon begin to bud anew, and if again cut away they grow again. So that it seems these reproductions might extend as far, or be as often repeated, as patience or curiosity would admit. If cut transversely through the middle, the lower portion of the body will, after a time, produce new tentacula pretty nearly as they were before the operation, while the upper portion swallows food as if nothing had happened; permitting it indeed at first to come out at the opposite end; just as a man's head, being cut off, would let out at the neck the bit taken in at the mouth, but which it soon learns to retain and digest in the proper manner. In an experiment of this kind, the upper half, instead of healing up into a new basis, actually produced another mouth and tentacula; so that an animal was formed which caught its prey and fed at both ends at the same time. If, again, the section of the body is made in a perpendicular direction, so as almost to divide it into two halves, these halves unite again in a few days. If the section is complete, two perfect individuals is the result; and to complete the wonder, if the body is torn away and only a portion of the base remain, from this fragment a new offspring will sometimes rise up to occupy the place of its parent."

Such an example as the above, by showing the fertility of the

resources of nature, seems to strengthen the hypothesis of a transmutation of species, from the lower to the higher, and, in unfavourable circumstances, from the higher to the lower. But the fact of transmutation, within certain limits, needs no confirmation. It is unquestioned even by the greatest opponents of the theory of development; who treat it, however, only as the exception, and deny it as the general rule. The difference between a caterpillar and a butterfly is so great, that we call the change of one into the other not even a transmutation, but a transformation; and no naturalist would have classed the tadpole and the frog as belonging to one species, but from the observed phenomena of their growth.

The popular idea of the origin of life is, that the first animals and plants came into being in the state in which we see them when full grown; but this opinion is wholly unsupported by existing analogies, for we cannot point to a single living form that has not occupied an humbler position in the past than in the present. Every tree has been a shrub; every shrub a tender plant; every man a child; every child an embryo in the womb. Existing analogies would teach us that in the earliest days of creation, life, as now, commenced with the *germ*. Not, however, that *the same* germ was the common foundation of all the varieties of animal or vegetable organization;—the doctrine supposed to be conveyed in the ‘*Vestiges of Creation*,’ from some unguarded expressions in the first edition, too strictly interpreted. This error has been dissipated by the subsequent corrections of the author.

“The result of my own investigations is, that there is an order in animated nature, but that it has hitherto been much misunderstood both by those who incline to a theory of development, and others. The former naturally took hold of the idea of gradations, because it generally accorded with the notion of development. They pointed to that ‘chain of being,’ or series of ascending forms, which had long been supposed to extend between the animalcule and the human being. It was on the other hand successfully shown, that beings did not form ‘a single and continuous series’; that it was ‘impossible to place all living animals in such an order that we may always pass from one species to another by following a decrease in perfection!’ ‘On the one hand, there are classes of animals so insulated, that nothing connects them with others.’ ‘On the other, there are types of organization which are absolutely indivisible, and of which the most perfect beings are superior to the mean of another type, while the most imperfect are inferior to it.’ All this is true: it remained unanswered by the advocates of the development theory; and such was the position of the question when the earlier editions of the present work made their appearance. But the error actually lay in the original idea of a chain of being.

"The animal kingdom, (and, by consideration of parity, we may presume the vegetable also) consists of a *plurality of series* going on side by side with each other, but not all to the same point in the scale. No wonder accordingly, that some appear insulated, or that the highest of some types are superior to the meanest of others, while the most imperfect appear inferior. Nor is this merely a hypothetical view of the animal kingdom. It is strongly pointed to by some of the most interesting discoveries in embryology. It is supported by several important considerations regarding the general characters of particular series. It likewise harmonizes with that order of fossils which I have ventured to describe, as not something calling in itself for explanation, but a fact, which we may look to as one of the means of explaining something else—the whole history of organization upon earth. Finally, such reformation as this new view calls for in our classifications, is accordant in its general demands with all those recently effected by the greatest naturalists, by which external and comparatively accidental characters are overlooked, and only the more essential affinities regarded. If it goes beyond the march of living naturalists, it goes in the direction in which they are going, and over ground to which I believe they must quickly come, whether they adopt a genealogical view of the organic world or not."

We have now placed before our readers the elements of an inquiry that might worthily occupy the best years of manhood, and the evening of declining age. Those who may feel inclined to pursue it, will find the materials of investigation in the works to which we have referred.* A view of the general relations of the whole of earth's animated tribes would embrace too wide a field for the present discussion. We must here take our leave of the subject, and we will do so with a few thoughts, in part suggested by the following reflections of the author of the 'Vestiges,' in the concluding chapter of his 'Explanations,' upon the great principle of *Law* (another term for Almighty power, and infinite wisdom), by which the world is governed.

"Is our own position affected injuriously by this view, or can our relation to the universe and its author be presumed to be so? Assuredly not.—The Deity himself becomes a defined, instead of a capricious, being. Power to make and to uphold remains his as before, but is invested with a character of tranquillity altogether new, the highest attribute we can conceive in connexion with power. Viewing him as the author of this vast scheme by the mere force of his will, and yet as the indispensably present sustainer of all; seeing

* In the list of scientific works placed at the head of this article are several of which we must defer the notice until we find an opportunity of recurring to the subject. One of them, Mr. Ansted's last publication, 'The Ancient World described,' is an excellent geological treatise for popular use, well illustrated; and one which supplies that great desideratum of many readers, an explanation of every scientific term employed, in the form of foot-notes to every page.

that the whole is constructed upon a plan of benevolence and justice; we expand to loftier, more generous, and holy emotions, as we feel that we are essential parts of a system so great and good. The place we hold in comparison is humble beyond all statement of a degree; yet it is a certain and intelligible place. We know where we stand, and have some sense also of our chronological place. The years of our existence occupy a space in that mighty series during some earlier portion of which this globe, since the theatre of glories and of sorrows numberless, was moulded into form. Arithmetic could state, if we knew it, the connexion between the birth of a babe which saw the light an hour ago, and the time when the elements of our astral system began to resolve themselves into those countless orbs, one of which is Man's, the stage of his long descended history, and the bounds within which all his secular phenomena must ever be confined. The unit of each individuality, great or humble in social regard, takes a fixed place in that march of life which rose unreckoned ages ago, and now goes on to a 'weird,' which no wizard has pretended to know. We feel that, amidst all the disgrace of trouble, and of trespass, we are still the first form of active being after the Greatest, and, therefore, may well be assured, that immeasurable as is our distance from God, we are still immediately regarded and cared for by him. Surely there is here much to soothe and encourage. It may be that the individual often suffers innocently to appearance, in our present sphere; but then he is part of a system of assured benevolence and justice; having faith in this, he is safe. It may be, as some one has suggested, that there is not only a term of life to the individual, but to the species, and that when the proper time comes, the prolific energy being exhausted, man is transferred to the list of extinct forms. Strange thought, that the beauteous phenomena of personal existence, the thrill of the lover, the mother's smile on cherub infancy, the brightness of loving firesides, the aspirations of generous poets and philosophers, the thought cast up and beyond the earthly, that petard which breaks down every door—the tear of penitence, the meekness of the suffering humble, the ardour of the strong in good causes, all that the great and beneficent of all ages have felt, all that each of us now sees and muses on, in his home, his people, his age,—that *all these* should be thus resolved; fleeting away whole 'equinoxes' into the past, as far as we particular men, are concerned; still passing further back as respects the larger personalities called nations, and still further in inconceivable multiplication with regard to the species—gone, lost, hushed in the stillness of a mightier death than has hitherto been thought of! But yet the faith may not be shaken, that that which has been endowed with the power of god-like thought and allowed to come into communion with its Eternal Author, cannot be truly lost. The vital flame which proceeded from him at first, returns to him in our perfected form at last, bearing with it all good and lovely things, and making of all the far extending past but one intense present, glorious and everlasting."

It is pleasing to remark, in the preceding beautiful passage, the tone of mind which may result, as in this instance, from a fearless and philosophical pursuit of truth. We live in an age scarcely less remarkable for progress in the physical sciences than for the decay of faith and hope. The conventional forms of religion continue, it is true, to be held in outward respect, but the spirit of them is gone. They even spread from day to day; but in the same manner as a taste spreads for the architecture of the middle ages, and for old pieces of furniture in fashionable drawing-rooms. There is evidence of a growing disposition among all classes to regard what are called the proprieties of life, or the habits of decent society; but none of growing belief. The stern protestant spirit of the Reformation, and the non-conformist earnestness which succeeded, have given place to the hollow maxims of expediency. Men do not now fight for their religious scruples, or struggle for the rights of conscience. They remain silent, and *conform*. This is, perhaps, a melancholy characteristic of the present age; but it is an age of transition. Indifference, or scepticism, on the highest subjects of human contemplation, is not a state natural to man. The mind will not rest there. There are, after all, realities in human destiny; realities which will one day be felt, and the moral courage of the most gifted intellects among us will return with *faith*. The time will come when religion will be included in the circle of the sciences; or placed at their head. Already we are hastening to the discovery that the will of the Creator is recorded in his works; and if it be so, who shall say to what extent that *will* may yet be revealed to him by whom the works of the Creator may be rightly studied. Let us consider for a moment the principal difficulty which impedes the progress of natural religion. It is this:—The elements of all existing organisms exist in two classes; the ponderable and the imponderable, the visible and the invisible. The nature of one of these invisible elements is now so far understood, that we can make use of it as a medium for the communications of thought. Why should it be for ever impossible to learn something of that other invisible element which constitutes life? In that knowledge would be resolved the mystery of life to come.

FOREIGN LITERATURE.

THE literary affairs of the Continent are beginning to assume a more lively and promising aspect. We have survived "the dark ages" of the last fifteen or twenty months, and are now entering apparently on another period of "*renaissance*." This time the revival of letters has commenced in France, and not, as of yore, in Italy. The gloomy night that is past has not been altogether starless, and the French historical works which we noticed six months ago have been the precursors of the dawn that is now overspreading the whole face of continental authorship. Several works of merit are now before us, and others are promised, which are likely to attract considerable attention. Among the latter we look forward with much interest to a new tragedy* by the distinguished author of 'Arnaldo da Brescia,' far beyond all reach of rivalry the first of living Italian poets. The work has been announced in the last lists we have received as on the eve of publication, and will probably make its appearance in London about the same time as our present number. This news is the more welcome to us as coming when we least expected it. Not that we despaired of the hitherto oppressed genius of Italy; we know what wealth of thought and power of utterance lay hid in many of her mute inglorious sons, and were sure that the stirring events and ennobling emotions that now pervade the whole length and breadth of that intellectual land would soon call forth many a poet and prose writer worthy of such themes. But the time for this literary movement is scarcely yet arrived. The Italians are now occupied in making the materials of history and poetry; the facts being first secured, their expression will follow in due time. In Rome the newly emancipated newspaper press lays claim to the exertions of every man who can help the good cause with his

* Filippo Strozzi. Tragedia di G. B. Niccolini, Corredata d'una Vita di Filippo e di Documenti inediti. 8vo. Firenze.

pen, and the excellent articles that abound in the journals afford most gratifying evidence of the progress made by the Italian mind in sound political knowledge. The newspaper is likely, for some time to come, to be the chief vehicle of thought in the peninsula, but the impulse will by-and-by extend to the more enduring forms of literature.

The subject chosen by Niccolini offers ample scope for poetic treatment. Two men of the name of Filippo Strozzi figure in the history of Florence from the latter part of the fifteenth to near the middle of the sixteenth century. The first of these was the founder of that vast and sombre fortress-palace that bears the family name. He died in 1497. The edifice, the cost of which was enormous, was completed by his son, who we presume is Niccolini's hero. The second Filippo was the wealthiest, and one of the most influential citizens of Florence during the stormy times of Duke Alessandro Medici, and those who immediately preceded and followed him in the government. Sometimes the friend of that house, sometimes its enemy, as he was swayed for the moment by his own ambitious views and those of his proud wife, the niece of Leo X., he was regarded as an ardent patriot and the champion of freedom, a character which he seems by no means to have deserved. He was taken prisoner in the final struggle of Florentine democracy, and died by his own hand in a cell of a fortress built with the money he himself had lent to the duke for that purpose. There is a mournful episode in his history connected with the fate of his daughter Luisa, the amiable and virtuous wife of Luigi Capponi. Having unfortunately attracted the attention of the debauched Duke Alessandro, she had frequently to endure the insulting proposals of one Salviati, the infamous minister of his pleasures. A warm altercation took place on one occasion between the latter and Luisa's brother Leone, and after some bitter expressions, Leone suddenly became silent, as if he meditated something more than words. Some time after this, Salviati was attacked at night in the street by three persons, lamed for life, and otherwise severely wounded. The duke was greatly incensed, and ordered rigorous proceedings to be taken against the Strozzi and their friends. Two of the family and one Pazzi were tried for the offence, but no evidence could be found against them, and they were all liberated by order of Pope Clement VII. (a Medici), who desired that the affair should be hushed up. The Strozzi, however, could not forgive the treatment they had received, and immediately left Florence to plot against the government with other exiles. The unfortunate Luisa, after having supped in perfect health in company with one female, died suddenly in extreme agony. The physicians were unanimous

in declaring that she had been poisoned, but at whose instigation was never clearly ascertained. Some attributed the deed to the duke, whose suit Luisa had rejected; others believed it to be the act of her relations, who had taken that cruel means to save her from dishonour and from all further persecution.

Another gratifying announcement is that of a forthcoming work by Professor Ranke, entitled 'Nine Books of Prussian History.*' It is to be comprised in three volumes, the first of which is just ready; its contents are as follows:—Book I. The Rise of the Brandenburg-Prussian power. II. Foreign and Domestic affairs of Frederic William I., from 1725 to 1732. III. Policy and Government of Frederic William, from 1732 to 1740.

Tales of village life are now much in vogue in Germany. Auerbach's success has called up a host of rivals, but not one of them approaches the sphere of that consummate master in his art. The merits of the new men are, of course, various; some of them deserve special mention for their exceeding coarseness, vulgarity, and stupidity; *e. g.* Josef Rank, of Bohemia.† The best of them is A. Weill,‡ and even he deserves but sparing commendation. Talent he undoubtedly possesses, but his sins against discretion and good taste are deep and manifold. His sketches of local manners are often picturesque and vivid, but he has scarcely a notion of the art of telling a story. All this and more, we maintain, notwithstanding the hearty panegyric bestowed on Weill by Heinrich Heine, who indeed admits that his *protégé* is deficient in art, while he attributes to him an extraordinary quickness and minuteness of apprehension, and rare originality of feeling and thought.

"He seizes life in every momentary phase, he catches it in the fact, and is himself, so to speak, an impassioned daguerreotype, that repeats every outward appearance with more or less success, and often poetically when chance so wills it. This remarkable talent, or more properly speaking, this nature, is found also in Herr Weill's other writings, particularly in his last historical work on the Peasants' War, and in his very interesting, piquant, and tumultuary essays, wherein he takes part in the most laudably hare-brained manner in behalf of the great affairs of our day. Here our author exhibits himself with all his social virtues and æsthetic sins; here we see him in full agitatorial

* Neun Bücher Preussischer Geschichte, von L. Ranke. Vol. I.

† Neue Geschichten aus dem Böhmerwalde, erzählt von Joseph Rank. Leipzig. 1847.

‡ Sittengemälde aus dem elsässischen Volksleben. Novellen von A. Weill. Mit einem Vorwort von Heinrich Heine. Stuttgart. 1847.

pomp and raggedness ; here he is altogether the heart-broken, Europe-weary Son of the Movement, who can no longer endure the annoyances and disgusts of our present social arrangements, and gallops away into the future on the back of an idea."

The last crop of German novels is perhaps not quite so abundant as that of former harvests, but it is sufficient—at least in quantity. The most notable recent works in this department are one by Theodore Mundt and another by his wife. It is all over, we fear, with our friend Ida, Countess von Hahn Hahn, as a fashionable teacher of the beauty and sublimity of unbounded selfishness, insolence, vanity, caprice, and sensuality. She has been extinguished by an extremely clever parody, the work of an anonymous Teuton Titmarsh, which has made a decided hit, and has rapidly reached a second edition.*

No end of poetry ! The vocal grove—the *deutsche Dichterhain*—is all alive with warblers in full feather and song. "Young Austria" is particularly addicted to the tuneful art, and has lately hailed, as its poetic leaders, a pair of kindred spirits, Meissner and Mautner, both of them clever promising lads, but very jejune. They are poets, however, not poetasters, or mere rhetoricians in rhyme, and therefore we have good hopes of them. They have a right conception of the principles of their art ; and "time, that brings the philosophic mind," will teach them how to apply it to good purpose.

Heine has published, in a substantive form, his poem of 'Atta Troll';† fragments of which appeared six years ago in Laube's '*Eleganten Welt*.' It still retains marks of its original fragmentary character, though the joints have been passably filled up and smoothed over. It was the author's intention, he says, to work out his ideas much more fully, but he never could realize his laudable design ; and his poem shared the fate of all the great works of the Germans, such as the Cologne Cathedral, Schelling's Godhead, the Prussian Constitution, &c., it was never completed. Immature as it is, he now presents it to the public, with a jesting hint at a sad and too sufficient apology. Poor Heine is stricken with paralysis, beyond all hope of recovery. Atta Troll is in all human probability the last poem he will ever produce ; and, though full of satirical and burlesque humour, it may also be regarded as the last expiring effort of the romantic muse of Germany.

* *Diogenes*, Roman von Iduna Gräfin H. H. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig. 1847.

† *Atta Troll* ; Ein Sommernachtstraum. Von Heinrich Heine. Hamburg, 1847.

Atta Troll, the hero of the poem, is an accomplished bear, who has danced in many a town of France and Spain, their manners noted, and their works surveyed. His observations have not impressed him with a very exalted notion of humanity. Escaping one day from his keeper, he flies to the mountains; and there rejoining his family, he discourses eloquently to them of all he has seen. The reader may easily imagine how the sly poet comports himself under his bear-skin disguise; and how many a rough hug and sharp pat he bestows right and left, on friend and foe. This is the satirical side of the poem. Then for the romantic part: Heine, in *propria persona*, sets off to the Pyrenees, as the champion of insulted humanity, to hunt the audacious Atta Troll to the death. At the sight of the Pyrenees the wondrous legends of chivalry rush thick upon his mind; and his fancy rides away, fast and far, into the realms of glamour, astride on a witch's broomstick. We will make room for part of the curious preface. It is not only characteristic of the writer, but possesses some interest with reference to literary history.

"'Atta Troll' was produced in the autumn of 1841, at a period when the great heterogeneous mob of foes, banded together against me, had not quite ceased their hurly-burly. It was a huge uproar, and truly I could not have supposed that Germany produces so many rotten apples as were then shot at my head! Our fatherland is a highly-favoured land; it grows no citrons, indeed, no golden oranges, and the laurel waxes but slowly and stuntedly on German ground; but in the article of rotten apples its exuberance is most satisfactory, as all our great poets have had cause to sing or say. In that same furious *mêlée* in which I was to have lost both crown and head, I lost neither; and the absurd charges, by means of which the vulgar were stirred up against me, have miserably fallen to the ground without its being necessary that I should stoop to refute them. Time undertook the task of my justification, and I must own with gratitude that the respective German governments have done much for me in this respect. The decrees of imprisonment that on every point of the German frontiers longingly await the poet's return, are duly renewed every year at the hallowed yule season, when the little candles shine cheerily in the Christmas-trees. These perils by the way have cured me of all wish to visit Germany; so I celebrate my Christmases in a foreign land, and there too I will end my days in exile. Meanwhile, the brave champions of light and truth, who accused me of fickleness and servility, pass their days securely in the fatherland, as snugly-endowed placemen, or as officials of a guild, or as assiduous frequenters of a club where every evening they regale patriotically on the vintage of father Rhine, and on sea-girt Schleswig-Holsteinish oysters.

"I have had my reasons for noting above the exact period when 'Atta Troll' was composed. It was the time when what is called

political poetry was in full bloom. The opposition, as Ruge says, sold its leather and became poesy. The Muses were formally enjoined no longer to go about dallying and trifling, but to enlist in the service of the fatherland as *vivandières* of freedom, or as washerwomen of Christiano-German nationality. There arose, especially at that period, among the Tenton bards, that vague, fruitless pathos, that useless enthusiasm, that plunged headlong, in scorn of death, into an ocean of common-places, and which always reminded me of the American sailor who was so hyperbolically devoted to General Jackson, that he flung himself from the main top-gallant mast into the sea, crying out, 'I die for General Jackson!' Though we Germans had then no fleet, yet had we many an impassioned sailor who died for General Jackson in verse and prose. Talent was then a very unlucky gift, for it brought on its possessor the suspicion of want of character. Envious dulness had at last, after ages of research, discovered its grand weapon against the insolence of genius; it had invented the antithesis of *talent* and *character*. The mass of the public felt almost personally flattered when they heard it laid down that respectable people are in general very bad musicians, whilst, on the other hand, good musicians are usually anything but respectable people—the main thing, however, in this world, is respectability, not music. The empty head now prided itself on its full heart, and sentiment was a trump card. The reign of the just was about to begin in literature. I remember a writer of those days whose chief merit in his own eyes was that he did not know how to write; for his leaden style he was rewarded with a silver beaker.

"By the immortal Gods! it behoved at that epoch to defend the imprescriptible rights of mind, the autonomy of art, the sovereign independence of poetry. As this defence has been the great business of my life, I have less than ever lost sight of it in the present poem, which both in tone and substance, was a protest against the *plebiscita* of the tribunes of the day. And, in fact, the first fragments of it that appeared immediately stirred up the bile of your *men of character*, your high-souled Romans. They accused me of attempting, not only a literary, but a social re-action; and even of casting scorn on the sacrosanct principle of human progress. As to the æsthetic value of my poem, I let them then, and I let them now, say of it what they please. I wrote it for my own amusement, in the capricious and fantastic style of that romantic school in which I passed the pleasantest years of my youth, until I ended by thrashing the master thereof. In this respect my poem possibly deserves condemnation. But thou liest, Brutus, thou liest, Cassius, and thou too liest, Asinius, if you assert that I aim my ridicule at those ideas which are a precious and hard-won treasure of mankind, and for which I myself have striven and suffered so much. No, it is just because those ideas stand full before the poet's eyes in all their glorious lustre and grandeur, that he is seized with irresistible laughter, when he marks how clumsily and coarsely they are apprehended by his shallow contemporaries. He makes merry then as it

were at the temporary bearskin that invests those ideas. There are mirrors so awry that Apollo himself would appear in them a caricature. We laugh in that case at the caricature, not at the god."

From France we have received two important works on Russia, one of which we notice at length further on. The other is the production of a native Russian of high rank, who has filled important offices under the state, and was a member of one of the secret societies in the time of Alexander.* It is remarkable for the candour and at the same time the dignified moderation of its tone. M. Tourghénief has been for four-and-twenty years a political exile; but, like Machiavelli when just released from the torture, he writes with the perfect absence of all acrimonious expression. His work is a valuable addition to our still scanty stock of trustworthy authorities on the affairs of Russia. It fails, however, in giving what was most looked for in it—a clear account of the events and transactions preliminary to the insurrection. The author had left Russia twenty months before the explosion of the conspiracy; and the information he gives us on this subject is but meagre.

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1. *Histoire intime de la Russie sous les Empereurs Alexandre et Nicolas, et particulièrement pendant la crise de 1825.* (Domestic History of Russia under the Emperors Alexander and Nicholas, and particularly during the crisis of 1825.) By J. H. Schnitzler. 2 vols. Paris: 1847.

This is in many respects a remarkable work. Nearly a quarter of a century has elapsed since the author (a Frenchman born and bred notwithstanding his German name) first set foot in Russia, where he resided for four years. He arrived in St. Petersburg in time to witness the issue of one of the most formidable movements recorded in the annals of the empire, the conspiracy of 1825; and he was present in St. Isaac's Place, on the 26th of December, when Nicholas had to do battle for life and crown with his own revolted soldiery, before he could grasp the awful power which had devolved on him by the death of one brother and the abdication of another. It was a spectacle to absorb in its contemplation all the powers of the soul, and determine their bent for the remainder of a lifetime. The impression it made on Schnitzler's mind is testified by the assiduity with which he has ever since devoted himself to the study of the Russian Empire, in all the details of its outward and inward life. The first fruits of his researches in this vast and imperfectly explored field, have been given to the world in several articles of the '*Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde*,' a valuable repository of science, literature, and art, edited by

* *La Russie et la Russes.* Par M. Nicolas Tourghénief. 2 tomes. Paris. 1847.

himself; and in two substantive works, '*Essai d'une statique général de l'Empire de Russie*,' and '*La Russie, la Pologne, et la Finlande*.' Statistics, geography, and ethnography, form the staple of these volumes, in which political questions, especially those of the present day, are only touched on incidentally. In the work now before us, the author takes higher ground, enters into the domain of contemporary history, and discusses the moral, social, and political physiology of Russia. It is his intention to publish a cycle of volumes, of which these two form the commencement, under the general title of '*Etudes sur l'Empire des Tsars*.' The subsequent portions will embrace the whole history of the reign of Nicholas, and consist of monographs on the wars in the Caucasus, Persia, and Turkey, the affairs of Greece, the Polish insurrection, &c., &c.

The copious journal which Schnitzler kept during his residence in Russia, and in which were recorded the fruits of his own assiduous observation, and of his intercourse with persons from whom he could derive original and authentic information, has lain intact until now, although it has always been his intention to make its contents public. Meanwhile his materials have been accumulating during an interval of twenty years; many new facts have become known to him, and old ones have gradually assumed in his eyes a more distinct development and significance. Such a slow process of literary incubation is a rare phenomenon in these days, and is really deserving of no common admiration, for it is a warrant that the author comprehends the importance and the difficulty of his task, and that he approaches it in a conscientious spirit. This gratifying anticipation is confirmed by the general tone of Schnitzler's book, which bears strong internal evidence of candour, honesty, and generosity. He tells the truth without disguise, but also without acrimony—a difficult matter when the theme is Russia; and the moderation of his language only gives the more weight to the grave censure, oftener implied than directly urged, in his pages.

The contents of these volumes are considerably diversified. The conspiracy of 1825 and its consequences form the nucleus round which are agglomerated a variety of explanations, essays, and narratives. The history of Alexander's reign is succinctly narrated, and this is followed by a circumstantial account of his death, which is shown to have been caused by a typhoid fever, caught in the Crimea, and not by poison. The latter opinion was for a long while very generally entertained, and still holds its ground in some quarters. Indeed, the probability is, that Alexander only escaped from assassination by a natural death; two of the conspirators, Yakubovitch and Kakhofski, were bent on regicide, and mocked at the scruples of their less ferocious confederates, whom they called in derision "the philanthropists." Yakubovitch had been turned out of the imperial guard in 1817, for his conduct in a duel, and from that moment vowed vengeance on the emperor. When he heard the news of Alexander's death, he ran like a madman to Ryléyef, the chief of the conspiracy of the north,

and bursting into his room, cried out, foaming with rage : "The emperor is dead ; you have all of you snatched him out of my hands !"

An interesting and instructive chapter is devoted to the moral condition of Russia under Alexander, and to the history of the secret societies which were called into existence by causes mainly attributable to his fatal weakness and inconsistency. The trial of the conspirators is dwelt on at considerable length, and occasion is thence taken to survey the whole field of Muscovite legislation. The grand question of the emancipation of the serfs is discussed ; the defects of the existing Russian institutions are laid bare, and several institutions are enumerated of which the empire stands in need, and which are totally wanting. "Thus," says Schnitzler, "we have endeavoured to make amends for the silence which the Russian writers are constrained to observe ; we have proved the urgent need of reforms, and have ventured to tell a mighty nation and its government what Europe expects, before she will definitively recognize them as members of the great family."

Two appendices, occupying together about a third of the volumes, consist of fifty-five miscellaneous sketches, notes, and illustrations, many of which contain matter both recondite and instructive. Thus the entire work forms a sort of common-place of the modern history and biography of Russia ; it is a budget stuffed full of facts of all kinds, and in order to increase its utility, the author has annexed to it a remarkably copious, exact, and convenient index.

But we have not yet completed our enumeration of the matter contained in these well-filled volumes ; we have yet to speak of the introduction, to us the most interesting part of all. It is a general survey of all that is known of the past and present fortunes of Russia, made with a view to solve the question :—Whence comes she and whither is she going ? Let us follow our author in this inquiry.

Three potent elements have coalesced together to produce our modern civilisation : these are the genius of Rome and her solid and elaborate social institutions ; those that took their growth in the wilds and forests of ancient Germany ; and lastly, Christianity. To the combination of these three elements does Europe owe the peculiar spirit that so strongly distinguishes her from Asia, and which forms a common bond of union between all her peoples, whatever transient or secondary differences may divide them. Russia, which is now a province of this great confederation, was for a long while beyond its pale ; hence the many striking points of difference that still exist between its people and those living west of them. Of the three elements above mentioned, one has been wanting to it altogether ; of the second, it has but a few isolated portions, and the third has entered into it under a peculiar form, hardly favourable to intellectual emancipation.

"The Roman way never extended to the north of Europe and Asia. That cold and silent region remained inaccessible to the ancients, who were accustomed to the cheerful sunshine and a sky almost always cloudless. It was

shrouded from them in a veil of mystery, and dreaded by them as the home of magic powers; and if they knew by report that it contained precious metals, they never thought of possessing themselves of treasures which they supposed were guarded by monstrous creatures, griffins, dwarfs, or giants, and tribes to whom their imagination, or rumours propagated by design or fear, attributed the strangest and most repulsive forms. Thus, then, the eagles of the Cæsars never penetrated those regions, whilst the Germanic invasion, which was destined to renovate the Roman world, flowed in quite another direction. That it did indeed slightly touch the still sparse population of ancient Sarmatia, was owing to the adventurous spirit of some of its wandering sons—true knight-errants, always accessible to the allurements of booty or warlike glory, and caring nothing for any danger or any distance. These Normans having established themselves in Novgorod and Kief, influenced, of course, in some degree, the habits and social organisation of those localities; but their numbers being comparatively small, they soon merged in the Slavonic race, which after the lapse of a century retained few traces of its contact with the Teuton stock. As for the third element, Christianity, it was not from Rome, the common metropolis of the west, that Russia received it, but from Constantinople, the masters of which city, disregarding the essence of that law of charity, had converted it into an instrument of despotism, whilst the clergy had paralysed its generous force by their idle disputes about barren subtleties, so that the spirit of truth, inherent in the Gospel, was smothered in a universal formalism.

"In the west, Italy and Germany were the sources of modern civilization, whilst that of Russia proceeded from the Greeks of the Lower Empire; a worn out people, lapsed into second childhood, bent beneath a despotic yoke, and among whom religion, itself enslaved, had lost its regenerating virtue. For in Constantinople the church was become the humble handmaid of the state, the lustre of which it exalted without exciting its jealousy; whereas in the west, a priest, seated on the tomb of St. Peter, boldly constituted himself the guardian of Gospel freedom, and never feared to encounter even the sceptres of kings with his pastor's crook, when he thought that danger threatened the spiritual interests of his flock.

"Russia then remained without the pale not only of the Roman world, but likewise of the Latin world, in the full extension of that term. By the former cause she was deprived of a positive code of law—the fruit of a culture already ancient—and of the heritage of institutions which, even at this day, have not yet lost all their value; whilst, by not acknowledging the authority of the popes, who were then the defenders of the rights of thought, and the representatives of the spiritual principle amidst the violence of the middle ages, she was cut off from that great movement of the Christian world that tended so directly to civilisation; and the generous passions of our ancestors found no echoes in her vast solitudes. Though visited, as we have said, by Norman warriors, who prescuted to it at least a glimpse of the adventurous life of the valiant heroes of the west, Russia never was acquainted with feudalism;* that vast and glittering net-work, that compressed so strongly, indeed, beneath its iron meshes, the races of Roman and Teutonic descent, but which covered

* The system of apanages established at first in Kief, and afterwards in other Russian grand principalities, does not deserve this name; neither does serfdom (a thing of almost modern origin in Russia) constitute feudalism. In the latter we see a graduated scale of rank among men who know their own value, and limit it respectively; we behold a certain order, the pledge of progress, rather than a tyranny pressing upon a great number, and dividing society into two classes—masters and slaves. In order to judge of an institution we must take it in its early stage, and not in its state of decrepitude.

them, at the same time, as with a tutelary ægis, beneath which they found order and systematic organization; habits of life controlled by certain laws; and the means of instruction placed within the reach of the humblest localities. Russia went her own way, and remained sequestered from Europe. She alone, or nearly so, in all Christendom, responded not to the cry of religious enthusiasm which was the precursor not only of the Crusades—that immense *mêlée* in which the nations, by learning to know each other, extended their respective horizons—but which was also the germ of chivalry. That institution, by ratifying the influence of women, softened the general manners; and, by exalting the sanctity of oaths above all considerations, subjected the brute force and the selfish impulses of the warrior to the law of honour. Religion then acquired an auxiliary in loyalty; and by and by were established those notions of rigorous morality from which the really civilised man derives his rules of conduct, without ever seeking to evade their inflexible law.

“Nor was this all. Implicated in the schism of the East, and consequently cut off entirely from the great Catholic family, Russia was left unaided at the most disastrous period of her history, when the hordes of Genghis Khan, issuing from the deserts of Middle Asia, fell upon her like swarms of locusts, and reduced her to hard slavery. At first, perhaps, the united efforts of chivalry would have been inadequate to stem a torrent that afterwards bore them down at Liegnitz and Wahlstatt; but at least with such help the struggle might have been prolonged, Christian heroism might have found a field for its display; and the fall might have been less deep and less ignominious. The mere idea of having the eyes of all Europe bent on the spectacle of its resistance, the certainty of exciting the sympathies of the whole civilized world, might have exalted to the loftiest pitch the courage of a people, not very chivalric indeed, but not insensible to military glory, strongly attached to the faith of their fathers, and animated by an ardent love of country. Be this as it may, no appeal was made to the valour of the warriors of the west, they were unmoved by the news of the Mongol invasion, and saw in it no reason for undertaking a crusade to which the Church cared not to invite them. Vladimiria and Muscovy, remote provinces of Kief, recently founded in the midst of Finnish populations addicted to Paganism, were at the most known only by name; besides which, schismatics were, in the eyes of the heroes of the cross, scarcely Christians. The Russians were completely overthrown in two battles (1224 and 1237), and subjected to the dominion of the Golden Horde and the Khan of the Steppes. Then ensued a prostration which lasted two centuries, and left profound traces in the character of that people, European in origin, as well as the Celts and Germans, but which had been already fashioned to oriental slavery by its connexion with Byzantium, and on which its conquerors imposed, in a still higher degree, the immobility of Asiatic usages.”

Muscovy was now utterly forgotten by Europe, and even when it recovered from its fall, and the cross again supplanted the crescent on its steeples, it had lost its only channel of intercourse with Christendom through the capture of Byzantium by the Turks. Meanwhile, other portions of the inheritance of the sons of Rurik the Norman, claiming the exclusive right to bear the name of Russia, had acquired strength and importance, and had entered into the communion of the Latin Church. The union of Lithuania with Poland made the latter the irreconcilable enemy of Muscovy. A long and bloody struggle, exasperated by national and religious hatred, ensued between them. The Poles won province after province from their rivals, and at last

became masters of their most venerated sanctuary, the Kremlin* of Moscow. The cause of the Muscovites seemed hopeless, but they retrieved their fortunes by an extraordinary and almost incredible effort. Peace was concluded, but the rivalry of the two nations continued without intermission until the complete subjection of one of them in the last century.

"A marvellous resurrection, begun under Ivan III. Vassilievitch, continued under Ivan IV. Vassilievitch, surnamed the Terrible, and consummated under the Tsars of the House of Romanof, revealed a new power to the astonished gaze of Europe. With wonder she beheld the blows which those Muscovites, but recently the humble subjects of the Mongols, now dealt out to all their enemies, the Poles, the Swedes, and the Tartars of the Crimea, vassals of Turkey. Thenceforth it was no longer possible to ignore their existence; the name of Christians could no longer be refused to those vanquishers of the Infidels, marching beneath the banner of the cross; and Europe carried her countenance towards them so far as to solicit their alliance against the common enemy, the Ottomans."

Nevertheless, under the first Tsars of the House of Romanof, the government of Russia and the manners of her people stood in glaring contrast with those of her civilised neighbours. The clergy were ignorant, and contented to be so; and the religion they taught was a system of outward forms, destitute of all life and spirit. The sovereign was a fetish, whom his subjects worshipped with faces prostrate in the dust. Of aristocracy there was scarcely a trace under a system that recognised only a despot and his trembling slaves. If the phrase, "The Tsar has ordained, the Boiars have advised," was ever seriously used, the case must have been exceptional,—and, at all events, there was an end to any such practice before the reign of Alexis Mikhailovitch, the father of Peter the Great.

"Besides, the rank of Boiar was dependent on the good pleasure of the Tsar, and however high that dignity may have been, it was not hereditary. There existed, indeed, a privileged class, consisting of the princes descended from the various branches of the Rurik family, and of nobles of more or less ancient hereditary eminence; but the members of this caste were nothing without the favour of the Tsar, and without actual service of the state, to which admission could only be obtained through him. There was nothing chivalric or independent in these nobles. * * * A still more absolute, though less loathsome and less voluntary servility prevailed among the lower classes: the middle class, few in number even at this day, consisted then of but some hundred thousand families; and the husbandmen, whose humble villages were dispersed over vast deserts, attached to the soil since the reign of Boris Godunof, and left in the utmost neglect by a heedless clergy, grovelled in a state of debasing ignorance, from which their monotonous way of life afforded them little opportunity of emerging.

* This is the correct orthography. *Kremlin* is a French corruption of the Russian word *Kreml* or *Kremla* (pronounced *kremlya*, a dissyllable). In old Slavonic *krem*, *kremer*, signifies *stone*, and among all the Slavonians *krem* or *kreml* is the common designation for a fortified enclosure. Various Russian towns have each their *Kreml*, and in other Slavonic countries we find the fortified towns of *Kremenetz*, *Krementchag*, &c.

"Even in the upper ranks, life was without all charm. The women, shut up in the gynæceum, had no influence over the men, who were like themselves illiterate, and whose whole energy was wasted, in ordinary times, in paltry intrigues, silly quarrels for precedence, and endless outward observances of devotion. Encumbered with a heavy costume that impeded the free movements of the body, they were no less cramped in mind, and were filled with a dread of their master, fostered by the minutiae of an imperious etiquette, and by the excessive cravings of their own ridiculous vanity."

Such was the Russian people when Peter the Great undertook its transformation. He applied himself, with an iron-strength of will, to efface from his country every trace of the Oriental character, and to remodel its manners and customs after the example of Germany, Holland, and France. He succeeded, at least with the upper classes; but as it was scarcely possible so to change the habits of the great mass of the people in a country of such vast extent, a yawning gulph was opened between the immense majority of the nation on the one hand, and the civilized nobles on the other, together with the middle classes of the German towns and provinces, successively incorporated with the empire. Moreover, like a true Russian even in his innovations, Peter understood civilization only in its most palpable and material aspects. He did all that energy, almost superhuman, could effect, to increase the wealth and strength of his people, but he scarcely gave a thought to their moral and intellectual culture.

"Peter the Great marked out for Russia the plan of her policy: to command the course of her own rivers; to keep the Baltic open to her vessels; to confine the Swedes to their peninsula, and weaken Poland by fomenting its intestine divisions; to profit as much as possible by the decadence of the Ottoman Empire, and attract within her sphere the Christians of Asia subject to the Turks and the Persians; to extend still further her influence and her views of a future commerce with a part of the world with which she was in contact along a vast line of frontier; lastly, to contrive that she should be reckoned for something in the affairs of the west, so that the Tsar might cast a certain weight into the balance wherein are weighed the interests of the great sovereigns of the great Christian family: such was the *programme* already devised by Peter, amidst the almost inextricable embarrassments in which his passion for reforms had entangled him in the interior of his empire.

"This *programme* was put in execution. Each of the successors of the great man, often forced along, in spite of himself, by the mighty impulse of the governmental machine which Peter had organised and put in motion, contributed his part; but it was a woman, nay more, a foreigner, that crowned the work. * * *

"Under Catherine II. the west became habituated to take account of the new power it had so long scarcely deigned to notice. 'We used to neglect its immensity,' said the Marquis d'Argenson, 'in our contempt for its barbarity; but it is now become formidable; and it is high time that its excessive power should be curtailed.' The times indeed were changed; to deny the greatness of the new power was not equivalent to suppressing it. Europe was constrained to modify her system; as she will do again at no distant date, when she shall have more exactly comprehended the dangers to which she is exposed by the daily aggrandisements of an empire that is now not very far from the Oder. If Peter the Great made Russia an European power in manners and

acquirements, Catherine caused it to be recognized as such by her arms and her diplomacy; and inspired the world with so high an idea of her resources, that her alliance was soon eagerly courted. The partition of Poland brought into close union with her Prussia, and even Austria—the proud possessor of the sceptre of the Cæsars, which was then wielded by Maria Theresa, a woman of less ability, certainly, than Catherine, but whose personal conduct was a living reproach to the licentiousness of the Russian autocrat. Nevertheless, the pact of iniquity, unparalleled in history, and pregnant with disasters for Europe, was concluded; and the three courts of the north have ever since been bound together by the bond of a common complicity. It is but a few months since that bond has been drawn closer by the suppression of the republic of Cracow—the last fragment of Poland; and it will constitute their strength against the west, until the time comes when all equilibrium between them shall have been destroyed, and fear of one shall force the two others to separate their cause from hers, and seek a support elsewhere, or from each other. The partition of Poland was a first revolution in the European system; Catherine prepared another, that is still imminent, by the humiliation of Turkey and its extinction as a power.”

Catherine's victories by sea and land produced an intense effect on the minds of the Greek and Slavonic subjects of the Porte; who thenceforth began to dream of their deliverance, under the auspices of a power with which they could claim kindred in matters of religion. Thus was an additional means of aggrandisement afforded to Russia; and she has not failed to avail herself of it with unceasing industry. In 1779 we find Russia arbitrating between the Emperor of Germany and Frederick the Great. In the reign of Paul I. Muscovite armies were beheld in Italy and Holland; and the continent submitted to the imperative behests of that monarch, backed as they were by the exploits of Suvorof. Paul's example was not lost on his son. He too assumed to be the dictator of Europe; nay, more: though occupying a throne the succession to which was fixed by no rule, and was generally determined by violence, he set himself up as the champion of legitimacy, and undertook the defence of the old monarchies against the French Government.

“Even this was not enough for the ambition of that power of yesterday's growth. Under Alexander, in the time of the prodigies of the French empire, it held the balance between the latter and its numerous adversaries. Accordingly, Napoleon, after having, for a while, accepted it as mediator between himself and England (1803), soon thought of sharing with it the civilized world, and so anticipating the march of time, which, if we may judge from certain symptoms, would seem to be preparing for Europe a partition into two lots, the one compact, the other perhaps grouped together as a confederation. After Napoleon's fall, Russia, availing herself of the lustre she once more derived from the personal qualities of her sovereign, played the first part in the congress of kings assembled at Vienna. Thenceforth nothing was done without her, not even the pacification of Spain, which, if it was not to be left to that country itself, was, at least, one would suppose, a question exclusively French and English, with which Russia, at the other extremity of Europe, could have no reason to concern herself. * * * Under the present reign, the treaty of Adrianople (1829), and other skilful acts of diplomacy have further augmented the preponderance of Russia.”

Now comes the important question: Is this preponderance established on a solid basis, or is it to be regarded as factitious and transient?

"The basis is large, it must be owned, for Russia is a world in itself. Its extent is more than half that of all Europe, more than ten times that of France. In Asia it is prolonged without interruption over another territorial surface, forming a third of that division of the globe. To speak more exactly; the surface of European Russia is nearly five millions and a half of square *kilomètres*; that of Russia in Asia is hardly less than fifteen millions; and that of American Russia is about one million; total, twenty-one millions of square *kilomètres*, or more than the double of Europe (the whole surface of which does not comprise ten millions of square *kilomètres*), and nearly a sixth of the whole habitable globe. No doubt the Russian possessions in Asia and America, situated under an inclement sky, are nothing but a colonial territory still in so desert a state that if we suppose the whole population, sparse even in its western and southern regions, to be spread over all its vast extent, we should not even find three inhabitants to the square *kilomètre*, whilst the proportion is nearly twelve in European Russia, and in France sixty-five. But this colonial territory is contiguous to the mother country, and forms with it one unbroken whole. A fifth, at least, of Siberia is susceptible of good cultivation, and the earth there contains the treasures that most tempt the cupidity of man, not to mention platina, and what are called the common metals, though in reality they are much the most precious. In European Russia there are vast tracts void of culture and inhabitants; yet it contains on the whole about fifty-six millions of souls; and to give an idea of the importance to which this new world, still so imperfectly peopled, and partly plunged in the torpor of barbarian life, may rise at no distant day, we need only say that the births are to the population in the proportion of one to twenty-three or twenty-four, whilst in France the proportion is only one to thirty-four or thirty-five, and that the annual increase of the population by births exceeds two millions, whilst among us it has not yet reached one million. Such is the rapidity with which the Russian population augments, that less than a century, not so much perhaps as eighty years, will suffice to double it, that is to say, to change its sum of inhabitants from sixty to 120 millions. And even then the last limit will certainly not have been reached, for great is the fertility of the Muscovite soil, great the variety of its productions, and fruitful in resources the genius of its people. Though wanting the creative faculty, we cannot deny them a marvellous aptitude for all kinds of work, and an extreme facility of imitation. Remarkable for their native vigour, they easily accommodate themselves to all situations. Placid in temper, cheerful, and inaccessible to the thought of danger, they are at the same time greedy of gain, habituated to suspicion as well as to submission, and have all the defects that flow from that source,—craft, love of intrigue, a moral suppleness equal to their manual suppleness, and which unhappily never hesitates at a lie or an act of dishonesty. Russia is the seat of a young, active, stirring, ambitious civilization, which every day achieves some new step in advance. It is, moreover, united, compact, subject to one law, a living law in some sort, and to which religion, still in possession of all its power, notwithstanding its want of enlightenment, lends the full force of its potent sanction.

"'This empire, placed on the confines of Europe and Asia,' says M. de Bonald, 'presses on them both at once, and never since the Romans has any power shown a greater expansive force. So it is in every state in which the government is enlightened and the people barbarous, and which combines extreme

skill in the prime mover with extreme docility in the instrument.' This is most true; and beholding the colossal proportions of an empire endowed with such expansive power, it has been asked, with much show of reason, what are France, Great Britain (isolated from her immense colonies), Germany, Italy—what are all those old seats of a perhaps decrepit civilization in comparison with this theatre of a new, active, exuberant, energetic life?"

This question Schnitzler meets by asking another. Where in Russia are the vigorous characters, the mighty minds that make great nations? Can numerical strength make up for the want of moral energy? The very bulk too of the empire may be unfavourable to its stability, and another germ of dissolution may perhaps lurk in its precocious and superficial civilisation. "We affirm nothing," he says, "only we think that looking closely into the matter we may see the remedy beside the danger, and we are at a loss to account for Napoleon's prediction, if indeed he really put it forth, that in ten years Europe would be either Cossack or Republican."

"What we do very well understand, is the alarm at this moment manifested in all parts of Germany. The knot of the Russian question is evidently Poland. * * It has been well said by an anonymous writer—One of two things will happen, either Poland will remain an ulcer and a danger for Russia, or it will become a great danger for Europe. Let us translate this proposition into other terms. With respect to Poland, the Emperor of Russia is engaged in a great work of assimilation, begun before the invention of Panslavism, but which this novelty that has recently emerged above the European horizon, and which certain Poles have caught at with unexpected ardour, may efficaciously aid. The emperor will succeed in his task or he will not. In the latter case we shall perhaps witness the fulfilment of M. de Chateaubriand's prediction: "The Muscovites will only cure themselves of Poland by converting it into a desert." But before the silence of death shall brood over an immense mass of ruins, how many convulsions will have preceded the catastrophe, and to what fresh embarrassments will a righteous retribution have condemned the three partitioning powers! In the former case, that is if the work of assimilation succeeds, either by the triumph of Panslavism, directed in accordance of the views of Russia in concert with a part of the Polish nobility, or by the system hitherto pursued (in which the refractory nobles are altogether passed over, and the Tsar acts in preference on the middle and lower classes, which regard him with less aversion), will not Russia have achieved a vast advantage? Will she not have worked her way close to the very heart of Europe? And when the kingdom of Poland shall have become the advanced guard of the Muscovite power, then decorated with the title of Empire of the Slavons, how will it be then with Galicia and Posen, countries more hostile to the Germans than has been commonly supposed, notwithstanding the benefits they have received from them? Does any one imagine that these other fragments of the old republic of Poland will hang back, and be content to bend beneath the German yoke, so abhorrent to their race? Is it not to be feared that the whole monarchy of the Jagellons will then be reconstituted in favour of a people, until that time, the inveterate foe of the Poles, but which shall have skilfully profited by the incurable levity of the latter, and the inconsistent and unstable character of the Slaves in general? No doubt this great empire of the Slaves, supposing it should arise, would exist but for a time; no doubt its creation would, even more than the long-projected and still apparently remote acquisition of Con-

stantinople, augment that principle of dissolution to which we have already alluded as lurking in the frame of the Muscovite colossus; but meanwhile what would have become of the balance of power in Europe? Especially, how could unfortunate Germany preserve herself from the talons of the double-headed eagle, that never loose their hold on the quarry they have once clutched? The mere apprehension of such a danger,—chimerical, we would fain hope, as yet, but which nevertheless involves no impossibility, and which begins to occupy the serious attention of Germany,—attests the power of that divine Nemesis which visits with vengeance every misdeed of nations as well as of individuals.”*

These are momentous considerations, and must be grappled and dealt with thoroughly, and in no purblind spirit of routine, by the cabinets and parliaments of Europe. But putting aside for the present all such anxious and perplexing prognostications in the domain of politics, there remains another and a most interesting aspect under which we may contemplate the future career of Russia. Can we doubt that it is destined to be the scene on which shall be played out a new act in the great drama of human civilisation? Surely it is not unreasonable to suppose that a whole moiety of Europe will not for ever content itself with mere imitation and wholesale borrowing of foreign ideas and forms, without ever contributing anything on its own part to the rich inheritance of the nations. That it has contributed nothing as yet to the common stock is no reason why we should despair for the future; nor must we in this case fall into the vulgar error of mistaking the range of our little philosophy for the exact measure of all things in heaven and earth, and concluding that what we cannot forecast can never be. Our modern civilisation is a complex work, effected in the course of many centuries by numerous agents, each performing its distinct work. It is only in retrospect that we can understand the mighty plan; the future is too vast and intricate for our comprehension; only we know that the work must still go on, since human improvement has not reached its apogee.

All the great nations of Western Europe have had their special missions, and each has fulfilled its part. To Italy we owe the revival of literature and the arts. The development of navigation and the invention of the colonial system were the work of Portugal and Spain, and it was in the latter country that modern warfare was first elevated to the rank of a science. Holland set an early example of what stubborn industry may accomplish, even in defiance of nature; and, like Switzerland, it exhibited the spectacle of a free people successfully maintaining their rights against the most fearful odds, and of a popular government commanding respect at home and abroad without the costly and corrupting paraphernalia of courts. Germany, the mother of those barbarians who regenerated the West by in-

* On signing the project of partition, in 1772, Maria Theresa added the following words in her own hand: “*Placet*, since so many men, and men of such understanding, require it of me; but long after I am dead will be seen what results from this violation of all that has hitherto been regarded as just and sacred.”

fusing their own native energy into the decrepit frame of the Roman empire, had her thriving burgherhoods, among which was nurtured that free spirit of inquiry which triumphed over the intolerant dogmatism of Rome, and emancipated the human mind. In the domain of intellect, Germany occupies a peculiar field: it is her's to explore, compare, and elaborate details of all kinds, gathered from the whole range of the universe. She maintains at once an immense storehouse of the raw materials of thought, accessible to the intellectual commerce of the whole world, and a vast laboratory in which she is perpetually operating on those materials, extracting their subtlest essences, and searching out the primary laws of their existence. If France exhibits but a moderate share of originality and inventiveness, on the other hand she possesses in a remarkable degree the faculty of popularising the ideas she receives from abroad. Her language too, which is curiously symbolical of the character of her people, has taken the place formerly occupied by Latin, as the general medium of communication between the widely-dispersed members of the great family. Such are a few only of the more prominent services rendered to mankind by some of the European nations. To enumerate the manifold offices fulfilled by England as one of the co-operating agents in the mighty work, would be, to say the least of it, superfluous.

"Each people has contributed its part towards the laborious work of their common advancement. * * * Treasures of all kinds were thus amassed before Russia was even cognizant of that labour of ages, by which she has profited gratuitously; and it is hard to say what possible addition yet remains to be made to the amount already accumulated. Still, we repeat, that Russia, too, must have her peculiar mission; and amongst so many positions already occupied she will no doubt at last find the one marked for herself. But this is a subject, which we cannot advance beyond mere conjectures. We conceive, for instance, that the mission of Russia must relate to the order of things temporal much more than to that of things spiritual—that it must be more analogous to that of England than to that of Germany; and more than either, perhaps, to that of the United States, a country, indeed, infinitely superior to Russia in a moral and intellectual point of view. We have not much hope that the Muscovite genius will wrest from the arts and sciences their hitherto impenetrable secrets; or that, finding the solution of the religious questions that hold us in suspense, and reconciling the desire of authority and certainty with the just requirements of reason, it will open a new era to the gospel, and bring about that Christian renovation hitherto vainly expected, though long announced. We know not if the empire of the Tears is destined to establish, on a grand scale in Europe, the patriarchal system, in which the sovereign, according to the views of certain Polish *illuminati*, dispensing with all written law, and disdaining our paper precautions, will govern the nations by 'spontaneity,' imbibe wisdom from inspiration, and have for the basis of his authority 'the law of love,' whereby a reciprocal attraction shall be established between him and his subjects. Neither do we know whether or not its vast extent is to be the scene of new experiments in social organization, such as the working out on a grand scale of the principle of Communism, almost impossible in our regions, but perhaps more practicable in new countries, nearly in the state of primeval wildness, where everything is still to be done, and where the sove-

reign is himself proprietor of a great portion of his subjects, as well as of the lands they till. Of all this we are ignorant; but what we see more clearly is the influence which Russia exercises, or will exercise, hy-and-hy, on the populations around her. The Eastern Church having lacked a potent protector until the commencement of the last century, her children remained subject to the Turkish or the Austrian sway; but, since Russia assumed that protectorate, they have again become conscious of their numbers and their strength, and have shown themselves prepared to assert their rights. The awakening of the Slaves, not only in the Ottoman empire, but in Bohemia, Hungary, and the Illyrian and Dalmatian provinces, is the work of Russia; every heart among them has thrilled at the sound of the blows inflicted on the infidels by their co-religionists of the north, against whom even the efforts of Napoleon failed; and the dim legends of history have revived among them, recalling to Bohemia her ancient literary and political glory — John Huss and Ottokar, the rival of Habsburg; reviving the images of the ancient kings of Bulgaria, masters also of the provinces of the Danube; and the *krales* (kings) of Servia, that last rampart of Christendom, the somewhat mythic *kraveitch*, Marko, the grand kral, Stephen Dushan, and the glorious rout (1449) of the Blackbird's Field (Campo Cossovo); and prompting Ragusa to a sorrowful retrospect of her past prosperity, and the share she formerly took in the commerce of the Adriatic. All this numerous race, extending from that gulf to the White Sea, and from the Erzgebirg to the Balkan, was in a manner regenerated and tempered anew by the noble sentiment of nationality. It counted its masters, the Germans, the Madiars,* and the Turks; and what was its surprise to find itself almost in a majority, and yet enthralled! The reciprocal position of the victors and vanquished was immediately changed, especially in the Turkish empire, where the new attitude of these rayahs, who boldly turned their eyes towards the north, and no longer disguised their sympathies and their hopes, broke the last sinews of a power which was losing faith in itself.

"To raise up a whole race, and secure for it its place in Europe beside the Germanic and the Roman family, such ought to be the first great effect of the accession of Russia as a European power. This task, which Poland has been unable to fulfil, Russia is noiselessly prosecuting, and already we can foresee that she will accomplish it to the end. Will it be for her own benefit, or for that of another political combination? The future will reply to this question, but assuredly it will be for the benefit of civilization, and of the general advancement of humanity; for, according to the decrees of Providence, all the movements of the nations tend to that ultimate result.

"Besides this task, however, there is another which Russia must pursue. It is one not less fundamental, and is peculiarly connected with her geographical position. This second task, on which Turkey might have anticipated the empire of the Tsars, had she been less obstinate in her prejudices, consists in blending Europe and Asia together. Placed on the confines of those two quarters of the globe, Russia sees them mutually confronted within her own limits, and her arm can reach the heart of the primeval continent. She has for neighbours all the nomades of the steppes of Upper Asia, besides nations until this day almost isolated—the people of Khiva, Bokhara, and other Turcomans—the Chinese, along a range of several hundred leagues, and even the impenetrable Japanese, with whom she is connected by her maritime causeway of the Aleutian Archipelago. Before she could be fit to accomplish this task,

* The true name of the Hungarians, whom English writers commonly call *Magyars*. The Germans write the word *Madjar* (in the singular), but their *j* is pronounced as our *y*.

it was requisite that Russia should turn her face towards Europe, become penetrated with its spirit, and be initiated by it into the arts and sciences. She has done so against her will, constrained by the stern hand of Peter the Great. Now imbued with all our ideas, engaged like us in all branches of industry, in possession of all our secrets, and adding to them that of a perseverance which no difficulties can subdue, she may again turn towards Asia, allure and win her by the lights she can communicate, and quicken by the excitement of new interests all the races of that vast portion of the globe, now plunged in lethargic stupor or isolated by religious fanaticism. * * If Russia thus comprehends her task, instead of being an object of fear to Europe, she would render her an immense service, and make an ample return for all the benefits she has received from her. * *

"Whatever may be the fate of these hopes, one thing is certain, namely, that the apparition of Russia on the stage of the world must soon or late produce a total change in all the old routine of the system of equilibrium. Already the proportions are no longer the same; what was formerly great is now singularly dwindled in our eyes. Europe is doubled as it were: the consequence is a derangement of forces, which obliges the old states of the west to seek new points of support abroad in Asia, Africa, and America, where another colossus is rising. Assuredly the future of our part of the world will be different from what its past has been."

We admit, with Schnitzler, the probability that to Russia is committed the task of disciplining some at least of the rude races of Asia, especially the nomades of the vast central wildernesses. She has already made a certain progress in this work as regards the Kalmucks, Bashkirs, Nogai Tatars, and other tribes; and among her many instruments and appliances for its prosecution, she possesses in the Cossacks an army of rough and ready missionaries and schoolmasters, singularly well adapted for carrying on the business of primary instruction among the kibitkas of the Hippophagi. But it is the sad inevitable condition of Russian propagandism, that it taints whatever it touches. Wherever her influence is established, she spreads the contagion of that moral gangrene that preys on her own vitals. The civilisation she imparts is superficial, fragmentary, and factitious, hardly carrying within it any vital principle, any power of self-sustainment and development. Not so the corruption she communicates; that is a thing of native growth, and flourishes in the full bloom of virulent maturity. How its germs will quicken and fructify in the rank congenial soil of Asiatic barbarism!

It is impossible to conceive a system of administration more thoroughly immoral in essence and practice than that of Russia: from first to last it is based upon the most flagrant venality, too universal to be put down by the desultory and chance-directed blows of imperial indignation, and deemed too natural and necessary an element of political life to be made matter of personal opprobrium. There are multitudes in Russia, into whose imaginations it has never entered to conceive the existence of such a phoenix as a servant of the state, in any capacity, civil or military, who should be at the same time an honest man. It was the consciousness of this deep-rooted and wide-spread evil, and of his impotence to contend against it, that chiefly produced that profound melancholy which clouded the latter years of Alexander's life. He

knew the stuff his loyal subjects were made of, and used to say of them, "They would steal my ships of war if they knew where to put them; if they could draw my teeth without my awakening, they would steal them while I slept." Alexander's reign presented in its home administration two phases as opposite in their appearance as day and night, but linked together by as natural a sequence. The first was a *coulour de rose* liberalism; the last a harsh and sordid tyranny, exercised by proxy. Recoiling in despair from the rough work of practical reforms, he left his ministers and their subordinates to revel in their iniquities to their hearts' content. The dragon of corruption was not to be slain by such a carpet knight as he. His barren sentimentality and his high-flown professions of philanthropy and devout conscientiousness, only misled the most generous minds in his realm, and betrayed them in the ill-advised and abortive enterprise of 1825. Pondering over the intense depravity of all the existing institutions of the country, and maddened by the hopelessness of any peaceful issue to a better state of things, the conspirators thought that even the most frightful and desolating convulsion was to be preferred to that chronic state of systematised corruption.

Nicholas is a man of far different mould from Alexander,—stubborn in purpose, and of restless energy. Woe be to the functionary whom Nicholas detects in any fraudulent practice: for him there is no hope of mercy. The consequence is, that in the present reign corruption is practised more circumspectly, but not a whit less actively than ever. In fact, notwithstanding his unwearied vigilance, the Emperor is the last man in his dominions to whom the truth respecting its internal affairs can find its way. The whole host of functionaries—that is to say, almost every man in the empire above the condition of a serf—is banded together in a conspiracy to dupe him.

2. *Briefe aus Indien* [*Letters from the East Indies*]. By Dr. W. Hoffmeister, Physician in the suite of His Royal Highness Prince Waldemar of Prussia. Edited by Dr. A. Hoffmeister. Brunswick: 1847.

THE melancholy event that prematurely closed the promising career of the author of these letters is fresh in the recollection of the British public. Towards the end of a long tour in the east, Prince Waldemar of Prussia found himself in the vicinity of the Sutlej, at the time of the Sikh invasion, and gallantly took the field as a volunteer, sharing with our forces all the perils and hardships of their rapid and bloody campaign. In the battle of Ferozeshah, the enemy were strongly entrenched in a thick jungle, whence they poured forth a deadly fire of grape and musketry, that checked the advance of our troops. The moment was most critical; the line was beginning to waver, when its steadiness was restored by the gallant example of the Governor-General. Advancing full in view of the enemy, Lord Hardinge rode along in front of the British line, encouraging the men by

his words, and kindling their enthusiasm by the spectacle of his intrepid bearing. The prince, who had attached himself to Lord Hardinge's staff, accompanied him with his whole suite. Riding by the prince's side, whom he would not quit in such extreme peril, Dr. Hoffmeister was struck by a grape shot in the temple, and fell dead from his horse. So perished, in his twenty-sixth year, an amiable and accomplished man, for whom nature, education, and favouring circumstances had seemed to combine to give assurance of a distinguished place among the most zealous and successful cultivators of science.

The book before us consists merely of the letters for friends at home, written by the author in the hurried moments he could snatch from the fatigues of his long and arduous journey. They can, of course, afford but a very imperfect idea of the work that might have been expected from him, had he been spared to give us the matured fruit of his observation and reflection; but such as they are we receive them gladly. If Hogarth had never completed his great works, how welcome to us would have been facsimiles of the sketches he was in the habit of making on his thumb-nail. Hoffmeister was a man of great quickness of apprehension—of a very inquiring and energetic cast of mind; he was intensely devoted to the study of all natural phenomena, and from his earliest youth he had cherished an ardent longing to visit remote climes, in order to explore whatever peculiarities they exhibited within the scope of his favourite pursuits. The first impressions made on a mind so constituted, and during such a journey, committed to paper on the moment, or whilst the recollection of them was still fresh and vivid, could not fail to be interesting, however fragmentary and hurried the record. Accordingly, the reader who takes up this posthumous work expecting from it no more than he is reasonably and fairly warranted in looking for, will certainly not be disappointed.

Setting out from Trieste, the prince and his party took the usual route, by way of the Ionian Islands, Corinth, and Athens, to Alexandria, visited Cairo, and then crossed the desert to Suez, where they embarked in the Calcutta steamer 'Hindustan.' Descending the Red Sea, they touched at Aden, and landed at Pointe de Galle, in Ceylon, on the 13th November. We pass over the details of the first part of the journey, as they concern scenes and objects with the description of which the public have been lately somewhat over-dosed. But Ceylon is newer ground; and here our enthusiastic naturalist is in a fairy garden of inexhaustible delights. It is thus he describes his first impressions of the island:—

"How stately was the aspect of the dense palm forests, their dark green relieved by the white surge, as it dashed in foam on the black rocks! Our vessel was soon surrounded by shoals of little boats, made of stems of trees lashed together. Larger boats, hollowed out of a single tree, of a handsome colour, have a piece of timber half their own length connected with them on either side by cross pieces. These outriggers rest on the water, and prevent all possibility of the boats capsizing. In such craft, called *oarah*, the

Cinghalese venture far out upon the open sea. Spare-limbed, copper-coloured fellows, with keen black eyes, finely-cut features, and raven hair tied up in a knot on the back of the head, sat in these crazy rafts, their only dress consisting of a scanty apron. Among them were boys with the loveliest faces, and thick black hair falling freely down their backs. * * * The sun shone in full glow, and the aromatic breath of the spice-island was wafted to us in thick clouds of fragrance. The transition from the light air of the sea into this hot-house atmosphere, laden with the perfume of flowers, made me feel like a convalescent when he first enters a blooming garden on a warm day of spring. It is remarkable how far out at sea this perfumed atmosphere is discoverable! It is not, however, exactly a cinnamon odour, as many travellers erroneously report, being deceived by a common trick of the ship's surgeon, who sprinkles a few drops of oil of cinnamon on the deck when the vessel is near the latitude of Ceylon.

"A great concourse of the natives met us on the shore, the leading personages among them dressed in large flat muslin turbans, and loose white garments confined by a broad golden girdle. The higher castes were distinguished by a short Dutch jacket, and a large East-India handkerchief wrapped round their thighs, and looking like a petticoat. Their hair combed smoothly back, and plaited into a tuft, in womanly fashion, was secured with a comb of the finest tortoiseshell. Their figures are small and delicate, and, altogether, they have rather an effeminate appearance; but one soon becomes familiarized with the shining coffee-brown complexion, soft features, and large black eyes of the genuine Cinghalese, and begins to think them handsome. The Malabars are essentially distinguished from them by a complexion of a more greyish brown, larger bones, flat noses, and short crisp hair, kept cropt, and never plaited into a tuft. They are most of them very ugly. There were also in the crowd a few gentlemen of old Portuguese and Dutch descent. Their antiquated costume was exceedingly odd; for it consisted of a sort of barrer-cap, a jacket with slashed sleeves bedizened with gold up to the elbows, and plain Indian handkerchiefs supplying the place of breeches. Large rings in their ears, and a multitude on their fingers, bespoke their opulence. Naked as were most of the crowd, especially the younger among them, whose whole dress consisted of a cloth tied round the loins, yet the greater part of them were provided with umbrellas, of Chinese manufacture, made of varnished paper and bamboo. We made our way with difficulty through the gaping throng, and reached the old moss-green Dutch gate, opposite to which was the place of our destination, an open, old fashioned building of one story, surrounded with an airy verandah. Over the entrance was a weather-cock, with the date 1687. This was the Queen House, or government building. The interior contained large stone-floored rooms, three of which were set apart for us. On two opposite sides, opening on the front and back galleries, they had doors, which likewise stood in lieu of windows; and they contained no furniture except great muslin-curtained bedsteads, eight feet in the square.

"A glimpse into the court-yard soon enticed us from our cool apartments into the open air. What a gorgeous show of red and yellow Hibiscus! What a beautiful thick velvet turf, such as I had nowhere seen since I left England! Here grew the stately Plumeria, with its exquisitely fragrant scent; there gigantic bananas, papay, and bread-fruit trees, over-topped the walls. We descended a flight of steps, twenty feet high—kept green by the perpetual warmth and moisture of the atmosphere—into the shrubbery; a sort of wilderness, animated by countless living creatures. Through the tall grass, swarming with long-tailed green lizards, shone blue creeping plants, of wondrous beauty (*Clitoria*), and vast quantities of red-blossomed balsams. There stood the bread-fruit tree (*Artocarpus musa*), with its jagged shining leaves a foot broad,

its white stem, and its enormous, yellow-green, rough, bullet-shaped fruit, the graceful papay, with its regular conical stem, bearing aloft its crown of blossoms, every leaf as broad as an umbrella, and with thick clusters of fruit underneath it: the fruit being like a small melon. Here, too, we found pesang trees (*Musa paradisiaca*), everywhere in India called bananas. The stem is reed-like, thick, and sappy; and the leaves, eight feet long, shoot directly upwards. It seems scarcely conceivable that this luxuriant tree, twenty feet high and a foot in diameter, is but an annual. * * *

"Under the dense shade of these enormous masses of foliage there prevails a steaming atmosphere, exceedingly propitious for scorpions and serpents. A slender brown lizard, with a triangular head, slipped in and out between the branches; and a large kind of wood-wasp (*Xylocopa*) filled the sultry air with its loud buzzing. Crows, with a much uglier croak than ours, sat on every tree, and looked down with impudent curiosity upon the intruders on their baunts."

The pretty town of Pointe de Galle seems to harmonize well with the luxuriant landscape that surrounds it. It consists only of two long streets of one-storied houses, each having in front a low stone platform, shaded by a projecting roof of cocoa leaves, supported by neat pillars. Here the native merchants sit, leisurely offering their aromatic wares for sale. Hard work is a thing unknown in this favoured spot; for who would plague himself with toil, when cocoanuts and rice enough to support life can be had all the year round, almost for the gathering?

"Having passed through the street, we entered at once a thick grove of cocoa and areca palms and bananas, that lines the whole coast. There is nothing to surpass in grace those tall, delicately-curved, slender palms, with their bushy crowns: how clumsy, in comparison with them, appears the African date, not to speak of any European tree! And what a marvellously beautiful contrast they make, with the deep blue sky, and the foaming surge dashing high against the black rocks of the coast!

"Words can scarcely tell the singular impression made on the traveller by the teeming fulness of tropical nature: the warm, moist air, heavy with the odours of spices and cocoa-nut oil, and the fairy-like tone of the light, shining, broken but clear, through the tufted palms. Thickets of yellow, red, and blue bell-flowers encompass the neat dwellings, built in the old Dutch style, with a verandah on the side, that border the road all the way to Colombo. Old Dutch inscriptions are met with everywhere, on half-decayed brick walls, overgrown with moss, as though in a region long forsaken by the living. Everything makes on the mind an impression of dreamy quiet. Where the gardens are not filled with palms the ground is hidden under a dense growth of shrubs, so much the lower as they are nearer to the sea. Countless small green snakes glide beneath the bushes; curiously-coloured crabs run about over the stones, and escape with quick side leaps, when pursued, under the tangled creepers of the beautiful red-blossomed *Astragalus*. The pineapple and the pandan grow wild here, on the dry rocks, deriving their nutriment, to all appearance, only from the perpetual moisture of the air."

There seems to be no pause, no alternation of rest and activity, in the vital phenomena of this exuberant land. Nature has there no time for repose; and the night is even more filled than the day with the multitudinous sounds of animal life. The moment the sun goes down there is an end to the dreamy quiet that pervades the sultry

day. The trees are all lighted up by countless swarms of fire-flies of various kinds; and the nocturnal concert begins with prodigious energy. The performers are grasshoppers, cicadas, ten or twelve different kinds of tree frogs, geckoes, small owls, &c., &c.; and the noise they make passes all description. To the naturalist, newly arrived from Europe, Ceylon must seem a very Island of the Blest. He is fluttered and bewildered by the profuse variety of novel and interesting objects that solicit his attention; and he can collect, in an hour, more choice specimens belonging to every department of the animal and vegetable kingdoms than he could arrange and study in a week. He suffers, indeed, in more ways than one, under the *embarras des richesses*. He finds there is too much life in the island; it perplexes his choice, and vehemently contends with him for possession of his dead booty. One morning Hoffmeister was very successful in collecting butterflies; and a great number of birds were shot by himself and his companions:

"I carefully unpacked them; and had hardly laid them for a moment in the sun, to dry, when a servant came in with the news—'Master! crows come, take yellow birds!' I looked round, and sure enough half the birds were gone. I hastily caught up the remainder, and brought them in-doors; but in half-an-hour I perceived that millions of microscopic ants had picked the skin clean from the feathers, notwithstanding the arsenic I had applied to it. A peep into my insect-box completely floored me; the whole collection was turned into dust and dirt. The devil take all vermin! The crows sat very quietly on the open door, as if in mockery of my vexation; and the ants marched in a long black file to my glass of sugar and water, which they filled with their carcases."

We will abridge our author's account of his visit to Adam's Peak, in his opinion the most interesting spot in the spice-scented island.

"On the 9th of December, after a good breakfast, we found saddle horses ready to carry us to the foot of Adam's Peak. The weather was delightfully mild. The road led at first over a rich turf, through plantations of tall, delicate green palms, the graceful crowns of which one sorely misses in India. Hidden between cocoa and broad-leaved bread-fruit trees is a mud cabin, within which black-haired naked children are seen playing, whilst their mother, muffled in white wrappers, with thick silver rings on both ankles, is busy spinning wool. Near her sits her husband, and thinks, like our tobacco-smokers lolling on their sofas, that he makes abundant use of his time when he chews betel, and calculates, perhaps, the quantity of bananas hanging on the trees over his head, and how long they will last him. Wherever the eye turns it sees dwellings either dispersed or collected in groups, and never can you say, here a village begins—there it ends.

"The environs of the villages further on are most charming. The arable lands present a much more diversified appearance than our fields of oats, maize, and barley. I never saw a lovelier green than the glossy velvet hue of the young rice before its bloom; there were fields too of brown coracan (*Eleusine coracana*), maize already in the ear, and many kinds of grasses cultivated as corn. There was no cluster of houses, however inconsiderable, that had not its usual triumphal arch spanning the road, and made of yellow cocoa leaves, neatly interwoven, and adorned with blue bunches of banana flowers. The road, for nearly ten English miles, was lined on both sides with festoons of creeping plants, cocoa leaves, and bamboos. In spite of all their indolence,

the Cinghalese are extremely fond of constructing such toys, even though they cost them much trouble, and the population of whole villages readily lend their hands to the work, without the least prospect of gain. We generally found a number of the country people, with their white-bearded head man, assembled at the arches, all dressed in holiday attire, and waiting to see the prince, and salute him.

"We were soon out of the region of the plain, and wild brooks and small rivers, with steep banks, began to offer no small difficulties to the less practised riders. The road grew narrower and steeper, and presently led along precipitous slopes, presenting wonderfully beautiful prospects. What a splendid object is a palm wood, backed against lofty green mountains, and how delicious is the fragrance of the dense thickets in the foreground. Among the strange growths of this region was the curious pitcher plant (*Nepenthes distillatoria*) a creeper, with a sort of pitcher, a foot long, swinging at the end of every leaf. Here and there we were pleasantly surprised by a glimpse of Adam's Peak, with its tall conical summit. Still we had three deep valleys and a number of steep ravines and rapid streams to cross, before we reached the mountain region.

"Trees with tall stems began now to predominate. The well-known Indian fig (the banyan), and two other kinds of fig-trees (without fruit), with some twenty thick stems, all meeting in a single crown, contrary to the habit of all other trees, produce a most strange and striking impression. The tall ebony bears aloft its almost black foliage on a white stem, clear of branches for a height of forty feet from the ground. The calamander and the sandal tree are also seen, but more rarely. The boles are, for the most part, covered with pepper-bines and a multitude of pretty ferns, so that it is often difficult to distinguish their true foliage; for even the branches support numbers of woodbine-like parasites, many of which bear splendid blossoms.

"The acclivity increased considerably in this forest region, elevated some 1,500 feet above the sea level. The continual dripping of the moist leaves had converted the narrow path into a tangled network of slippery roots on the smooth rock. We were obliged to dismount and clamber up on foot, a necessity which was here particularly unwelcome, since the bleeding legs of the horses indicated an unusual abundance of land leeches, that terrible plague of Ceylon. The rain, too, which had fallen on the previous day, brought out these little creatures in millions; our clothes were soon overrun with them, and they never failed to spy out every opening however minute, and to make their way through it for our torment. The most careful precautions for the protection of our feet and legs were quite ineffectual; for as these tiny persecutors are often no thicker than a pin, they pass through the pores of the cloth, or creep up to one's neck, where their presence is still more disagreeable. Our Cinghalese, though bare-footed, suffered much less than we did, as they have a knack of stripping off the leeches in a very dexterous manner."

This was not the first time our author made acquaintance with these assiduous little tormentors. At Kandy, one evening, just as he had completed his toilette for a dinner party, his attention was attracted by an immense swarm of fire-flies hovering over the grass of the lawn, and unconscious of the risk to which he exposed himself, he ran out to collect a few dozens in a phial:—

"Coming in just in time for dinner, I observed, in the brilliantly lighted room, streaks of blood all over my white trowsers, from the waist downwards. I was not long in uncertainty as to the cause. This was my first experience of the land leeches, which I had afterwards such sore cause to remember. I

found my legs covered with some hundreds of them, that had made their way through my trowsers, and I had to get rid of these unbidden guests by means of lemon juice, according to the prescribed method."

We are not told whether the land-leeches ever infest houses and bed rooms, but the fact is not improbable. Edwards, in his recent account of a voyage up the Amazon, makes very light of the terrific accounts hitherto given of the vampire bat; and until otherwise determined, we will hold the land leech of Ceylon to have the best claims to the dismal fame and honour from which that renowned bloodsucker has fallen. At all events, we should think it a hazardous matter, as at present advised, to indulge in a nap in the open air under the fragrant greenwood shades of Ceylon. *Apropos* of creeping things, centipedes of enormous bulk abound in the island; the wood-lice are "as big as walnuts;" and once, after a shower of rain, our zealous naturalist was thrown into a transport of delight by the appearance of earth-worms, "five or six feet long." He jumped off his horse in eager haste to catch some of them, and it was not without difficulty he succeeded in mastering the powerful reptiles. To return to the journey: after resting for the night in the little village of Palebadulla, at the extremity of the plain, our travellers started on the morning of the 10th of December, to ascend the Peak, leaving all the baggage behind them.

"There was now an end to the tropical vegetation; we had long before taken leave of the palms, but the thick dark wood, with its swart green foliage, long afforded us a welcome shade during the arduous ascent. We had now to clamber continually over steep, smooth, damp rocks, without a single resting-place.

"As the way to Adam's Peak is yearly trodden by many thousand pilgrims, Mohammedans, Brahmanists, and Buddhists, one would naturally expect to find a more convenient path to the sacred spot. Nothing, however, has been done for it beyond what the most absolute necessity has dictated. Here and there, in places too steep to be otherwise surmounted, there is a ladder made of weak branches tied together, and a few steps have been cut in parts of the smooth rock that otherwise presented no foothold. Everywhere else only the gnarled roots of the iron and laurel trees show that men have trodden that path, and for many centuries too; for before the naked feet of the pilgrims could have left their marks on those stubborn hard roots, how many a step must have pressed them, and on some spots they actually resemble worn-out flights of stairs. After a laborious ascent of an hour and a half, we came to a small ruined house, where we rested only for a few minutes, any longer stay being prevented by a cold and most disagreeable foggy wind. Soon afterwards we passed the last broad bed of a torrent, a spot not unlike the cauldron at the Rosstrappe in the Harz; but what a profusion of flowers! Out of the naked rock sprang three kinds of balsams, each of which would be a welcome ornament of our conservatories, and the black stones were clothed with a luxuriant sward of the most beautiful ferns and moss, the former often presenting leaves of such exquisite tracery, that one might fancy in them the realisation of some cunning painter's most curious arabesque designs. The tropical flora is here supplanted by a charming, fresh, and vigorous Alpine vegetation, in many respects reminding one of our own mountain valleys. The forget-me-not and the groundsels have a very European look; only their colours are stronger; they still retain something of the tropical splendour, and their forms are bolder.

"We climbed by means of hewn steps and ladders like those of a hen-roost over some bare crags, on which were various Buddhist figures, and inscriptions of indefinite antiquity; and sometimes, just as we had surmounted the steep precipice, we found to our vexation that we had to descend as steep a declivity on the other side; sometimes we had to wade for a quarter of an hour together through purling water, and then we would come suddenly on a piece of rock polished as smooth as ice, when we thought it great good luck if we tumbled without getting a bloody nose. How delightfully refreshing we now found the fruits of the zones that lay below us, cocoas and oranges, which a native had brought up for us. These Cinghalese, though carrying large burthens on their heads, scampered on before us like chamois; and so easily do the barefooted fellows make their way up the smooth naked cliffs, that I began to regard our own pilgrimage as far more meritorious than that of the Buddhists.

"Greatly exhausted, at the end of the fourth hour we reached an open table land; the steep peak, a single cone of rock, rose majestically beyond it. It was the first time we had had a full view of it; but how were we to get to the top? Nothing less than the claws of a fly, or the feet of a gecko, seemed capable of such an achievement. A large building, very like that on the Senneekoppe, stood in the middle of the little plain. The interior presented nothing but bare green walls; the light enters through the door; a very uncomfortable hostelry indeed, but that the fire lighted by our clever cook, and the odour of his capital curry, promised us some satisfaction. It was not long, however, before a cold draught of air, such as our sensitive skins had long been unaccustomed to, drove us from the cheerless walls of Lady Brownrigg's Rest-house. A lady has actually been here, and had this building erected at her own expense. I esteem her ladyship's merits much above those of the Countess X—, who had herself pulled up the pyramids by the arms. The ascent here is often quite as steep, and much more slippery."

The character of the vegetation changed again at the real base of the peak. The spare soil produces no broad-leaved timber trees, nor is there any appearance of what the Germans called *needlewood*, that is trees of the fir tribe, such as analogy would lead one to expect in such a region. The loftiest trees are rhododendrons, fifteen or twenty feet high, and the underwood consists of myrtle-like shrubs, some of them extremely fragrant. At a point about six hundred feet below the summit all vegetation ceases on the side by which the mountain is ascended, for the rock is thenceforth a solid mass of gneiss and hornblend, without a particle of soil on its surface. The contrivances provided for the accommodation of pilgrims ascending the cone are novel and curious:—

"To cut steps in the rock would have been too troublesome; instead of these, one finds countless chains, of every form and fashion, riveted to the steepest parts of the rock. They hang by dozens, right and left, old and rusty, new and shining; for it is deemed a meritorious work to bestow and apply them; and so, if a man falls, he is always sure of being caught in the iron net-work. After you have hauled yourself up some fifty paces you come again to a ledge where you can find footing, and breathe for a moment, but only to behold with dismay another beetling ledge above you, up to which you can get only by a very aerial course. The last stage is particularly disagreeable: there is here an iron flight of stairs that seems, as it were, to hang loose in the air, and has shifted so much from its original position, that the steps are almost

vertical. Having once reached the top of this awkward staircase, you may cry 'land!' The pilgrimage is completed. * * * * *

"The flat space on the top is not more than forty or fifty feet in diameter. The whole southern side is a-blaze with the scarlet blossoms of the tree rhodendron, and an incomparable display of flowers overtops the thick grass. Everything was new and strange. The most curious object was a little temple of iron-wood, with a great deal of carving under its low, tiled roof. It was eight feet high and ten feet square. Within it is the sacred object that draws countless pilgrims to the spot, namely, the foot-print of Adam, as the Christians and Mohammedans say; or of Buddha or Vishnu, according to the several accounts of the Buddhists and the Brahmanists. The slab of rock on which the foot-mark is printed forms the basis of the little house called a temple. One can certainly make out something that looks like the print of a foot, about three feet long, with the toe-marks very clumsily added in gypsum; but what cripples must we be if our first parent actually stood on such feet! The mark is surrounded by a golden frame, set with numerous jewels, of considerable bulk. Some of them are genuine."

The view from the summit is extensive, but too monotonous to be called beautiful. The lower regions are concealed from sight by the heights immediately surrounding the peak, and these are clothed in one uniform mantle of green. But the view, such as it was, was soon concealed from the eyes of our travellers by a dense fog, driven upon them by a keen north-west breeze. After passing a cold and comfortless night in a wigwam made of bamboo and palm leaves, they were glad to begin their descent at daybreak. They found it even a more difficult and nervous piece of business than the ascent had been. Great, therefore, was their surprise, on coming to the nether end of the chains before mentioned, to find the most indubitable proofs that an elephant had been there in the night. That such a huge animal should have been able to drag himself up the steep rocks by holding on to the roots and stems growing upon them, was most surprising; but what passed all conception, was the manner in which he could get down again.

Wild elephants are numerous in the island, and the mischief they do to the plantations and rice-fields is very great. Continual war is therefore waged against them in every possible way; notwithstanding which their race is so far from becoming extinct, that its yearly increment is said to be from six hundred to eight hundred head. They overrun all the northern mountains, and render them almost uninhabitable. Prince Waldemar was introduced to the sport of elephant-hunting under the auspices of the celebrated Major Rogers, who has probably slaughtered a greater weight and bulk of flesh than any man living, who is not a butcher by profession. How many elephants he has killed with his own hand cannot be exactly computed, for he left off keeping account eight years ago, after the number had reached thirteen hundred duly told. He has, of course, had many desperate adventures. Once he was knocked down by an elephant, trampled under foot, and tossed about like a ball by the trunk of the infuriated animal. At last, he was flung into a deep hole, and to this circumstance alone he owed the preservation of his life. The injuries he

received were such as would have cured most men for ever of a taste for such sport. All his ribs on the right side were smashed, his right arm was broken in three places, and his shoulder dislocated.

Reluctantly bidding adieu to Ceylon, the travellers proceeded to Madras, and afterwards to Calcutta, in neither of which cities does Hoffmeister appear to have found much to enjoy or admire. The social habits of the Anglo-Indians were not to his taste, nor at all suitable, in his opinion, to the climate. He was glad to escape from the pomp and cumbrous etiquette of Calcutta, though for awhile it was but to exchange the stately tediousness of the "City of Palaces" for the arid monotony of the plains of Bengal. In the territory of Nepaul, to which his course was first directed, his spirits were refreshed by more animated landscapes, including a distant view of the mighty Himalaya range. The appearance, too, of the country and the villages through which the travellers passed, bespoke a thriving population, whose condition presented a very advantageous contrast to that of the miserable ryots of Bengal. The approach to Catamandu, the capital, in the valley of the same name, is thus described:—

"We crossed one of the ranges of hills, and came in sight of the splendid city, watered by numerous streams, tributaries to the Bagmutti. On a hill to the right stood the old city of Kirtapur; and before us, to the left, the temple of Sambernaut rose out of a beautiful belt of foliage. Here and there small wooded hills broke the ranges of cultivated terraces, which were just beginning to be clothed with fresh verdure. The majestic snowy masses of the Dhagabung mountains, and the Gussengtau, were seen in the distance; and before them lay the high terrace banks of the Bagmutti, forming the immediate background to the shining temple-roofs of Catamandu.

"Proceeding along narrow but paved roads, between enclosed terraces and cheerful villages, we reached the first bridge over the Bishmutti, a handsome structure of red brick, but with a wooden causeway, for the arch is here unknown. The roads were all in excellent repair; in every village they are neatly paved with bricks, just as in the Dutch towns.

"An enormous concourse of people, dressed in bright colours, were assembled on the other side of the bridge, where a long file of soldiers, in red and blue jackets, and a troop of elephants, with gilded howdahs and gorgeous silk trappings, adorned with gold and silver, were drawn up, awaiting the prince. A large tent of blue and white cotton cloth, with silk curtains, was pitched in the plain; and there Major Lawrence, the English resident, Captain Ottley, and Dr. Christie, the surgeon to the small body of English troops, received us in full uniform.

"Scarcely were we seated before the arrival of the minister, Martabar Singh (Magnanimous Lion), was announced. He appeared like the rising sun; clad from head to foot in cloth of gold, glittering with diamonds, emeralds, and pearls; and diffusing round him an odour of sandal oil and attar of roses, that almost took away one's breath. On his breast he wore three large gold plates, with insignia and inscriptions indicative of his rank; thick strings of pearl round his neck; on his head the flat Nepalese turban of Chinese brocade, set with pearls, and surmounted by a bird of paradise; huge gold rings in his ears, and jewelled rings on his arms and on every finger. He rode a tall white horse, with blue eyes, and gold housings.

"Such was the appearance made by Martabar Singh, minister and commander-in-chief of Nepaul; a handsome stately man, tall and stout, with bright eyes, a small hooked nose, a fine black beard, and long black hair.

Next after him came his two sons, in all the colours of the rainbow; Dill Bukram Thappa, more resplendent than ever; and Gung Behada, a relation of the rajahs, and a man of very intelligent countenance, by far the best informed and most agreeable of the party. About twenty officers, some of whom were old, grey-bearded, but hale and vigorous men, dressed in plain white and red uniforms, brought up the rear.

"Martabar Singh went up to the prince; made a very graceful salaam; and then, advancing two steps, bent first over the prince's left shoulder, then over his right, after the manner of embracing practised on the stage: a second salaam and a step backwards ended the ceremony, to which each of us was subjected in his turn. His sons and officers too went through the same formal process of salutation, which occupied no little time.

"We now sat down on chairs, with which the tent was furnished, and a short interesting conversation began, in which Major Lawrence, Captain Ottley, and Dr. Christie had enough to do to interpret all our questions and answers. It was soon broken off, as it was time to mount the elephants, which stood ready to carry us off in triumphal procession to the city. We were handed to them somewhat in the style in which a lady is handed by her partner to her place in a quadrille. The minister went first, with the prince on his right and Major Lawrence on his left; Dr. Christie and I were escorted by the brother of Jung Behada. We got into the howdahs; peacocks' tails and Chinese umbrellas were set in motion, and on we went towards the city to the boisterous music of a multitude of various instruments, among which bagpipes, clarionets, kettledrums, cymbals, and triangles predominated.

"An endless throng of the strangest looking people covered the terrace-fields on both sides of the road. We saw the most singular costumes amongst them; particularly striking were the people of Bhotan, with their clumsy cloth boots, coarse felt tunics, thick tails, and perfectly Mongol features. Both men and women dress alike. The Newars, the oldest stock of the population, wear only a large cotton wrapper, notwithstanding the keenness of the air; while the Ghorkas have jackets and breeches, and even shoes on their feet. Troops of fakirs and other beggars marched before us howling dismally.

"We looked down from our high perch on this motley and noisy throng, through which the elephants slowly plodded forth. The wondrous city unfolded itself to our astonished gaze, with its bright temples and neat brick edifices, and its gardens, filled with orange-trees laden with fruit, and cherries and plums in full bloom. The bridges threatened to break down under the weight of the human mass collected on them to see us pass the last arm of the Bish-mutti; for the elephants had to wade through the water, the bridges being too weak to sustain their enormous bulk.

"We entered the town itself through streets so narrow that the elephants filled up their whole breadth. The profusion of wood-carving on the rosette windows, pillars, corbels, and eaves, almost called to mind many an old German commercial town; but again, on the other hand, the oriental character came prominently forward. The gilded roofs of the temples, hung with bells and adorned with bright-coloured flags, and the gigantic stone images, bespoke the influence of the Chinese taste. The falling rain did not hinder us from admiring the beauty of many an ancient edifice, the clever workmanship of the carved elephants, horses, and battle scenes on the houses, the rich patterns of the window rosettes, and the colossal magnitude of the hideous stone monsters, lions with tortoise heads, dragons and rhinoceroses, and many-armed red-painted idols.

"The aspect of the market-place was surprising above all things, although it was not very large. On each side stood a large temple, the eight stories of which with their gilded eaves, were inhabited by countless mainas and

sparrows. A vast flight of stone steps, on which a pair of monsters kept watch, led up to the entrance of the temple, adorned with huge images of rhinoceroses, apes, and horses. The multitude of these strange figures, the dinning noise issuing from the temples, the sombre old houses, with their broad flat roofs, this whole gloomy pomp, in short, makes one feel as though he had been carried back a thousand years, and I could not help calling to mind the description of ancient Babylon given by Herodotus. Who knows how long all this may continue to present the same aspect it wears at this day? The solid and enduring wood, the imperishable stone, and a people as tenacious of all archaic traditions as their kinsmen and teachers, the Chinese, here combine together in resistance to the destroying power of time.

"On our way we rode through a lofty narrow gateway, into a court-yard, to see some tame rhinoceroses belonging to the rajah. It is the custom that when the rajah dies, one of these animals is slaughtered, and eaten by the most eminent of the people."

On the third day after their arrival, the prince and his suite were received in state by the rajah; but not in the durbar, or royal palace. Why this was so is not explained; but we are led to conjecture that the magnificent Martabar Singh was ashamed to let the strangers see the shabbiness of the royal mansion, which is said to be out of keeping with all the splendour it houses.

"The great wooden building in which the reception took place was by no means like a palace. It contained back staircases and rooms full of dust and old weapons. The reception hall was on the third floor; there was a row of chairs along each side, and a couple of sofas at the top. The dirty yellow of the hangings on the walls was but imperfectly concealed by old and bad French engravings, and portraits as large as life, among which were a Napoleon with cherry-red cheeks, and the whole series of rajahs of the previous century, with several of their relations, painted by natives in the flat Chinese style. White cotton rugs served instead of carpets. The only things in which splendour and opulence were really displayed, were the sumptuous costumes of the rajah and his court.

"On the left-hand side of the divan sat the reigning rajah, a young man of sixteen, and next him his father, the deposed rajah, with a very sulky countenance; they looked a pair of rascals, and the son seemed the worse of the two. But for that unpleasant expression of visage, which he further increased by a trick he had of distorting his nose and mouth in a hideous manner, his large black eyes, his long, arched, and finely formed nose, and small mouth, might have entitled him to be considered very handsome. Young as he is, his conduct does not belie the promise of his physiognomy. He seems thoroughly fitted by nature to be a most bloodthirsty tyrant. His father, whose disposition is milder, has still a large party. Fortunately for the country, the real ruler is the minister, Martabar Singh.

"Both rajahs wore the most magnificent garments, and were quite loaded with diamonds, jewels, and gold. The divan on the right side was occupied by the rajah's three younger brothers, boys of eight, ten, and twelve. The two elder are already married. The prince sat next the rajah on the first side seat, and as my place was at some distance from him on the same row, I could not catch much of the conversation. I found amusement, however, in observing what pains Martabar Singh took to display his power, by frequently rising up and sitting down again. As often as he stood up all present were obliged to do the same, not excepting even the relations of the royal family. A continual rustling of garments and no end of bowing and saluting were the

consequences of this manoeuvre. The audience closed with a distribution of presents—rich furs, Chinese silks, and handsome weapons.”

The ceremony of leave-taking was less stiff and formal than that of the reception, and not less curious, as exemplifying the manners of the court of Nepaul. The European guests were treated, on that occasion, with the sight of a favourite and very characteristic pastime. The performers were the principal courtiers, and the feat consisted in cutting off the head of a buffalo at a single blow. The weapon used was the usual sabre of the country, called a *cora*, a short but very heavy weapon, with the cutting edge on the concave side. When the inferior dignitaries had sufficiently displayed their prowess and many victims had fallen, the minister himself threw off his robe of silk and peacock's feathers, and stepped forward with great spirit and agility. It was of course to be expected that Martabar Singh's blow should outdo any that had been stricken before it, for such has always been the rule in the East, where the strong hand of the political chief is understood to be something more than a metaphor. The spectators were not disappointed. Instead of cutting off a buffalo's head like the rest, Martabar Singh selected a young one, about half grown, and with a single blow cut it in two through the body, close behind the shoulder-blades. It is satisfactory to have the possibility of such a feat established beyond all cavil, since we are thereby enabled to read many passages in old chronicles, tales, and books of travels in a more comfortably acquiescent frame of mind. We used to think, for instance, that the stories told of Godfrey de Bouillon, his slicing off the head and shoulders of a Saracen, and his chopping a camel, at one blow, clean through the middle, savoured too much of the marvellous; but we are quite reconciled to their credibility, now that we have seen it corroborated by testimony so direct, and so free from all taint of suspicion.

After visiting Lucknow and Delhi, the prince bent his course in a north-eastern direction to Kumaon and Gurhwal, and spent nearly three months exploring the Himalayah mountains. The greater part of this perilous and laborious journey was made on foot, and, in the course of it, a short excursion was made across the frontiers of the mysterious Thibet. The last extract we shall make, is the letter dated Moodkee, Dec. 20th, the day before the author's death.

“We arrived, on the morning of the 18th, at the village of Moodkee, after three days' forced marches with the English army, consisting of thirteen regiments of infantry, five of cavalry, and seven companies of artillery. Shortly before we entered the village it was reported that the Sikhs were advancing against it; several shots were heard, but the light irregular horse drove back the Sikh detachments, and the English took quiet possession of the village. The tents were soon pitched, but the immense mass of baggage, which was conveyed by thousands of camels, elephants, and ox-carts, had not yet arrived, when the sore-wearied soldiers (who had marched forty miles in two days) were suddenly startled from their cooking kettles by the news that the Sikhs were coming. The English troops hurried forwards in double-quick time. I was left behind in the camp, my horse being dead beat. A few minutes before

four o'clock the battle began with a murderous discharge of grape from the Sikh batteries. A thick sultry atmosphere hung over the field, everything was wrapt in smoke and dust; not a glimpse of the enemy was to be seen, only their position was discernible by the flash of the guns. The cannonade lasted two hours, and then the Sikh infantry advanced to the charge with the bayonet, but were thrice driven back. It was not until night had fully set in that the enemy quitted their position. Seventeen cannons and three standards were taken; only one Sikh was made prisoner, but their loss in killed and wounded was very great.

"Some regiments remained on the field of battle, to cover the removal of the wounded, among whom were many officers. To my unspeakable joy the prince and the count reappeared without a wound, though they had been in the hottest of the fire. I had been shocked by a report that one of them had fallen. Three of my good friends have been buried here; one of them was among the most talented surgeons in the army. Another surgeon has had both his legs shot off.

"Yesterday morning, after being up all the night before, I went to the field of battle with a detachment of troops, to assist in removing the wounded that still lay there. Unfortunately I was obliged to leave my horse behind me. Scarcely had we reached the ground when we fell in with numerous bodies of troops, who had orders to retreat with all speed, as the enemy was pushing forward his cavalry. Notwithstanding this, the officer who commanded the detachment continued his march full half a mile further. Just as we were in the act of giving drink to the first unfortunate sufferers we found, a cloud of dust appeared suddenly on the horizon, and several shots were fired. The officer gave the word to fall into line, but the dread of the Sikhs was too great; the native soldiers one and all took to their heels, and ran so fast that I could not keep up with them. I took the road I guessed to be the right one, and made a quick run of it for about two miles; but the ground then became so sandy that my strength failed, and I had great doubt whether I should be able to get over the remaining three miles at the same pace.

"The firing was coming nearer and nearer, and with it the cloud of dust that concealed the cavalry. With great difficulty I scrambled over another half mile, and had barely strength enough remaining to prevail on the driver of an elephant laden with the bodies of the slain to stop and give me a lift, for a handsome fee. He pulled me up, and then I fainted; when I came to myself again I was in the camp. A sound sleep made me all right again.

"This morning they brought us a corpse into the tent, with an open letter, expressing the writer's regret that Count von O. had fallen in the fight. The dead man, however, was a Catholic priest, who had accompanied the Irish regiments. I had seen him lying on the field, and recognised him by his long black beard, which was the cause of the mistake. He was cut all to pieces with sabre-strokes.

"Some of the poor wounded fellows, whom I had helped to go in search of the day before yesterday, were brought at last into the camp this morning, after lying two days and two nights on the field. Not far from the spot where I had been slightly wounded, a soldier had both his hands cut off. Mine, thank God, remain whole; and I must keep them going pretty briskly, for there is a great scarcity of surgeons in the hospital. To-morrow the army marches to Ferozepoor; and I am convinced we shall come off prosperously, since fresh reinforcements have arrived. We shall soon meet again."

3.—*Reisen in Danemark, und den Herzogthumern Schleswig und Holstein.* (Travels in Denmark and the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.) By J. G. Kohl. Brockhaus ; Leipzig. 1846.

THE character of Mr. Kohl's productions is now so familiar to the English public, that it is unnecessary to dwell much upon that of the one before us. His patient, elaborate descriptions, so acceptable when he is engaged on an interesting subject, do, it must be confessed, sorely try the patience of his readers when the object happens to be by no means worth the pains taken with it; they have been repeatedly likened to the pictures of the daguerreotype, and we could not offer a juster comparison. There is the same (sometimes provoking) fidelity, the same absence of choice or discrimination as to what shall be represented, but the same perfect resemblance. It would be unjust also to deny that Mr. Kohl's extensive experience as a traveller often enables him to suggest analogies or contrasts in the character and habits of various nations, which throw much light on the subject he is engaged with, and which could not occur to one whose range of observation had been less extensive. In the present instance he has had the advantage of visiting a country which, however easily accessible, has been, at all events till lately, little known to any but its inhabitants and their immediate neighbours.

Madame de Stael, speaking of one of the cities of Prussia, we believe Königsberg, describes it as situated, "*au milieu des glaces du nord*;" and until lately, when the differences between the King of Denmark and his subjects in the two duchies have attracted attention to them, and as a natural consequence drawn travellers thither, any wanderer who had found his way to those unknown lands might have indulged his imagination in a similarly fanciful description without much more danger of having his veracity questioned. Tourists left it on the north or the south on their way to Petersburg or Berlin; students of Scandinavian antiquities, or lovers of the picturesque, passed on to Norway and Sweden; diplomatists and commercial travellers confined their visits to Copenhagen. For this, indeed, there was some reason; for, as it has been said, "*Paris is France*;" still more emphatically, says Mr. Kohl, is Copenhagen Denmark. In most countries we find, following the metropolis, cities which may be accounted stars of the second and third magnitude, but Copenhagen is alone in her glory. She numbers 130,000 inhabitants, and in Denmark Proper there is but one other town, Odensee, that has as many as 9,000. If we include the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, we find Altona with 30,000, and Flensburg with 15,000, and after these only very small and insignificant towns. The Danes, it is said, in general willingly acquiesce in the views of their government in promoting this centralization; they feel a pride in having at least one city of generally acknowledged and European importance; and they look to Copenhagen with even more than the pride that a Frenchman takes in Paris. As an additional cause also of this immoderate preponderance, it may be recollected that for two hundred years the power

of the kings of Denmark was wholly unlimited, and it was therefore inevitable that much of the population of the country should cluster round their palace. The geographical character of Denmark is also to be taken into the account, consisting, as it does, of a crowd of small islands and a narrow peninsula, also broken into fragments by the intervention of many arms of the sea. Of the towns that have grown up on different points of these, no one has in point of situation any commanding superiority over the other, and those on the islands could not well extend themselves beyond the resources and the wants of each island.

The whole west coast of Jutland also being closed to the world by its dunes and sandbanks, and the Great and Little Belt being in many respects very disadvantageous as channels of communication, the whole stream of commerce rushes through the Sound, and still further favours the tendency to centralization at the spot where the capital is placed. One-half of the entire population of the country, therefore (apart from the duchies), is concentrated in and near Copenhagen. Thither flows the wealth, the energy, the intelligence, of the most distant provinces; and in the capital may be also heard a faint echo from the far off Faroe Isles, from Iceland, Greenland, and the regions of eternal snow, and from the burning shores of Western Africa, where Denmark possesses about a hundred miles of coast, and where a Danish governor, with three subordinate officers, a priest, a sergeant, and fifty soldiers, keep in respect and subordination a considerable population of negroes.

In the markets of Copenhagen the best part of the productions of all these places may be found; in her museums are collected all the antiquities and natural curiosities of various regions; in her saloons are to be met with the men of the greatest knowledge and cultivation, and in this one focus are centred all the rays of national life.

The interest of this city, on the first view, is much diminished by its extremely new-fashioned appearance,—a circumstance easily accounted for when we recollect that in almost every century since the time when it was a mere fishing-village, it has been devastated, bombarded, or burnt. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was several times taken and burnt by the forces of the Hanseatic League. In the sixteenth century it was besieged by Frederic I., then again by the Hanscats, then by Christian III. In the seventeenth century, when the power of the Hansa had declined, and the Swedes were seeking to raise themselves at the expense of Denmark, they several times bombarded Copenhagen. In 1700 it was attacked by a combined fleet of the English, Dutch, and Swedes; in the course of the eighteenth century it was twice burned; and, in 1807, fell on it the terrible bombardment, and the destruction of its fleet, by the English.

The Romans, when at the height of their power, appear to have had only very faint and confused notions of the existence of Denmark; although there is reason to think that the Phœnicians passed the Sound, and entering the Baltic, scattered along its shores some seeds of civilisation and of the arts of peace. In later centuries, Denmark

became but too well known as the teeming hive whence issued forth those fierce swarms whose incursions—whatever their effect on the countries they visited—undoubtedly reacted favourably on the country that sent them forth. King Canute, when he was lord also of Britain, sent over English monks and learned men, who laid there the first foundations of literary culture; and the Danes, in their turn, became zealous missionaries to the Wends and other Slavonic tribes.

The central position of Denmark, and especially of its capital, between Germany and the other Scandinavian countries on the South and North—between Britain and the Slavonic East—has laid it open to influences from all these countries; and this accounts, perhaps, for the remark often made, that though Copenhagen is the meeting point of much that is interesting and excellent from these various quarters, it preserves a certain air of mediocrity that always results from imitation. This is perceptible even in the aspect of its streets,—broad, regular, and convenient,—reminding one of Berlin and St. Petersburg, but remaining behind both. The natural beauty of its situation, however, is superior to either—lying as it does on the Sound, the animated thoroughfare for the ships of all nations, and surrounded by its beech-groves and beautiful public walks; but it cannot of course sustain any comparison with those of Lisbon, Naples, or any other of acknowledged supremacy in this respect. The town is regularly built; the houses mostly handsome, though plain—the majority dating no further back than the last century; but a painter would find little attraction in them, as there is nothing peculiar or characteristic in their aspect; whilst in so many of the cities of Germany—Nuremberg or Augsburg, for instance—far less convenient to live in, he would find beauties at every corner. A small part of Copenhagen, which is intersected by canals, and where the vessels glide through the streets, carry the spectator in thought immediately to Amsterdam; another reminds him of Paris;—but the copy is always feebler than the original.

The Danes are still, as their forefathers were in old time, true children of the sea. In their small country, consisting as it does almost wholly of islands and peninsulas, they have two thousand miles of coast; and their infant eyes open upon the sea almost as soon as upon the land. If even from the inland parts they make an excursion of a few miles in any direction, they are sure to find themselves on the sea shore; and if they are long absent from it they sigh after it with no less a longing than the Swiss feels for his native mountains. Familiar as they are with it, their most favourable diversion is found in short voyages in various directions; in seal-hunting, and other marine sports; the bright Baltic—"the blue, the fresh, the ever free"—is the constant theme of their poets, and in a garden filled with blooming flowers and rich foliage, the favourite spot will be still some naked hill, where the owner can catch a distant glimpse of its waves. Only one other people in Europe—namely, the Greeks—have been as much devoted to this element; and the Danes, says Mr. Kohl,

though they have not produced an 'Odyssee,' have had among their Witengers many an Odysseus.

There has been a great deal of discussion, both in and out of Denmark, on the wisdom of the Danish government in making so large an expenditure as it does on its fleet, after the experience of 1807; whether there might not be danger of the recurrence of such a disaster, either from the side of England or Russia; and whether it would not do better to employ its resources in the increase and improvement of its land force. Distinguished officers, both of the land and sea service, have fired off many volleys of pamphlets at each other in support of their respective opinions upon this subject. It is said that each of the large ships of the line has cost the nation a million of dollars; and even in time of peace, when they are lying useless in the harbour, several thousand dollars a-year must be expended upon each of them. Denmark has also no longer the same necessity for a fleet that it had before its separation from Norway,—when the fleet was a bridge between the two divisions of the kingdom.

It is asserted, on the other hand, that the Danes have been, and are, most thoroughly a maritime people; their laurels have all been won at sea, and that service is endeared to them by historical recollections; that it is always found easier to enlist men for the navy than for the army; that it should not be forgotten that the colonies of Denmark, though of no great importance, lie in the most distant regions of the globe; that, had the Danes no fleet, a few gun-boats in the Belt and the Sound might cut off the communication between different parts of the kingdom; and that at present the space occupied by the fleet and what belongs to it, is equal in superficial extent to one-fourth of the whole of Copenhagen.

In the dockyards and magazines, however, English travellers would find little to interest them. To these, as well as to the libraries, museums, and galleries, the remark applies, that (with the exception of some historical antiquities) there is little or nothing that cannot be seen better elsewhere. In the very important institution of Industrial Schools, however, Copenhagen holds a higher place than the capitals of more wealthy and powerful kingdoms. The one established in 1840 gives instructions in geometrical and machine drawing, in chemistry and physical science, as well as in modelling in clay, decorative painting, cabinet work, turning, &c. Some teach clock-making, working in metals, engraving, and metal-founding. The Orphan School has also extended its system of instruction to include various trades; and the Academy of Fine Arts has opened an elementary class for mechanics. In some of these schools a trifling sum is paid by the pupils.

The Sunday schools, besides reading, writing, and arithmetic, teach drawing and geometry; and every year there is held, in one of the churches, a grand examination of them, at which the king and the royal family attend.

In the prisons of Copenhagen, there are two things worthy of remark; one, that the Danes instead of sending their criminals to

distant penal colonies, bring them from the most distant possessions to receive their punishment in Copenhagen, so that Icelanders, Greenlanders and Negroes, may be found among them, along with Danes and Germans; another, that it has been found necessary to make a regulation that prisoners are *not to read too much*, or, except at the times when it is permitted, or when permission has been granted as a reward for good behaviour, or particular industry. We fear it will be long before such a regulation will be needed in English prisons. It is satisfactory also to add that the number of prisoners has, it appears, greatly diminished of late years, and the state of health in the prisons has improved in an equal proportion.

If the amount and the character of the periodical literature of a country is to be taken, as it certainly may be, for a fair test of the state of general intelligence, there is no nation in Europe with which Denmark may not advantageously stand a comparison. Denmark Proper (without the Duchies) contains only 1,100,000 inhabitants, yet it produces eighty-six political and literary papers. Of the former those only which treat of foreign affairs are subjected to a censorship. Those which confine themselves to home politics are free from it, and are often conducted with a freedom that surprises its German neighbours. There is one witty satirical paper called the *Corsair*, which bears some resemblance to our *Punch*, and like that celebrated individual, makes no scruple of giving at full length the names of those he attacks. There are upwards of a dozen of what may be called 'Peoples' Journals,' devoted to the instruction and amusement of tradesmen, mechanics, and peasants; the *Peasants' Friend*, the *People's Friend*, &c., which have a considerable circulation, and there are also six or seven papers devoted to special objects, such as gardening, commerce, bibliography, besides monthly and quarterly publications for science and literature of a higher order.

"Copenhagen is connected with Germany by two lines of communication; by the steam boats which go to Stettin and Kiel, and by the great high road which passes through the middle of Zealand and Funen, and through Jutland and the Duchies to Hanburg. Before the establishment of steamers this was by far the most important, and, indeed, as the steamers to Kiel go only twice a week, and there are on this road daily conveyances for both men and goods, it is still the great artery of life and commerce for all the provinces and islands. The two Belts are now ploughed in all directions by steam boats; but in winter, when there is in it much floating ice, the Great Belt presents difficulties too great for the steamers, and the post-bags are carried across in ice boats, of which a considerable number are always kept ready, and which can be rowed, or pushed, or even carried, for these ice boats are so constructed that they can be employed at pleasure as boats, sledges, or sedan chairs. It is not uncommon at such seasons for the passage to occupy two days; and one or even two nights have then to be passed on what is called the middle station, on the little island of Sprogøe.

Here the post-office directors have had a little inn built, and provided with twenty beds for guests; but this is only recently, and so late as the beginning of the present century, there was so little accommodation, that the King of Denmark and his suite, being on one occasion detained here by bad weather,

had to live several days upon boiled peas. The situation of this lonely little inn on the desolate island reminded me of that of the convent of St. Gothard; and the winter scenes sometimes presented to travellers, when the ice-encumbered waves of the Belt are lashed up by tempests, may not be unlike the snow storms of the Alps; but unluckily there is no colony of Newfoundland dogs at Sprogø, to snatch wayfarers from a watery grave, as in Switzerland they do travellers from the snow.

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"Since Denmark consists almost wholly of islands and peninsulas, intersected by deep Fiords, it may easily be supposed that the post-office department requires a very peculiar organization for the transport of letters, persons, and goods; and it has certainly, including the ferries, not fewer than a hundred waters to cross.

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But it sometimes happens that in winter the islands are so wrapped in clouds, fogs, and driving snow, and surrounded with loose ice, that days, or even weeks elapse, during which all communication is impossible. The whole machinery of steam boat, ice boat, or ferry, in such cases becomes useless. The chain by which these islands are linked to the rest of the world is broken, and they are left in complete isolation and total ignorance of all that is passing beyond the narrow waters which surround them.

"This happens every year to some of the small islands; and there have even been instances of Copenhagen being left three weeks without a single letter or paper from the rest of Europe; and for four or five days, or longer, it has been cut off from even the nearest provinces. This is of course a period of great anxiety for diplomatists and politicians. The post office in Copenhagen is besieged by a crowd of servants, clerks, and employes of ambassadors, merchants and noblemen, tormenting the officials with ceaseless inquiries, whether the ice-boat has yet been able to pass the Belt. Diplomatists have no despatches—lovers no packets of sighs—merchants no advices, and no Hamburg price currents; no news are stirring but such small matters as are produced in the island of Seeland. At length the long-wished-for boat arrives—scals fly from the letters, despatches and journals; the maiden reads with rapture, 'Dearest Ulrica, thank God I am well,' &c.; the merchant, that wheat is looking up in Hamburg; the politician, that the territory of the Sikhs is conquered; or that Sir Robert Peel is out; or that M. Thiers has not yet opened his mouth: and the whole town is alive again."

The Sound is perhaps not inferior in interest to any ocean passage in the world. As the traveller approaches it, he sees the Danish town of Helsingør, or Elsinore, with its five towers, lying below on the margin of the sea, with the Danish standard floating in the breeze; and opposite to it, on the other side of the ocean stream, also upon the extreme edge of the shore, the Swedish town of Helsingborg, with a large, broad, high, ruined tower in the centre. The waters that separate these two towns are almost always alive with sails, and when a wind favourable for a passage in either direction has suddenly sprung up, it is not very uncommon for four or five hundred vessels to pass through the Sound in one day; on all of which, as is known, the crown of Denmark levies a toll.

In the time when Denmark held dominion over Norway, Southern Sweden, and a great part of the Southern Baltic shore, and when the coasts of the Skager-rack and the Cattégat were all occupied by Danish subjects, it appeared that Denmark had a full right to impose a

duty upon vessels which, as passing from Danish waters to Danish waters, were passing absolutely through her dominions; for it is an acknowledged rule that all inland seas whose coasts are possessed by one and the same power should be considered as forming also part of its territory. Sometimes it has been determined that the rule of any power extends as far as nine miles from its coast—or others have said to gun-shot distance—and to that extent they may always exercise a right of supervision over all that passes on the sea, and regard as theirs whatever it may contain. If this principle also were applied to all the coasts and islands which Denmark formerly possessed, it would include a great part of that narrow sea, as the Sound by Elsinore is not more than two and a half miles broad. It is also evident that foreign vessels navigating this narrow strait would have it in their power to do great damage to the Danish coasts and fisheries; and a necessity is therefore imposed on that power of erecting forts, maintaining ships of war, and establishing many regulations of marine police, expensive in proportion to the activity of the navigation. It seems, therefore, reasonable that other nations should contribute something to the expense they occasion; especially as they also enjoy the protection of the Danish government, and its assistance in regulating disputes and preventing the collision so likely to take place amidst a throng of vessels of different nations. The suppression of piracy and various kinds of injustice—the placing land-marks and lighthouses along the strait—the providing harbours of refuge in cases of distress, certainly gives the power that commands the strait and fulfils these duties a right to demand a moderate contribution in return; so that the question, perhaps, to an impartial view, resolves itself merely into one of amount. “The English,” says Mr. Kohl, “who claim alone more than two-thirds of the vessels passing the Sound, appear to acquiesce quietly enough in the demand; which they are the more ready to do since the business is extremely well organised, and ships that have their papers in order are often not detained more than half-an-hour, or even less.” But there has been a great deal of outcry amongst the other parties interested, which is perhaps not wholly without a cause. In the first place, the dues cannot be called very moderate, since they amount, it is said, on an average, to a hundred and thirty dollars on every ship; then, in case of any trifling informality or a difficulty of ascertaining the precise value of the goods, the ship is often detained a whole day or more, and that just at the moment when she has sailed into the strait with a fair wind, and naturally wishes to get through it as quickly as possible; but the captain is compelled to come to anchor—to allow the favorable moment to pass by—and perhaps to lie for days or weeks waiting for a recurrence of a fair wind; and sometimes, in consequence of his detention, runs aground and even goes to pieces on some of the many coasts and islands. On an average, say the opponents of the Sound dues, each vessel may fairly be reckoned to lose at least one day, and as time, to mercantile people, is money, the loss to the commerce of the world of fifteen thousand

days every year makes a tremendous addition to the amount of the actual dues. It is not, therefore, merely the two millions of dollars received by the crown of Denmark that will by any means be sufficient to cover the amount of the injury done; but to these grievances English vessels are obviously as liable as any others.

More interesting, however, to many readers than this vexed question of the Sound dues will be the poetical recollections that cling round the castle of Elsinore, or Kronborg, as it is now called, and its ramparts haunted for ever by the sad spirit of the royal Dane. It seems highly probable that Shakspeare may have known of this castle, which was standing in his time, though certainly not in Hamlet's. It is of great extent, and built in magnificent style; and, as Mr. Kohl suggests, an imaginative traveller, who has any skill in getting up a sensation, may easily, as he paces the platform in the darkness, and feels a "nipping and an eager air" from the Strait, figure the great windows behind illuminated for the royal banquet, and the kettle-drums and trumpets braying out the unholy king's carouse.

4. *Wie Christen eine Frau Gewinnt* (How Christian got a Wife). 1845. *Uli der Knecht; ein Volksbuch*. (Uli the Labourer; a Book for the People), &c. By Jeremias Gotthelf. Basel: Berlin. 1846.

If an author's claims to notice should be thought to depend in any degree upon the quantity rather than the character of his productions, we are not sure that the one before us would be able satisfactorily to establish his title; and it is right also to add, that though we happen to know from private sources that he has met with the greatest success amongst those best able to judge of his merits, we have vainly searched through many German critical journals, and questioned persons learned in such matters, for information concerning him. His very name of Jeremias *Gotthelf* is, we cannot help suspecting, one for which neither his parents nor his godfathers are answerable. Nevertheless, the fact of his existence being assumed as sufficiently established by the publication, from time to time, of certain popular tales of considerable merit, and very original character, that may be thought, perhaps, to suffice for the purposes of the present article.

We are always inclined to augur favourably of the powers of a writer of fiction who begins his career with studies from the life, rather than with faint shadowy outlines of fanciful personages, whose only claim to be considered ideal is, that they are unquestionably not real. We cannot but think he is more likely to attain ultimate excellence in the higher and more imaginative department, for having exercised his powers in the first instance within the domains of reality and actual existence. It is not uncommon to shrink from this test, precisely because mistakes are more easily detected where subjects are familiar. Any one can judge of the truth of a portrait whose original we see every day. But it is easier to fancy we have succeeded in catching the likeness of beings of the fancy, which we may declare to

be a lion or a whale, or whatever we please. Few, indeed, possess the creative power of imagination and vigour of execution necessary to endue with life the forms that people those cloudy realms; but it is less difficult to deceive oneself as to the amount of success. The choice of some region rendered dim and distant either by time or space, for the scene of a fictitious narrative, is far greater evidence of weakness than of strength.

In the selection of subjects, as well as in severe and homely truth of execution, the author before us bears, perhaps, more resemblance to Crabbe than to any German writer that we are acquainted with, though he does not descend so far into the darker regions of the soul, or draw thence so many "struggling monsters into day."

His pictures of the peasantry of his country, like those of the author of *'Our Village,'* are portraits drawn with such life-like force and individuality, that even without being acquainted with the originals, we feel sure of the likeness; but if any doubt could exist on this point it would be removed by a knowledge of the fact of their great popularity in the districts they describe. They possess, indeed, almost too few of the conventional attractions of fiction; they are now and then a little tedious, and, perhaps, sometimes approach rather nearer to the disgusting than is strictly admissible in any æsthetic production; but we can pardon the author these occasional offences against good taste, in consideration of the simplicity and fidelity of his representations. If "the meanest flower that blows" may be suggestive of deep thoughts, so surely may the cares and struggles of the lowliest human soul.

It is, of course, not merely to lowliness of station that we allude. Not only peasants and labourers, but beggars and thieves, and vagabonds of all descriptions, have long been dramatically admissible into "the best society." Nay, representations, and tolerably coarse representations too, of low life, are often in especial favour in the highest circles; just as the humble delight in stories of lords and ladies, perhaps in part from that natural pleasure we all take in change of scene, which leads the citizen to seek his enjoyment in the country, and the countryman to take his holiday amid the bustle of shops and rattling coaches, and throngs of passers-by.

It is not merely the station, it is the character of the heroes of these tales, which is of the most ordinary description; there is nothing high or heroic about them. They are made of just such stuff as may be supposed to constitute nine-tenths of their countrymen in the same station of life; yet because they are human creatures, and not mere dressed puppets, we find ourselves following their adventures—no, not their adventures, for they meet with none—but the daily course of their plodding lives, with anxious interest.

The first of the tales, which is of slighter texture than the second, is of the wooing and wedding of the son of the landlady of a village inn, in one of the Swiss Cantons, and affords as it proceeds vivid glimpses into the character of the people, and the worldly-mindedness which is pretty sure to be engendered by a prosperous condition, unaccom-

panied with a corresponding intellectual culture. The love of money, and the low sordid temper, sometimes foolishly imagined to belong peculiarly to the trading classes of large cities, here exhibits its ugliness amidst the glory and magnificence of Nature, and becomes doubly hateful by the contrast it presents to the grandeur and beauty which surrounds it. Affairs of marriage are, it seems, conducted among the Swiss peasants on the lowest principles of bargaining; and the business is often assisted by intermediate agents, who carry it on in the style of the "*bureaux de mariages*" of the most corrupt city in the world.

"On the bench, by the door of a large house, by a road side (in Switzerland), sat a jolly stately looking dame, occupied in preparing beans for dressing. The representation of an ox, on a weather-stained board above her head, gave token that the house was an inn, of which she was probably the hostess. The house lay high; before it, on a pleasant slope, a little church; near this a snug parsonage nestled among rich foliage; beyond, the beautiful Alps, and high above all, the snowy peaks of the loftiest mountains, lifted their stately heads, and were just then wrapping themselves in the mantle of royal purple which the setting sun throws around them every evening. Most lovely was it to look across the smiling valleys to those glorious mountains: but the hostess never once lifted her eyes to the landscape. She seemed wholly occupied with her beans, sorting them very carefully, the young from the old, the small from the large, and so on; but yet, ever and anon, there came a dark cloud over her face, and she sighed as if her thoughts were occupied with some subject of care weightier than French beans.

"Presently there approached, leaning on a long staff, with a bent back and a slow step, a little old woman, who carried a large bundle on a stick over her shoulder. What between her thoughts and her beans, the hostess had been so profoundly occupied, that she had not noticed the approach of the little old woman, and gave a violent start in answer to her salutation.

"'Why, Grit, how you frightened me! Did you tumble down from the sky, that you were upon me before I saw you?'

"'No, no! If I was once up there,' replied the old woman, 'you would'nt catch me coming down again! I came the way I always do; but you rich women have always so much to think of. You worry yourselves to death about where you shall put all your money, and what you can do with your corn and your flour and your yarn, when all your barns and your chests are stuffed so full they are ready to burst. But what am I gossiping for? Do you want anything to day, Annie? Soap, or sponge, or washes for the skin?'

In the course of the conversation that ensues, however, it appears that the real object of the old lady's visit is not to sell sponge or washes, but to help to negotiate a marriage for the hostess's only son, a matter which is at present causing her great perplexity; and the characters of the speakers are well brought out, as they pass in review the various families in the neighbourhood who may be supposed fit candidates for the honour of the alliance. The old woman, who is evidently a first-rate courtier, mingles such skilful flattery of the hostess with her lamentations for the disasters to which she has been exposed in her efforts to bring about the conjugal felicity of the neighbourhood, and to which, indeed, "people with a good heart" are generally exposed in this world, that, notwithstanding the knowledge of her character by no means to her advantage, and suspicion of her intentions, she

ingratiates herself so far with the opulent landlady as to obtain a bed and a good supper as a retaining fee. The conversation is interrupted, however, at a very critical point,—when by the skill of Grit the curiosity of the landlady has been vehemently excited by vague hints of a certain damsel, who would afford a most advantageous match for the heir apparent of the Ox—by the arrival of two guests, village notabilities, to whose wants the landlady is called to attend, sorely against her will. Here is a sketch of a village epicure.

“ ‘And how would you like the trout, sir?’ asked the hostess; ‘would you like them fried, or boiled with a sauce?’ ”

“ ‘Both ways, my good woman, both ways,’ said the *Amtschreiber*, taking snuff; ‘that is, if they are fine and fat,—first, half a dozen of the finest you’ve got, with a sauce, and then a plate of them fried. I know you’re a capital hand at them. I don’t get them anywhere as I do here—though the last time they were a little, just a *leetle* too brown. You must know, the Colonel there is quite a *gourmand*, and I’ve brought him here just on purpose. He maintained to me that we lived like pigs; and I told him I could take him to a place where he should have a better supper than he could get in France or Holland either. And, *à propos*, my good hostess, don’t forget to put a good glass of wine into the sauce, and let the bread be well toasted, and see that there are plenty of onions—these old soldiers always like a strong flavour, and their throats are lined with leather. And, *à propos*, the last time some of the fish were—just about the head—not what I should call *quite* enough done; just let them be perhaps a thought longer at the fire, and take care that the smaller ones are not kept down quite so long as the others, and’——” I tell you what, sir,’ said the hostess, turning short round, ‘yon seem to know a great deal more about it than I do, and so the best way will be for you to come into the kitchen and cook ’em yourself, and then they’ll be sure to be right, I suppose.’ ”

Christian, the son and heir, has not, it appears, the least intention of allowing either his mother or Grit to provide him with any wife but the one he chooses; and the manœuvres of the various parties, and the manner in which he out-generals the old ladies and takes the matter into his own hands, is told with much quiet humour. The affair issues in the triumphant bringing home of the very wife who had been coveted by both mother and son, though unknown to each other. It is to be regretted that this tale is so full of the Berne dialect as to be, we should imagine, scarcely readable to those who have acquired their knowledge of German mostly from books.

In the second tale, *Uli der Knecht*, the author takes higher ground. The subject is indeed an interesting psychological experiment, that of a true moral reformation—a more rare phenomenon, we fear, than many philanthropic persons are willing to believe. In the story before us the process is conducted by such simple and natural steps, and the hero, Uli, is raised from the mire of sensuality and selfishness in which he is first exhibited, by such easy transitions, to virtue and happiness, that we never for a moment feel any doubt of the reality of the change.

The scene opens in a farm-house in the Swiss canton of Berne. The farmer and his wife are compelled to get up at an early hour in

the morning to attend to the business that properly belonged to Uli, the farmer's man, who appears to be "in his morals what the world calls middling," or something worse; and having returned home at two o'clock, and been heard to tumble up-stairs in a most suspicious manner, it is judged he cannot be safely trusted at four to enter the cow-house and stables with a light. This brings matters to a crisis; and the farmer determines to summon the culprit in the morning to receive a solemn reprimand in a certain little chamber (the *stuhli*), where affairs of this serious nature are always transacted.

"In many of the farmers' houses, especially of the class who may be considered to form an order of peasant gentry, in whose families the farm has descended from father to son for many generations, where family customs are firmly established, and a high sense of family honour entertained; scarcely any occurrence, however vexatious, is suffered to occasion anything like quarrelling or violence; and the manners of the inmates of the house are usually as composed and quiet as the aspect of the comfortable mansion itself, as it lies beneath the shadow of its spreading trees. The lowing of cattle and the neighing of horses may be heard, but seldom anything like scolding; man and wife settle their differences, if they have any, without letting their neighbours know anything about the matter; and when servants are in fault, there is seldom much said to them at first, but only a little hint let fall, just to be heard by the one to blame, and by no one else. Should the offence be repeated, and the measure become too full, then the offender is summoned to the afore-said *stuhli*, a little room apart from the family sitting-room, and where all private and serious affairs are settled—a room of peculiar dignity, like the cabinet of a prime minister. There the master reads the domestic a lecture, representing in a calm and reasonable manner the consequences of such behaviour, but without any exaggeration or bitterness, and then he awaits with patience the result. In many cases this moderation really produces the happiest effects, and one can scarcely, without having witnessed it, form an idea of the tranquillity and self-control that prevail in many of these shodes.

"By the time the master had done what there was to do in the cow-house, Uli came in, but without speaking a word, and the master did not speak to him either. As soon as the family were summoned to breakfast, the master went to the trough to wash his hands, but Uli loitered behind, and perhaps would not have gone in at all if the mistress had not called him herself. The fact was he was ashamed to show himself with his face all black and blue, and did not consider that the proper time to feel ashamed of anything wrong is before one has done it, and not merely afterwards to feel ashamed of the consequence. This he had still to find out.

"At breakfast no question was asked him,—no remark made which he could possibly suppose to be levelled at him. Not even the two maids ventured to look as if they were laughing at him, for the master and his wife had both very serious faces. When the meal was done, however, and the maids had carried out the dishes, and Uli, taking his elbows off the table, got up and put his cap upon his head, as if he had already said grace, and was moving off, the master called after him, 'Uli, come here, I want to speak to you,' and with that he beckoned him into the *stuhli* and shut the door. The master sat down near the little table; but Uli kept near the door, with rather a sheepish face, that might be easily changed, perhaps, into one of either repentance or defiance.

"He was a fine, tall, powerful-looking young man about twenty; and with handsome features, but with no remarkable expression of innocence or sobriety. It seemed by no means unlikely, that, in another year, he might look ten years older.

"'Uli,' the master began, 'this will never do. This drinking and running about at night comes quite too often. I won't trust my horses and cows to a man that can't keep his head clear of brandy, and I won't trust him with a candle in the stables. Many a house has been burnt down that way. I don't know what you can be thinking of. What do you suppose is to be the end of this?'

"Uli grumbled a reply, that, as long as he did his work he did not know that it was anybody's business what he did else. If he drank he drank his own money, and nobody else's. He had never yet burnt down anybody's house. 'Perhaps not,' said his master; 'but don't you think if you did such a thing once it would be once too much? Do you think you would ever have a happy moment again if you were to burn my house and perhaps me and my children in our beds into the bargain? As to your money, I think it is my business if it is my servant who is wasting his money that way, and the people saying all the while, as well they may, that they wonder how Bodenbaur can suffer it. And for your doing your work, why you're ready to fall asleep among the cows over your milking, and go stumbling in and out of the house like a man that is deaf and blind. I'll tell you what it is, Uli, you've got into bad company.'

"Here Uli fired up. He had not got into bad company, and he would not put up with having it said to him. If his master was not satisfied he was quite willing to go. But that was the way with masters now-a-days. 'The wages was less and less, and the victuals was worse and worse.'

"'Uli,' said the master, 'I'm afraid you're hardly yet in a fit state to be talked to. But I'm really sorry for you. You used to be an honest fellow, and one that did his work well. But, since you've begun with this sort of behaviour you're quite another man. It's of no use to tell me you have not got into bad company. We all know what that Anna Lisi is that you're so often with, down at Gnaggeler's farm. Take care what you're about, or you may repent it the longest day you have to live. If you mean to go on as you have been doing lately, then go, in God's name. I desire no better; but you would do well to think of this matter, and let me have your answer in eight days' time.' 'He didn't want no eight days. He'd soon make up his mind for his part,' Uli muttered as he went out, but the master seemed not to hear him.

"To his wife's inquiry, as to what had been the result of their conference, he replied that Uli had not yet slept off the effects of his drinking. That it would have been better to wait till the evening or the next day. Uli, in the meantime, went out, feeling as angry as if the greatest injustice had been done him, and knocked the things about, and abused the poor beasts so, that his master could hardly bear to hear him, but he said, 'Patience, patience!' and as the lecture had been delivered in private, Uli did not like to publish his own disgrace by telling the other servants what had passed, and he became gradually quieter. By degrees also, as the evil spirits of wine and brandy went out of him, his excitement gave way to a sensation of feebleness and exhaustion, that passed from his body to his soul; and as to the feeble body every exertion is difficult and painful, so the feeble soul looks with dismay at every task that lies before it. It weeps at what another would laugh at; and is in despair at difficulties which it would be sport to a stronger to overcome.

"While the wine was still in Uli's head he had been angry with his master; when it was out he was angry with himself. He thought of the twenty-three batz that he had thrown away the night before, and to replace which he would have to work fourteen days. He was vexed with the work he would have to do, with the wine that he had drunk, with the landlord who had brought it to him—with everything and everybody. He thought of what the master had said to him of Anna Lisi, and the perspiration stood upon his brow as he remembered many things that had appeared suspicious in this girl, and that he

had really been on the point of marrying her. He thought over all the 'pros and cons' of the matter, and when he had succeeded in persuading himself either that the suspicious circumstances meant nothing, or that he would be easily able to get out of the dilemma, and make his escape from Anna Lisi, the very sight of a petticoat coming towards the house a thousand yards off, overthrew all his plans and hopes, and drove him to take refuge in the stable, or behind the barn. If any one knocked at the door, he jumped as if it were a ghost, or Anna Lisi, calling him to come out and marry her.

"And how could he marry even if he wished to do so? How could he maintain a wife and children when he could not maintain himself—to say nothing of his owing money to the tailor and the grocer of the village—and having only three good shirts and four ragged ones? It was while occupied with such thoughts as these that he went stumbling about in the way his master had described, lost all pleasure in his work,—forgot everything, did everything wrong. He was uncomfortable, discontented with himself, with those about him, and with the whole world; had a good word for nobody, and was pleased with nothing.

"The mistress, he was sure, purposely ordered things for dinner that he did not like,—the master plagued him with useless work,—the horses were more vicious than usual, and the cows did everything they could to worry him,—they were the very stupidest cows that had ever been milked.

* * * * *

"Sunday morning came,—a glorious Sunday, clear, warm, and bright. The meadows were sparkling all over with diamonds; the ancient hills, the snow-capped mountains, looked calm and solemn down, their summits tinged with the rosy glow of eternal youth. The sun shone unclouded over the vast magnificent temple of God; the birds in every thicket were pouring forth a melodious chorus of joy; and the farmer, awakened early by their many-voiced melody, was strolling through his fields, his heart swelling with emotions of devout thankfulness to the Almighty for all his blessings.

"He walked with great strides, and legs high uplifted through the long grass—he stood still amidst the rich fields of luxuriant corn and softly waving flax—he passed through the orchard and contemplated, well pleased, the trees laden with their rich freight of glowing cherries, and plums and peaches as yet unripe, but advancing rapidly to maturity. He stopped here and there to tie up a branch or take off a caterpillar, rejoicing, and praising God in his heart; not so much for the profit of all this abundance, as for the splendour and beauty of creation, the goodness of which the earth is full. * * *

"Then the farmer thought how man should praise God; not in words merely, but in every thought and deed, and, for the first time this morning, an emotion of sorrow came over his mind as he remembered Uli—so nobly endowed by his Maker with health and strength and many good gifts, which he was so shamefully misusing. The master would have been sincerely grieved had any of his servants been suffering from bodily illness, but it gave him still more pain to see them languishing in sickness of the soul. This is not the case with most people, for as they often think little enough of their own souls it is a matter of course that they are not anxious about those of others, and this carelessness is, perhaps, one of most deeply seated of the mental maladies of our time.

"As the farmer returned to the house, and putting his head into the kitchen door, asked, with a kind and pleasant voice, if breakfast was ready; he was answered by his wife, in the same cheerful manner, that it had been ready a long time, but that she did not like to sit down without him. Then she asked with whom he had been gossiping all this while, but he replied that he had talked with no one but with God Almighty; and the tears came into his wife's

eyes, but they were not tears of sorrow, and she put the breakfast on the table, and called the children and servants, and they all sat down together to their comfortable meal."

Uli's first lessons in virtue are directed, as such first lessons perhaps should be, to the simply prudential consideration of the greater personal comfort he may secure by the exercise of a little self-control, and by renouncing the disorderly habits into which he has fallen; and, at one time, we have some fear that, in his satisfaction at having been able to save money, our friend Uli will fall into the sin of covetousness—a danger equally great on the opposite side. The first really good feelings are awakened in his heart by his gratitude to his master for helping him out of sundry scrapes, and he begins to endeavour to do his duty in a better spirit; not merely for the wages' sake, but with all his heart for his master's interest, to contend zealously against the mal-practices of his fellow servants, and to enjoy, for the first time in his life, the peace of an approving conscience; and now we feel that he has got his foot upon firm ground. In the end, he not only reforms himself but introduces reform wherever he goes, and we follow, with interest, his course along the uphill path which all reformers must tread, until his toils and struggles are finally crowned by just the kind and the amount of success and happiness which such conduct would in all probability have really secured.

We trust our readers are not of those who are likely to hear, "with a disdainful smile, these short and simple annals of the poor;" especially when they come recommended by great vigour and freshness of style, and afford, besides, many pretty glimpses of rural life and rural scenery in the country of all others where it is beautiful and picturesque. The descriptive passages, however, are few, but are pleasanter from being never given but when they occur quite naturally in the course of the story; and we enjoy them therefore so much the more, just as we enjoy a fine landscape far more vividly when it meets us in the pursuit of our serious business than when we go about pleasure-hunting. We have already said that the author falls occasionally too far down into the homely and prosaic, but this is, to a great extent, characteristic of the class of literature to which his writings belong, and indeed of much of the fictitious literature of our day. Poetry has had to descend from her airy heights and lofty watch-towers, and soil her feet in the dusty paths of every-day life, to seek out the sources of those social evils which have sent up mists and unwholesome vapours even into her pure and serene atmosphere. The requirements of art are often necessarily disregarded in such a search; but as the way to genuine art lies only through nature and truth, we may find ourselves able ultimately to satisfy all its demands, and give a better and nobler solution to its problems by this method, than if we had always regarded their authority as paramount. Affectation and mimicry alone must remain for ever barren.

4. *De Paris a Cadix*, par Alexandre Dumas. Vols. 1, 2. J. P. Meline, Bruxelles; Meline, Cans & Co., Leipsig. 1847.

M. ALEXANDRE DUMAS, that awful man, whose literary fertility, as all the world knows, has in it something astounding, preternatural; whose most ordinary feats are only to be paralleled by those of his renowned countryman, Mons. Philippe, the magician, when, from a small hand-basket, he produces bouquets enough to fill Covent Garden Market; and whose performances can only be explained by the supposition of diabolical assistance;—this new Alexander the Great, in these two small volumes, presents to an admiring world—not as they might perhaps imagine any account of the regions lying between Paris and Cadiz, or the dwellers therein—but, what must be far more welcome, a series of studies of himself in different attitudes, with now and then a few features of local scenery or manners varying the backgrounds. If we might be permitted a suggestion, however, we should say that it would have been better to put more prominently forward in the title-page the chief attraction of the work, and call it, in the second, or fifty-second edition, ‘Mons. Alexandre Dumas de Paris à Cadix.’

The adventures are given in a series of letters addressed to a lady; but M. Dumas tells her, or, rather, the public, that he does not mean to play the modest, or pretend to have any doubt that his letters will be printed. Nothing is more common than the opposite declaration, that letters “now published were never intended to meet the public eye”—were written for the amusement of a family circle, &c.; and whereas, in this latter case, we often perceive the writer casting glances across the family group to the reviewers, and suspect that he has all along had some idea of the ultimate destination of his confidential epistles—in M. Dumas’ case we might be tempted to the contrary supposition, and say that no man could write such letters under the idea of their meeting any other eye than those of an intimate friend. But then, to be sure, the whole reading public of Europe are M. Dumas’ intimate friends, and before his mighty name all barriers fall down, and even the hearts of custom-house officers are melted within them. He adopts this epistolary form, he says, because he found pleasure in throwing his thoughts into a new mould, “passing my style through a new crucible, and making glitter in a new setting the stones which I draw from the mine of my own mind, be they diamond or paste; to which Time, that uncorruptible lapidary, will one day affix their true worth.” He will address himself then to Madame; but he does not disguise from himself that the public will make a third party in the conversation. “I have always remarked,” he says, “that I had more wit and talent than usual, when I guessed there was some indiscreet listener standing with his ear to the keyhole.” Undoubtedly he has. What actor can play well to empty benches?—and M. Dumas, we suspect, is seldom off the stage.

Having made our protest, however, we must confess it is not easy to remain out of humour with a man who is so delighted with himself, and who presents himself with such an airy grace and sparkling

vivacity, and has the art of keeping us always amused; and perhaps there is some ingratitude in finding fault with the harmless effervescence of vanity which certainly assists this effect.

We hasten, therefore, to present our readers with a specimen or two that may enable them to share in this amusement. The first shall relate to a subject which occupies a very important position in these pages—namely, gastronomy; and be it known to all men, that one of the great truths enunciated *en passant* by M. Dumas—one of the gems, we suppose, drawn from that mine he mentions, is this; all people of a fine organisation are “*un peu gourmand*,” now, M. Dumas is unquestionably of a fine organization—*ergo*, &c. Spain, however, happens to be rather an awkward country for people of this refined caste to travel in—for everybody knows that it is the most difficult thing in the world to get anything to eat at a Spanish inn. On the first morning after their arrival, the party of hungry travellers, who had been all night on the road, was asked whether they wished to breakfast, and on their replying with an eager affirmative, were told that in that case they must go and see where they could get any; and, after a variety of manœuvres, at last only succeeded in obtaining a small cup of chocolate each, with a little sweet cake that melted in a glass of water. This defeat, however, served to instruct them in their future plan of operations, and on a subsequent occasion, by bold and decisive measures, they obtained a signal victory over the host of the “*Posada de Calisto Burquillos*,” and marched triumphantly into a supper and a bed.

“We had been for half an hour following some lights scattered over the sides of the mountain, that seemed to fly before us like those wandering fires by which travellers are so often misled. At length we could distinguish the sound of a paved road beneath the tread of our mules, and this was accompanied by a jolting that left no sort of doubt. We soon distinguished at our right a pile of buildings, roofless and perfectly silent, without windows and without doors; presenting, not the picturesque aspect of the ruins made by time, but the saddening picture of a work left unfinished. We crossed a kind of square, turned to the right, got into a blind alley, our carriages stopped, we had arrived, and, alighting, we read by the light of our lanterns the words, ‘*Posada de Calisto Burquillos*.’ To our great surprise everybody was still up at the posada, and we surmised that some great affair was in preparation. We were not mistaken; two coaches full of English had arrived three hours before us, and the people of the inn were getting their supper. ‘Ah, Madame! you who are a Frenchwoman—twice a Frenchwoman, for you are a Parisian—never go into a Spanish inn when they are getting an Englishman’s supper.’ This caution will serve to indicate that we were very coldly received by Don Calisto Burquillos, who declared he had no time to attend to either our suppers or our beds.

“Now there’s one thing that I cannot admit, and that is when, with the purpose of attracting travellers, one has written over one’s door ‘*Posada de Calisto Burquillos*,’ one has any right to refuse admittance to travellers attracted by said inscription; I therefore contented myself with bowing politely to Master Burquillos, and then called to Giraud, ‘My dear friend,’ said I, ‘there are in the carriage five guns, including Desbarolles’s carabine, do you all arm yourselves with them, and then come and warm them in the chimney

corner. If you are asked why you do that, say you are afraid your guns will catch cold.'

" 'I understand,' said Giraud, and went towards the door, making a sign to Alexandre, Maquet, Desbarolles, and Achard to follow him. 'Now, Boulanger,' said I, 'you who are a peaceable man, do you take with you Don Riego, and, with that minister of peace set out on a voyage of discovery after four little rooms or two large ones.'

" 'Good,' said Boulanger, and went out in his turn with Don Riego.

" Master Calisto Burguillos had followed with his eyes all these movements.

" 'There! they're gone now,' said he to his wife, 'those *pugnateros* of Frenchmen.'

" Don Calisto had not seen me, as I was hidden by the projecting corner of the chimney-piece. His wife made a sign to him that I was there, and he left his pots and pans and came towards me.

" 'What are you doing there,' he demanded.

" 'Looking for a gridiron.'

" 'What for?'

" 'To broil some chops.'

" 'Have you any chops?'

" 'No! But you have.'

" 'Where then?'

" 'There,' and I pointed to a loin of mutton that was hanging in a corner of the chimney.

" 'Those chops are for the English, and not for you.'

" 'There you make a mistake; they are for us, and not for the English. You've just taken them up a dozen chops; that's quite enough for them, these are our share.'

" 'Those are for their breakfast to-morrow.'

" 'No! they're for our supper to-night.'

" 'You think so do you?'

" 'I'm sure of it.'

" 'Oh! Oh!'

" At this moment enter Giraud, shouldering his gun, followed by Desbarolles, Maquet, Achard, and Alexandre, doing likewise.

" 'My dear friend,' said I to Giraud, 'This is Master Calisto Burguillos, who is so obliging as to let us have that loin of mutton. Give me your gun and ask him the price; pay generously; unhook it cleverly, and cut it up neatly.'

" 'Those three adverbs are very effective,' observed Desbarolles, coming up to the fire.

" 'Not too near, my dear fellow,' cried Achard, 'you know those guns are loaded.'

" 'How much shall I give you for the loin of mutton?' said Giraud, taking up the cleaver from the kitchen table.

" 'Two *duros*,' replied the host, keeping one eye on the guns, and one on the loin of mutton.

" 'Give him three, Giraud.'

" Giraud took the three *duros* out of his pocket, and in so doing let fall five or six ones.

" Signor Calisto Burguillos opened his eyes at the sight of the gold, which rolled along the kitchen floor. Giraud picked up his five or six ones, and gave the three *duros* to our host; he passed them to his wife, who appeared to me to occupy a very distinguished position in the house. Giraud took the mutton, cut it into chops with a skill that did honour to his anatomical knowledge, sprinkled them with just enough of salt and pepper, laid them delicately on

the gridiron which I presented to him, and then deposited it over a level bed of bright, clear coals, artistically arranged by Achard. Immediately the first drops of fat began to hiss upon them.

"Now, Desbarolles," said I, 'offer your arm to Madame Calisto Burguillos, and beg that she will do you the favour to conduct you to the place where she keeps her potatoes; and if you should meet any eggs on your way, introduce a dozen or so into your pouch. As you go along, my good friend, don't forget to ask how her father is, and her mother, and the children; that will flatter her a little, and make you better acquainted.'

"Desbarolles approached the hostess in the most respectful manner, and, softened a little already by the contact of the dueros, she deigned to accept the arm which he offered, and both disappeared by a door that seemed to lead down into the bowels of the earth. Boulanger and Don Riego at the same moment made their appearance at an opposite entrance; they had steered their course in a contrary direction, had encountered winds which had driven them along a corridor, at the end of which they had discovered a chamber capable of containing eight beds, and Boulanger, like a man of sense, had locked the door, and put the key in his pocket.

"The chops were broiling away famously. 'Now,' said I, 'a saucepan and fryingpan.'

"Achard immediately seized a fryingpan, and Giraud a saucepan. Monsieur Calisto Burguillos gazed at us, as if fairly stupified; but he was only one against eight, and had but a ladle against five loaded guns. I think he had, at one time, half a mind to call the English to his assistance; but he was a well-informed man, this M. Calisto Burguillos, and he knew, that in the peninsular war, the Spaniards had always had more to suffer from their allies, the English, than from their enemies, the French; and he determined, therefore, to make no appeal to his guests.

"Desbarolles now returned, with his pouch full of eggs, and his pockets of potatoes.

"It was Achard's mission to break and beat the eggs, Giraud's to peel the potatoes. Desbarolles was to continue his attentions to Madame Burguillos till the cloth was laid somewhere for eight; and Desbarolles devoted himself heroically to the cause, and in a quarter of an hour returned with an 'Oh, dear! Gentlemen, the cloth is laid.' Ten minutes after, the omelet only wanted just a turn—the chops a moment more broiling, the potatoes a moment more boiling. At this moment, the kitchen of Don Calisto Burguillos presented a curious scene.

"First, there was your very humble servant, M. Alexandre Dumas, with a fan in each hand, keeping up the proper ventilation for the charcoal fire that was cooking the chops and the potatoes; Giraud was peeling a second edition of the potatoes, destined to succeed the first; Don Riego was pretending to read his breviary, but snuffing up the scent of the gridiron, and glancing out of the corner of his eye at the frying-pan; Maquet was holding the handle thereof; Achard was pounding pepper; Desbarolles was resting from his fatigues; Boulanger, chilled by his voyage in the high latitudes, was warming himself; Alexandre (the younger), faithful to his speciality, was taking a nap; finally, Master Calisto Burguillos, confounded at this French intervention, did not notice his wife, who was making signs to Desbarolles through the window, that there was something very important still wanting to the table. Fortunately, I was keeping watch for Master Calisto, and I sent Desbarolles to his duty. Ten minutes after, we were seated round a table, on which smoked a dozen chops, two pyramids of potatoes, and a gigantic omelet, and at our repeated shouts of laughter—enter Madame Burguillos, behind her the two or three Maritornes of the posada, and behind them, in deep shadow, the astonished faces of the English guests. I profited by the presence of Madame Burguillos, to slip the

key of the sleeping-room into the hand of Desbarrolles :—' Come, Mr. Interpreter,' said I, ' one more effort. Get up from table, and go and see our beds made; we will keep your share of the supper, and on your return the company will vote you a crown of laurel, as Rome did to Cæsar.' In another hour we were all ranged symmetrically side by side on the ground like 'Tom Thumb and his seven brothers.'

The second adventure which we shall present to our readers is of a different cast, and is somewhat suspiciously effective in the *feuilleton* style. We must premise that the party had been fairly beaten in another attempt to take a *posada* by storm; and compelled to make a hasty retreat. The landlord and landlady, and their friends, were busy dancing, and would have nothing to say to them. In vain did even M. Dumas exert his eloquence—in vain did another of the party place himself in a graceful attitude before the hostess—with an elbow leaning on the wall, and one leg crossed over the other, and begin a conversation with an elegant freedom and captivating politeness that seemed likely to be irresistible. The landlord fairly drove them out, and would not agree to let them have so much as a glass of wine till he saw them seated in their carriage, and ready to start on the road to Aranjuez.

Behold, then, the discomfited party again *en route*, abandoning for this time all hopes of a supper and a bed. M. Dumas, his son, and one of his friends on mules, the rest in a curious vehicle which they had found it necessary to purchase.

"We set off then, and behind us the carriage also began its march, lighted by a single lantern fixed in the middle of the imperial. By degrees the crescent moon arose, and threw a soft and charming light upon the landscape; a landscape, the immense extent of which rendered it almost terrible. At our right it was bounded by mountains, amidst which, from time to time, great lakes of sand glittered in the moonshine. To the left, it seemed quite boundless; it was impossible for the eye to sound the depths of the horizon; but at about a thousand paces from the road, a line of trees, and the deeper colour of the vegetation, marked the course of the Tagus. From place to place a portion of the river was discovered, sending back to the moon, like a bright mirror, the rays received from it; before us, the long yellow road stretched out like a band of leather. From time to time our mules turned out of the straight path to leave to the right or the left some precipice, almost beneath our feet, left yawning since some forgotten earthquake. From time to time, also, we turned, and saw behind us at a distance of three hundred, four hundred, five hundred paces, the old coach tottering along, its wheels often buried in sand to one-third of their depth, and its light shaking like a Will-o'-the-wisp. Presently we climbed a little hill, and after that we completely lost sight of it."

They continued their course, gossiping away very gaily, and quite forgetting the old coach and its Cyclop eye of a light. At last, when for more than three quarters of an hour they had seen no glimpse of it, they thought it prudent to stop.

"The moon was marvellously bright; but not a sound was to be heard in these vast elevated plains, except perhaps the distant barking of a dog from some lonely farm. The mules, however, pricked up their ears as if they heard something which we did not. In another moment a vague sort of sound seemed to pass with the wind, like the echo of a human voice lost in immense space.

'What's that?' said I. Alexandre and Achard had heard something, but they knew not what. We remained silent and motionless, and in a few seconds the sound reached us again. It was like a cry of distress. We redoubled our attention. At length we heard distinctly a name pronounced by a voice that seemed approaching.

"It is you—it is you they want," said Achard. "It is one of our friends," said Alexandre. "You will see," said I, trying to laugh, "that they have been stopped by six banditti, who have forbidden them to cry out; and that's why they're calling."

"It's certainly me that they're calling," said I. "Forwards, gentlemen, in that direction!" We spurred our mules, but had scarcely gone ten yards, when the same cry reached us, and, this time, with an accent of distress that there was no mistaking. "Something has happened, certainly," said I. "*Allons!*" and we galloped on, attempting also to shout in answer; but the wind was in our faces, and carried our voices back. The same cry was heard again, but now it had a panting, exhausted sound. A sort of shiver passed through our hearts. We tried again to reply; but we now perceived that it was to no purpose; it soon became evident that the person who had uttered those cries, was running towards us with all his might."

This person turned out to be one of the party in the rear—the painter Giraud; who had come to inform them of the coach having been completely overturned on the very edge of a precipice, having only escaped being thrown over it by the accidental projection of a rock, which stuck out "like a single tooth in a gigantic jaw." Nobody was much hurt, however; and to the inquiry of M. Dumas, as to how the accident happened, one of the sufferers replied:—

"Oh! it was very soon done. We were jogging along, discoursing of feats of love and war, as M. Annibal de Coconnas says, when, all at once, we felt our coach lean to one side. 'I believe we're going to overturn,' said Boulanger.

"I believe we are overturning," said Maquet, 'I believe we have overturned,' said Desbarolles; and, in fact, just at that moment the coach laid itself quietly over on its side; but then, all of a sudden, as if she hadn't found herself comfortable in that position, she gave a shift, and turned us completely topsy-turvy, with our heads down and our feet in the air, kicking about among our guns and hunting-knives—Maquet at the bottom, I upon him, and Don Riego on me, larded between with Boulanger and Desbarolles."

"Steady, gentlemen," said Boulanger; 'I believe we are on the very brink of a precipice that I was just looking at when we went over. The quieter we keep ourselves, the better chance we have of not going down it.'

"This advice was good, and we followed it; but Maquet observed, with his usual composure:—

"Do what you think best, gentlemen, only don't forget, if you please, that I am stifling, and, in five minutes, I shall be dead."

On reconnoitring the ground where the accident happened, it seemed rather probable that it had been not altogether accidental; and this suspicion was confirmed by seeing the mayoral snatch his lantern and extinguish it. This extinction, however, threw, in the minds of the travellers, a sudden light on the affair.

"Maquet instantly left off scolding, but seized the mayoral by the collar, and dragged him towards the precipice.

"The mayoral thought his last hour was come; he resisted with all his

might, but Maquet had a grasp of iron; and they were soon on the edge of the abyss. He turned ashy pale. 'If you want to kill me,' said he, 'do it at once,' and he shut his eyes. This humility saved him, and Maquet let him go.

"Now," said he, "we must call Dumas, for this scene is not over yet. Who has the use of his legs, and lungs enough to run after him and call out?" 'I have,' said Giraud, and he set off. You know the rest, Madame, or, rather, you do not know; for the rest was, at that moment, coming over a little hill, clearly marked out against the horizon—this horizon was very near to us. 'See, see!' said I, 'a troop of men;' and I extended my hand in the direction of the new comers.

"Three, four, five, six, seven," counted Giraud; at this moment, the barrel of a carbine glanced brightly in the moonlight.

"Good! they are armed," said I; 'we're going to have some fun here. Your guns, gentlemen!' I spoke in a very low voice, but every one understood in a moment.

"Achard, who had no gun, snatched up a hunting-knife, and we then recollected that our guns were not loaded. The men were now not more than a hundred yards off; we could count them, they were seven. 'Gentlemen, we have three minutes,' said I; 'that is enough to load. Steady, let us load.'

"They were all gathered round me with exception of Alexandre, who was rummaging for something he wanted in his '*nécessaire de toilette*.' He had all things so complete that he could not find anything.

"The men were but twenty paces off by the time we were ready. We cocked our guns; and at that slight sound, so well understood in these circumstances, and of which the signification is never doubtful, the men stopped.

"We were quite ready; three of us were sportsmen, and would certainly not have missed their men at this distance.

"Now, Monsieur, the sworn interpreter," said I to Desbarolles, 'do me the favour to ask these fine fellows what they want, and just insinuate that the first that moves is a dead man.'

"At this moment, whether innocently or not, the mayoral again let fall his lantern, which we had compelled him to relight. Desbarolles translated into Spanish the compliment I had addressed to our visitors. The translation was made in a spirited manner, and I could see had its effect.

"Now," said I, 'make the mayoral understand that just at this moment it is necessary we should see clearly—so that it is not precisely the right one for extinguishing his lantern.'

"Somehow the mayoral understood without translation, and picked it up again.

"There was a moment of solemn silence.

"We were separated into two groups, Desbarolles a little in front like a sentinel. The Spanish group was in shade; ours was lit by the trembling light of the lantern, which shone on the barrels of our pieces, and the blades of our hunting-knives. 'Now,' said I to Desbarolles, 'ask these gentlemen to what we are indebted for the favor of their company.' The reply was that they had come to bring us help. 'Very good,' said I, 'but how did they happen to know that we wanted help?'"

After a little more conversation, and some words in Spanish exchanged with the Mayoral, the visitors retire with "*Vaya usted con Dios!*" a pious and courteous formula in constant use in Spain.

At Aranjuez, when the affair had been related to the corregidor, he declared that the banditti were no banditti at all, but the guards of her Majesty the Queen, which the travellers resolutely disbelieved. How this may have been we have no means of ascertaining; but it

does not seem impossible that the parts of bandit and Queen's guard may be occasionally what is called "*doubled*" by the same individuals.

The end of the second volume brings us to Grenada, of which there are some gorgeously-coloured descriptions, though we pass them over on account of the familiarity of the subject.

Our readers will, however, perceive, that if they take up M. Dumas' book for mere amusement, they will have no cause to repent doing so; and even such as are more critically inclined will probably be almost reconciled to its egotism and impertinence, by its frolicsome humour and exuberance of animal spirits.

5.—*Nothgedrungener Bericht aus seinem Leben* (Compelled Report concerning his Life). By E. M. Arndt. Leipzig: Weidmann. 1847.

THE name of Ernst Moritz Arndt is by no means unknown in England; in Germany it is one that stirs many hearts like the sound of a trumpet, bringing back a thousand thrilling recollections of the greatest moment of their national life; the only moment, indeed, in modern times, in which they can be said to have existed as a nation—the year 1813, when the people of Germany rose as one man to throw off the burden of grief and shame that had lain so heavy on them; when kings and their subjects for once joined heart and hand; when noble, and peasant, and priest—the active man of business and dreamy student—forgot all other differences, and remembered only that they were Germans and men, and

"Went pouring forward with impetuous speed,
And swiftly forming in the ranks of war."

Few men contributed more than Arndt to awaken the mighty moral force which formed the strength of that host; a force which was more fatal to Napoleon than fire or frost. To him, and others like him, it has been truly said, "the late king of Prussia owed the throne on which he sat;" yet, when the work was done—when the German soil was freed from the polluting tread of her insolent foe—when "grim-visaged war had smoothed his wrinkled front," the rulers began to consider how they might escape the pledges given, and evade the promises made in that moment of high-wrought enthusiasm on the side of the people, of direst necessity on the side of the kings; and then it began to be suspected that such men as Arndt were but edged tools, which it was dangerous to play with; far more convenient ones might be found for any business then on hand, and it was determined to lay him aside. After a long course of harassing investigation, he was deprived of his professorship in the University of Bonn, the simple reward he had sought for his distinguished services, although, from his intimacy with Stein and Gneisenau, and other influential men, there is no doubt he might have obtained one vastly more important, had he been so minded. The charge against him—though he was never brought to any trial—was that of corrupting the youth of the University by the inculcation of revolutionary principles. In 1840,

he was restored to his office by the present king of Prussia ; but as it seems reports to his disadvantage have again been raised, and obscure reference made to the cause of his dismissal, he has at length thought it necessary, in his own justification, to publish all the papers seized on that occasion, on which the charges made against him were founded. The obnoxious passages are underlined (in the course of the investigation sometimes three or four times in different coloured inks); and to English readers it will appear scarcely credible, that the finest scent of creatures accustomed to this species of hunting, could discover in the greater part of them the presence of anything resembling the game they were in search of. Some of the sentences seized on as indicative of the fierce demagogism of Arndt, were it appears actually written by the late King of Prussia, and merely copied into Arndt's journal. In 1810 or 1811, a Prussian officer (afterwards General von Clausewitz), had formed a very elaborate project for a general rising of the German people against the French. This plan was submitted to the king, who rejected it as impracticable, writing on the margin various remarks with his own hand. The paper was afterwards given to Arndt to read, and he very naturally copied the marginal notes, which might be supposed to contain the king's views on a subject of such great importance. Some of these notes, when found in his journal, were subjected to the most ludicrous misinterpretation. For instance, the words, "A few executions, and there would be an end of the whole affair"—"Let but a village preacher be shot, and it would be all over,"—did not, as was supposed, indicate the murderous intentions of Arndt towards such of his countrymen as should oppose his revolutionary projects, or his desire to assassinate a few clergymen; but referred simply to the revenge which the king supposed the French would be likely to take on the failure of so rash and untimely an insurrection. In the passage to which the notes were affixed, the question was of the active and valiant co-operation in the cause of their country, which it was hoped might be looked for from the clergy, and other men in responsible positions; and the examples of the cruel vengeance taken by the French in similar cases in Spain and the Tyrol, were probably fresh in the royal memory.

These two volumes contain, first, the correspondence between Arndt and those who might be called his judges; secondly, the papers in his handwriting which were seized, and concerning which he was required to give explanations; thirdly, all his letters which were supposed to contain objectionable matter; and, lastly, a number of letters from some of the most distinguished men in Germany, not included in the seizure, and mostly written in after years; but which he has given, he says, in the hope that his having been honoured by the friendship of so many among the most virtuous and illustrious of his countrymen, may be received along with other evidence of the groundless nature of the charges brought against him; and afford presumptive proof, that he who could boast the confidence of such men, could be "neither a rogue nor a fool." Among the best known of these is the Baron von Stein, whom Arndt served two or three years as private

secretary, and whose friendship he retained to the end of that great statesman's life.

The following passage from one of his letters may, perhaps, have interest at the present moment:—

"From Baron Von Stein to E. M. Arndt.

"The question concerning a representative constitution is now being discussed on all sides. The majority certainly desires to see institutions of this kind established; many, and among these, unfortunately, the present possessors of power, would fain postpone or reject them altogether. I need not tell you to which party I belong.

"In this state of things, all friends of legitimate freedom ought to unite for the attainment of their common object, to contend against the common enemy, and not fall out amongst themselves, so as to injure each other, and, by their thoughtless conduct, lay themselves open to attacks from without.

"The true opponents of the good cause are to be found in the army of officials. All they want is to lead easy lives—to have good pay, to be sure of their places, and to continue undisturbed the mysterious scribbling work in which they pass their days. They have a presentiment that with the establishment of a representative constitution would commence for them a genuine responsibility—not a mere pretended responsibility to official superiors, perhaps more than two hundred miles distant, and already overlaid with business. Their number too would have to be diminished. Instead of making head against this resistance of the bureaucracy we are getting up a cry against aristocrats, who have no real influence at all, preaching pure democracy and committing all sorts of follies, that present excellent opportunities to our enemies, and make the cause hateful to our rulers.

"Thus are we blindly going astray. * * *

"The present moment is a most critical one—pregnant with important consequences—and men like you, familiar with the bustle and business of actual life, and accustomed to manifold movement and contact, should raise your voices and make your influence felt.

"We live in a time of transition; we must, therefore, not at once destroy the old, but gradually, and at fitting opportunity, exchange it for what is better; guarding ourselves equally from the wild fanatical democrats, and from the hired defenders of absolute power. However opposite their intentions, they are not unwilling to unite to sow discord among the various classes of society; the one in the hope of frustrating all attempts to establish a representative constitution, the other to set up one that could by no possibility keep its ground.

"The hatred that we observe now between the nobility and the citizens did not exist in the most prosperous times of the German cities, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; each class had then its own feeling of honour, and was connected with others by a mutual bond of services and friendly intercourse, cemented by moral and social laws.

"The various classes of society should stand side by side, and not be confounded together; there must be a nobility of family and of estate—not a servile nobility—not the creatures of court favour; a class of substantial citizens and industrious mechanics; a peasantry, free and independent, not a mere rabble of day labourers: and then, although employing many of our old forms, and retaining our old appellations, which have the advantage of being familiar and well understood, we should have once more, as of old, free men meeting together in deliberation, by whatever name their meeting might be called, and ready to act with and for each other whenever occasion should demand it. Such a state of things might be developed out of that which at present subsists, with-

out demolishing the whole fabric of society to set up a mere castle in the air in its place.

"May God give his blessing to such a reform, and protect this good, pious, and valiant German people from anarchy, tyranny, or foreign invasion."

The following remarks on French affairs, shortly after the revolution of 1830, are worth giving for themselves, as well as for the quarter whence they proceed :—

"The forty years' struggle of parties has given me the greatest contempt for this vain, volatile, covetous people. Nowhere do I find among them any respect for the true and the good—any love for their country; nowhere anything but lust of power or of gold.

"The very outward forms of their proceedings show their indolent selfishness. They meet (in the Chambers) at one o'clock, at six they go to dinner, and thence go to gossip and slander and intrigue in the *salons*. (A true French word is that 'intrigue.') What a contrast to the meetings of the British Parliament! The discussions in their Chambers, too, have nothing in them; they turn mostly on elective forms, or some merely external matter; no great intellectual or religious interest ever finds a place in them.

"They had two good ministries—that of Richelieu de Serre and Lainé, and that of Martignac le Ferronay; they were driven out; and then the poor bigot, Charles X., seeking peace and finding none, threw himself into the arms of the absolutist, M. de Polignac. 'Jules P.,' said a lady, writing to me on the 22nd of September, 'took for his device, *Vive le Roi Absolu, et la Sainte Inquisition*; he is a man of honour and fidelity, but has no talent and no strength of character. He is very obstinate and headstrong, and suffers most unworthy people to usurp his confidence. Flattery will be the shoal on which he will be wrecked.'

"What a man to lead, to govern, to steer the vessel of the state through so many storms! I find in this glorious revolution nothing glorious at all. It was a mere party fight: the stronger got the better—the weaker had to give way. And what has been gained by it? The state has been shaken to its lowest foundations—national prosperity annihilated; there is danger of war; they have an increase in the land-tax of twenty-seven millions of dollars; the bankers have taken the place and dominion of the great land-owners.

"The root of the French character is vanity, and the fruit of that root can be only lies. It is remarkable, that all the convulsions of France for forty years past have only tended to deteriorate her position, while that of her neighbours has improved. * * * France is inwardly burdened with taxes—her political constitution fluctuates between existence and annihilation; her church is destroyed, her elementary schools are wretched, her higher educational institutions imperfect in the extreme; in all directions, the seeds of vanity and lies are coming up.

"*March*, 1831."

There are many passages in these letters which, though not likely to awaken much attention here where the writers are little known, will be very attractive to the author's countrymen from the glimpses they afford into that most important period of their recent history, to which they refer. But among what are called the "retrogressive politicians," there are probably some to whom the revelations contained in them, and the eloquent testimony they bear to the merits of the men of the Liberation war, will be far from acceptable.

6.—*Masaniello*; Dramma di Raffaello Nocchi. Lucca. 1847.

THIS drama, published in January, and announced in our last number, is the first work of a young Italian author of great promise. The subject,—the well known story of Masaniello, is not recommended by novelty, but it is so skilfully and artistically treated, that we feel a further notice of the work will be acceptable to our readers, and especially to those among them who would cherish indications of genius as reminiscences of the past, in a country to which Europe owes so much of her civilization and refinement. Before giving a brief analysis of the story, we must express the pleasure we have derived from the simplicity of the language and the fidelity of its delineations of character, regarding them as one amongst many signs we have observed of a more healthy tone in the rising literature of Italy. There is here no attempt to make heroes, or to personify virtues and vices. The men and women are in this drama as in life. Even the natural defects, as depicted, of Masaniello and Rosa, enhance rather than diminish our sympathy, because they realize to us more fully the well-meaning, religious, affectionate, but ignorant, superstitious Neapolitan peasants, the excitable, imaginative children of the South.

The slight disappointment at first felt, that the language is so simple, the people so much those of every-day life, is perhaps only an involuntary homage to the talent, the refined taste, and knowledge of human nature of our young author, and warrant us in expecting from him, in maturer years, valuable additions to Italian literature.

The drama opens in the market-place: Rosa, the wife of Masaniello, and other peasants are collected in front of a shed where the duties are levied, to hear the answer of the viceroy to their demand that the proposed duty on fruit should not be enforced. Masaniello, who had been sent on their behalf returns with a refusal. Those who have listened in Italy to the oft-repeated tale of the peasants' wrongs will admit that the picture here given is drawn from life:—

"A FRUIT-SELLER.—What news, Rosa?

ROSA.—My husband, Maso, will soon return. He is gone to receive the answer of the Viceroy; whether they mean we should die of hunger with this cursed duty upon fruit.

FRUIT-SELLER.—Just look at the market to-day! Even on the fruit which in summer is the very bread of the poor given to them by God. Well! let us hope the heat, but Signor Genovino shakes his head!

AN OLD MAN.—Ah, he is a man indeed! I remember in that affair of the Viceroy Ossuna, that it was the Signor Genovino who, heading the people, withstood the government. He wished to detach Naples from the crown of Spain, and give us a king of our own, but Ossuna failed us just as the crown was to be placed on his head, things took a wrong turn, and grew from bad to worse. Signor Genovino paid for it with twenty years' imprisonment, but see! here he is again amongst us ever the same for the people. Oh, he is a man indeed!

* * * * *

MASANIELLO (*comes in with slow, unwilling steps, a basket of fish and scales in his hands, a crowd of people collect round him.*)—The old story! Do you wish to know the answer of the council to our petition, even though it was presented by the Archbishop? We must have patience; so much noise for one duty

more! Spain is always at war—money must be had. In short, the crown wishes a large grant; thus, to speak civilly, they call it.

ROSA.—Oh, that I were a man!

MAS.—There, up at the castle, are mouths that roar over our roofs. What is the use of clamour under the cannon!

ROSA.—We must act.

PEOPLE.—Here is Genovino; what more news? Come, Signor Genovino, sit down; counsel us.

GEN.—And so, my children, you have heard the answer of the council. It matters not, that, driven by misery, our countrymen are forced to take refuge amongst the Turks, to become banditti or assassins. The Viceroy has decided—has decided to grant nothing, but that all shall go on in the same course. What cares he, that from 1620 till now, some twenty years, Naples has given to the Philips of Spain twenty millions or more in forced grants—

Genovino here relates, briefly but energetically, the history of the time, showing the people that oppression will be in proportion to their submission; he tells the tale of the Sicilian outbreak, and recommends them to follow a similar course.

“ Oh! that the Neapolitans were Sicilians!

PEOPLE.—We will let them see that we are men!

WOMEN.—And that we are equal to men!

GEN.—Remember that you must take time by the forelock. It is now or never. (*Exit.*)

PEOPLE.—May God preserve you to us! Let us consider—something must be done.

OLD MAN.—What would you do? The nobles are one with the tax-gatherers, and have made a league of great thieves to hang the little ones. They place us below their horses, their falcons, and their dogs.

MAS.—And the man who lets himself be placed below the beasts is treated worse than the beasts. Oh! are we children of Eve or of the serpent, we? The rich, because he is rich, must be ever have the right to despoil the poor, because he is poor? Oh! if we were brethren in Christ, as they are brethren in Satan against us, there would be an end of this. And famine is not enough!—insult must be added. Listen to this: My wife was in prison, for smuggling—a matter of a handful of corn. I went to the man who farms the tax, and said, ‘I have only one poor room, with one bed in it. Must I sell all? I will pay little by little. Rosa has only weaned the child a few days.—Have pity on us.’ What was his answer? ‘Sell your wife, sell the children, then die, if you will, but pay first.’

PEOPLE.—Oh! the dogs, the assassins, we can bear it no longer.”

Ciullo, the lazzaroni, with the “*far niente*” of his class advises submission.

“ MAS.—Help yourself that I may help you, is the voice of Providence.

OLD MAN.—If it go on thus, it will appear to be the will of God.

A BOY.—We want faggots.

MAS.—(*Aside.*)—The children are more prompt than their fathers. Who knows! Perhaps the fathers will follow their children. (*Aloud.*)—To-morrow is the festival of the Madonna; here in the mercato, you children will fight in her honour as usual, in two armies, one the Turks, one the Christians. I will teach you a new song. If you obey me, we will have fruit in plenty.

CHIL.—Yes, yes.

MAS.—To-morrow we will have a real festival.

OLD MAN.—It is the will of God.

MAS.—And ours. (*Exeunt.*)”

Genovino's character develops itself as that of an ambitious demagogue, who in early life was hopeful, ardent, and generous, but his twenty years' imprisonment had closed his heart to all but selfish emotions. Whilst he believes he is the leader of the populace, he is true to them; but when he finds that another is preferred to him, he joins with their enemies, and like another Malatesta, points out the way most securely to betray those who had trusted him. After the mock fight betwixt the Turks and Christians, which has been turned into a serious onslaught on the constituted authorities, on the palace, the Dogana, the barracks and the prisons, the Duke of Arcos, having taken refuge in the citadel, holds a council, in which are well displayed the differences of character between the cautious governor, the haughty and lawless noble, and the ceremonious, dishonest, and cringing lawyer.

This well-matched trio agree to deceive the people and their leaders, Masaniello and Genovino, by apparent concession, whilst they organize plans of wholesale destruction. The author follows history so closely, and the general outlines of the plot are so familiar through the well-known melodrama, that we do not think it necessary to detail them here to our readers.

Events succeed each other with great rapidity. Fresh characters appear on the stage, every one bearing the impress of his own individual humanity. Salvator Rosa, with his “*banda nera*,” who did no mean service in the short but memorable conflict. Nella and her blind father, whose tragic fate forms the most touching episode in the play, and brings out fully the characters of the insolent and dissolute noble, and the devoted lover, true in death as in life. We extract from it the concluding scene.

Nella, the only child and joy of her blind father, the *improvisatrice* of the Mola, was affianced to a young man of the people, but is persuaded by the Duca di Mantellone, to become unfaithful to the humble but true-hearted Mengo, and to fix her love on the high-born but mean-spirited noble, who in a short time coldly deserts her. The poor girl, victim to shame and remorse, not daring even to name the holy name of the Virgin, becomes insane and dies. The body is laid upon a bed in the little room. The poor blind father is sitting beside it. His head rests upon the pillow of his child. Mengo enters; he is immovable, looking fixedly at the body:—

“BLIND MAN.—Who is there? Are they already come for her? It is too soon. Who weeps? Mengo, is it thou? Come hither; listen—these were her last words: ‘Tell that good youth to pardon me, and to pardon also him who has done us so much wrong.’ Then she died as an angel might. Give me thy hand. Touch her’s; promise her to pardon. Perhaps her spirit is even now with us, for God has already given to her pardon and liberty.

MENGO.—I swear, that even if he fall into my hands I will not kill him, and will strive to pardon him.

BLIND MAN.—She died as a saint. I saw her in dazzling brightness; in that moment the darkness was taken from my eyes; and even now I seem to see her,

but dimly. Tell me; she is still beautiful, is it not so? I have passed my hand over her face, and felt that a smile still lingers on her lips. A beautiful vision opened to her as she died, and it is finished in Paradise. I shall soon not even be able to feel her with my hands. What o'clock is it?

MENGO.—The sun is just setting. I will attend her to the grave.

BLIND MAN.—'Tis well; see that no other touch her. Place her as if she were sleeping. Now, let us pray. Oh, Holy Virgin, pardon her on account of her sufferings. Mengo, where is her lute? See that her Tasso be not lost. Let us say a Requiem; but first seek there—at her side,—I have never been able to find it, a lock of hair, which was cut off for me. Give it to me. Woe if one hair be lost. Here in my bosom. Mengo, are they coming?

MENGO.—The children are come to pray over the dead.

BLIND MAN.—Dead, dead.—Oh! *there above* I shall be no longer blind, and thou wilt be even more beautiful.

CHILDREN.—Poor Nella! (*They kneel, with rosaries in their hands, and one girl places a garland upon the head of Nella.*)

BLIND MAN. Who touches her? (*Feeling upon the head of his child.*)—They have placed virgin flowers upon her head. Pray for us. Oh, if I had not faith in the near approach of death! I feel there is comfort and relief even in despair. Shut the window.—It is cold! Do you not perceive how sweet she is? She is pure as when her mother bore her.—Who dares say the contrary? Do not believe them. But you children, look here—see—they have killed her—the villains. Oh God! strengthen the blind man for vengeance—(*becomes delirious, and the children rise terrified*)—Help!—sound the bells—death to tyrants!—fire their houses—spare not even the honour of their children! Look at mine!

MENGO.—(*Putting his hand upon the blind man's mouth*)—Silence—he is beside himself. He thinks they have killed her.

BLIND MAN.—What have I said! O my Nella, pardon! My head!—always this sound in my ears, and flashes before my eyes. One is suffocated here. Open the window. Oh! I can no more—

(*Faints, his head resting beside that of his child.*)

The intended measures for the destruction of Masaniello and his followers having failed, his power attains its greatest height; and we must call our readers' attention to the opening of the Third Act, when Masaniello appears on the seat of justice, administering it to all equally, to the ignorant peasant, to the hired bravo, the artful lawyer, and the covetous farmer of the revenues; and also to the next scene in the palace, where he is presented as leader of the people to the Viceroy, by the Archbishop and Genovino, who are beginning then to compass his ruin by conciliation and flattery, exciting his pride by yielding to his demands, and his vanity, by showering on him the most extravagant honours and presents. We must call their attention to these scenes as drawing forth the varied talent of our author.

On the first offer of the jewels, Masaniello exclaims with genuine feeling—

"Gold! jewels! never, never! this vest of silver cloth and this plumed hat, 'twas Rosa made me wear them—a woman's fancy; but I will wear them only once more on San Gennaro's day. Am I not returning to my fishing-net? what should I do amongst courtiers? Give the title of duke to one of these lords; there are those among ye who to obtain it would crawl over broken glass. I remain Masaniello!"

His reluctance is finally overcome by the representations of the archbishop, that to refuse were to show disrespect to the king.

The scene between the archbishop and Genovino, when the latter completes his treachery to the popular cause, by suggesting the poisoned wine, is very forcibly drawn. The progress of vanity, of dress, and of position, in perverting the simplicity of poor Rosa, is treated with considerable comic power in the 4th Act. We feel that the catastrophe must be fast approaching. The covert insolence of Genovino, and the way in which he plays on the simple confiding nature of the doomed Masaniello, excites our indignation while it increases our sympathy for his victim.

The 5th Act opens with a scene portraying some of the superstitions of the time. Masaniello, penitent and humbled, has recovered from the effects of the poison sufficiently to be conscious of the perils which surround him. Were it not too long, we would fain extract it as a whole; we can, however, only give room for Masaniello's dream—

"Masaniello's Cottage.—Night.—The lamp burns before the image of the Madonna.—Masaniello asleep.

"ROSA, (bending over the cradle of her infant.) Sleep in peace, my child, thou hast never known power. Oh! it is a fearful thing, with one passionate word to bring death amongst men, and send the soul unprepared to its great account. Who holds such power rivals God, and God cannot regard him with favour. But he will have pity on Maso, for it was forced upon him.—*(Approaches her husband.)* What unrest. When will this poor brain find repose? Do I see right? White hairs! Oh! he has lived so much in these few days that old age has come upon him at twenty-four years.—Oh, my God! he starts as though he lay on briars.

MAS.—(makes broken exclamations, suddenly awakes, starts up and seizes the sword which hung against the bed.) Help! help! guards!

ROSA.—What is it?

MAS.—Who were here?

ROSA.—No one. I have been watching over you. * * *

MAS.—I saw myself as a spirit, but I felt that it was I—it was I—and I was myself. He looked at me so stern and sad. Then what people! Spaniards, courtiers, tax-gatherers, priests, peasants, and headless men, all wounded him,—him, my shadow,—and even I myself felt the wounds. Then I saw myself dead—dragged along—torn in pieces! I, living, saw myself dead. I seem to see it now."

The faithful Tonno enters at Masaniello's summons, and on being questioned as to the reason of the bell of the Carmine tolling for the dead, his master learns from him the fatal precision with which his orders for the execution of some of his innocent followers had been obeyed.

"MAS.—Oh, now memory wakes in me. I have shed innocent blood: all is over with me. Those men were the headless amongst my murderers. Alas! Alas! Is it then too late? Woe to you who have obeyed me so promptly. Go. I feel my anger rising. They first filled my mind with fear and suspicion. I was beside myself when those words escaped me. Aye, but who can convince me that I am innocent? Yet I have ever willed that which is right.

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ROSA.—Pray with me to the Madonna, who saved thy life.

MAS.—(*Kneeling to the image.*)—Take my life, and save my soul. Show me what I have done and what I ought to do. Rosa; see, the light flickers: put more oil,—beware lest it go out. Oh, if the Madonna withdraw her favour.

ROSA.—Oh, hush! (*Taking the lamp down, it falls—she screams, and all stand aghast.*) In raising my eyes to the Madonna's face—

It was just the last day of the Novena which I began for you when you were made captain—

MAS.—The Madonna a few days ago performed for me a miracle: to-day—then am I a villain?" * * * *

When the plots of his enemies against him have done their work, and the acts of cruelty to which in his frenzy he was betrayed have deprived him of the love of his people, and made him, in his lucid intervals, a prey to bitter remorse; he takes refuge in the convent of the Carmine, and implores absolution. It is granted him by one of the monks.

"MONK.—The Lord pardons him who repents; I absolve thee, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

MAS.—If I die, at least in spirit may I serve my people by my prayers. Rosa and the child shall live with them, and share their fate. What will become of Naples? Thou Governor of the World, see that those who make themselves rulers in thy name do not rule for themselves alone, but to serve their brethren for thy sake. Thou who hast in thy hand the hearts of high and low, thou alone knowest to order so that all ways, even the crooked, shall one day meet in thine. Let this day hasten. Now come, come to me with thy peace and love—(*furious shouts from without*)—but it is thy will that I should come to thee. (*He rises, opens the door of the convent, and presents himself to the people*)—Do you wish for me?—here I am, my people!—(*Report of fire-arms, the voice of Masaniello*)—Ah! ungrateful—

(*Silence,—then ferocious shouts*)—'Long live the king! Spain for ever!'"

CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

1. **THE PROTECTOR: A VINDICATION.** By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D.D. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd. London: Simpkin & Co. 1847.

THE object which the historian of the Reformation has proposed to himself in the present work, is the "rectification of the common opinion with regard to Cromwell's religious character." He looks upon the Protector as the great champion of Protestantism, at a period when Popery was making the most strenuous efforts to regain at least a portion of its recently lost ground; and believes that this cause "on Cromwell's mind, was far above his own person." Viewed in this light many otherwise dubious points in Cromwell's character are certainly capable of explanation; though several cases of apparent double-dealing still remain inexplicable, even on the ground of the Protector's Protestant zeal.

"No book," says the author, "can treat worthily of the great Oliver, if the Protestant interest does not hold the foremost place in it;" the Protector's exertions in this cause are accordingly placed in a prominent light, and the author traces to the malignant feelings of the adherents to the baffled party all the evil aspersions which have been cast upon the memory of his hero. The following passage contains a clear summary of his arguments.

"In studying the life of Cromwell, the reader will undoubtedly have frequent reason to bear in mind the saying of Holy Scripture, *in many things we offend all*. He interfered violently in public affairs, and disturbed the constitutional order of the state. This was his fault,—a fault which saved his country. With the documents before us which have been published at various times, we are compelled, unless we shut our eyes to the truth, to change our opinion of him, and to acknowledge that the character hitherto attached to this great man is one of the grossest falsehoods in all history. Charles II., who succeeded him after Richard's short protectorate; this monarch's courtiers, not less immoral, but still more prepossessed than himself; the writers and statesmen too of this epoch, all of them united in misrepresenting his memory. The wicked followers of the Stuarts have blackened Cromwell's reputation. Protestantism was on its trial. There can be no doubt that the principles of civil liberty, which the family of James I. desired to crush, but which eventually triumphed in the English nation, and which have raised it to such an elevation, had a great share in this struggle; and no one man did more than Oliver towards their development. But the principal thing which drew down the anger of his enemies was Protestantism, in its boldest not less than its clearest form; and the false imputation borne by this eminent man was essentially the work of Popery. In the seventeenth century, when the Protestant princes were everywhere intimidated, weakened, and dumb, and when some of them were making ready for a fatal apostasy, Cromwell was the only

one to declare himself in the face of all Europe the protector of the true faith. He even induced Cardinal Mazarin, a prince of the Romish church, to connive at his generous designs. This is a crime for which he has never been pardoned, and for which his enemies have inflicted a scandalous revenge. In this task so much perseverance and skill have been employed, that not only enlightened Catholics, but even Protestants themselves have been deceived. We feel no inclination to adopt the hatred and the calumnies of Rome, and we sympathise with Protestantism wherever it is to be found. This will not lead us to extenuate the faults of those who have been its supporters; but their defects will not shut our eyes to their good qualities. In the struggle between Protestantism and Popery, which took place in the British isles in Cromwell's time, the noblest part indisputably belongs to the former; and the mistakes of its adherents are unimportant compared with the excessive immorality and the frightful cruelties of which the friends of Rome were guilty."—Introduction, p. 21.

With regard to the charge of hypocrisy so frequently preferred against Cromwell, the author confesses that he was formerly inclined to believe the Protector actuated by that failing; and asked himself, "what is the worth of all the fine phrases used by this great ruler, if they are contradicted by facts?" But he states that his endeavours to ascertain the character of Cromwell as a whole have undeceived him, and that in thus vindicating the Protector's memory, he believes he is only performing an act of justice due from the whole Protestant body. "Cromwell, indeed," he says, "was from the beginning to the end of his life quite consistent; he was faithful to the one idea, which he *proclaimed upon the house tops*. And it was this man, so decided, so open, who has been termed a hypocrite! History was never guilty of a greater error." The "one idea" here spoken of, was his energetic opposition to everything which had an appearance of being favorable to the re-establishment of Popery within these realms.

After narrating the various circumstances attendant upon the rupture between the king and the parliament, and the part taken therein by Cromwell, the author continues:—

"We have no desire to make an indiscriminate apology for Cromwell and his friends; but we wish to be equitable, and to take into consideration the influences by which he must have been acted upon. There was at that time a twofold oppression in England. The friends of liberty had been oppressed by the tendency of the crown towards absolute power; and the popular independent church had been harassed from the reign of Elizabeth, and even prior to that, by the state church. Oppression may sometimes have a good effect on the sufferers, but it also has a bad one. In England it gave greater energy to the love of liberty and to the religious life; but it also produced in the friends of civil and religious freedom a certain rudeness, acrimony, violence, and exaggeration. This will be found at all times in political and religious parties which have long been trodden down. To whom must we ascribe the blame? Are not the oppressors far more guilty than their victims? Cromwell and his party would no longer permit themselves to be checked, not even by their old friends. The torrent, kept for a time within its channel, bursts forth with the greater fury when once the banks are broken through. It overthrows every obstacle, and deep gulfs mark its devastating course."—p. 91.

Up to the discovery of Charles's duplicity by means of an inter-

cepted letter addressed to the queen, Cromwell seems to have felt disposed to re-establish the sovereign in the enjoyment of a legitimate authority; but that letter opened his eyes to the true character of the man he had to deal with, and severed the only remaining tie between Charles and the people. Though even after this, there is every reason to believe that Cromwell so far sympathized with the unhappy monarch as to connive at, if he did not actually contrive, his escape from Hampton Court, previously to delivering himself up to Col. Hammond. And even in the closing scenes of the tragedy, all evidence seems to prove that Cromwell exerted himself to avert the catastrophe, till circumstances were too strong for him to resist. Certain it is, that—

“The initiative in the case of Charles’s trial did not proceed from Cromwell. His scruples and his anxiety grew stronger every day. Should he yield to the powerful tide that was hurrying him along, and which no one seemed capable of resisting?—Or should he withdraw from public affairs, and sacrificing the great interests of civil and religious liberty, in behalf of which the struggle had first begun, commit the direction of state affairs to unskilful hands, whose weakness would inevitably lead to the return of despotism and of Popery? Seldom or never has there been a more terrible conflict in human breast.”—p. 121.

The author justly blames the dominant party for proceeding to such an extremity as decreeing the death of the king; while he quotes the testimony of Clarendon, the royalist historian, as to Cromwell’s refusing his consent to shed the blood of the royalist party, in order to render his own position more secure.

In vindicating Cromwell from the charge of hypocrisy which he deems to have been falsely fastened upon him, the author is by no means blind to the alternative of enthusiasm, or even of fanaticism, which must be deemed to have been the mainspring of the actions of the intrepid leader and his followers. In mentioning the striking spectacle of “the bold and formidable leaders of the parliamentary army assembled for three days in the palace of Windsor, to seek for the guidance of the Lord,” he asks, “who can entertain any doubt of their uprightness, of their true piety, and of their lively faith?” And yet the further inquiry naturally suggests itself; “were they really in the right path?” This inquiry leads to the conclusion, that “if the officers assembled at Windsor did not then fall into fanaticism, they were at least in the path which might lead to it; and some of them fell into it afterwards.” And in the chapter “On the Death of the King,” this opinion is still further worked out. In speaking of the share borne by Cromwell in this catastrophe, it is said:—

“The manner in which he was at length led to sign Charles’s death warrant, has not, perhaps, been sufficiently appreciated. We have already remarked, that his great religious error was his assuming for the mainspring of his actions those inward impulses which he ascribed to God, in preference to the explicit commands of the Holy Scriptures. He believed in what has been denominated ‘a particular faith.’ If, while engaged in prayer or immediately after, he felt a lively conviction in his mind, he thought that the impression proceeded

immediately from heaven, and that he ought to follow it as the very voice of God. If, on the contrary, his devotions remained languid, he concluded that he ought to abstain from the meditated act. This is a common error in pious minds, and we might point to one denomination of Christians, celebrated for their spirit of meekness and peace, who partially participate in such sentiments.

"It was this which guided him in the sentence passed on Charles, and freed him from all his doubts and scruples. John Cromwell, at that time in the Dutch service, had come to England with a message from the Princes of Wales and of Orange, to endeavour to save the king's life. When introduced to his cousin Oliver, he reminded him of the royalist opinions he had formerly entertained at Hampton Court. The latter, still uncertain as to the line of conduct he ought to pursue, replied, that he had often fasted and prayed to know the will of God with respect to the king, but that God had not yet pointed out the way. When John had withdrawn, Cromwell and his friends again sought by prayer the path they ought to follow, and it was then the parliamentary hero first felt the conviction that Charles's death alone could save England. From that moment all was fixed; God had spoken; Oliver's indecision was at an end; it remained now merely to act and accomplish that will, however appalling it might be. At one o'clock in the morning, a messenger from the general knocked at the door of the tavern where John Cromwell lodged, and informed him that his cousin had at length dismissed his doubts, and that all the arguments so long put forward by the most decided republicans were now confirmed by the will of the Lord.

"Enthusiasm, then, was the cause of Cromwell's error. This is a serious fault in religion; but may it not extenuate the fault in morals? Is a man who desires to obey God equally guilty with him who is determined to listen to his passions only? Is not God's will the sovereign rule of good and evil?

"Chateaubriand, a witness beyond suspicion on this point, speaking of the times at which we have been glancing, if not of the particular act under examination, proceeds thus: 'At this epoch, faith was everywhere, except in a small number of libertines and philosophers; it impressed on the faults, and sometimes even on the crimes, something grave, and even moral, if the expression may be allowed, by giving to the victim of policy the conscience of the martyr, and to error the conviction of truth.' This error in religion is, in our opinion, the only important blemish to be found in Cromwell. At the same time, it is the key which opens and explains his whole life. His piety was sincere, but it was not always sober.

"Yet, if this error be a great extenuation of the protector's fault, the crime to which it led him must ever remain, in history, as a warning to terrify those who may base their conduct on their inward impressions, rather than on the sure, positive, and ever-accessible inspirations of that Word of God which never deceives."—p. 123.

In an article on Quakerism, in the last number of this Review, some remarks were made relative to Cromwell's treatment of George Fox and the early Quakers; a treatment so much at variance with all his professions regarding liberty of conscience and of worship, that it has been seized upon as one of the strongest evidences of his hypocrisy. This is, indeed, one of those anomalies in the Protector's conduct least capable of explanation on the score of his zeal for Protestantism. In his often-quoted words to Fox—"If thou and I were but an hour a-day together, we should be *nearer* one to the other"—we must confess that we see nothing but an escapade of that levity, ill-timed, it must be allowed, in which Cromwell is known to have occa-

sionally indulged, and which the author of the 'Vindication' calls a "characteristic trait," which "is often found in the most christian and truly serious men." But this were of little moment did not graver charges hang over him.

"The Protector," says the author, "excluded no Christians from his fraternal sentiments, however much they might vary from the forms to which he was attached. Towards the Quakers, in particular, he showed great charity."—p. 259.

Strange charity, truly, was that which allowed the most famous of the sect to be "seized and thrown into prison, and dragged from jail to jail;" and this merely for claiming to exercise the very privilege which Cromwell himself had directed to be accorded to "all men who believe in Jesus Christ, and walk in a profession answerable to that faith." Nor is this inconsistency cleared up by the author's supposition, that Cromwell's religious views had undergone a change: he says—

"It was a doctrine very similar to that of the *Friends* which had misled the former. He had believed it his duty to follow the inward voice, instead of inquiring simply what the Almighty prescribes in his word. Now, he blames the Quaker for this very idea—that God is in him, and speaks in him. He perceives in this pretended voice of Heaven 'an enormous self-confidence.' Did the excesses to which the *Friends* carried the doctrine which had at first actuated Cromwell cause him to throw it off? Did he, before his death, forsake that erroneous theory which had led him so far?"—p. 347.

Now, with respect to the "excesses" above spoken of, we hesitate not to say, they formed no part of the profession or practice of the early Quakers (or *Friends*), properly so called. And with regard to the practical tendency of "the doctrine which had at first actuated Cromwell," may we not rather shift the burthen to the other shoulder, and ask—Did not a contemplation of the excesses into which the Protector himself and his followers had been carried by the doctrines they professed now cause him to throw them off? The *excesses* fastened upon the early Quakers bear no comparison with the deeds committed by the anti-royalist party, under the direction of what they believed to be the divine light inwardly guiding them in answer to prayer—deeds which even the eloquent vindicator of Cromwell, in his zeal for the Protestant cause, can neither excuse nor palliate.

Cromwell's noble and disinterested advocacy of the Protestant cause, when assailed in the persons of the massacred Piedmontese, will ensure him the gratitude and admiration of Protestants for all time, and go far to redeem his character from much of that moral turpitude which his enemies have endeavoured to cast upon it. Dr. Merle D'Aubigné's 'Vindication' will also do much towards lessening the belief in his hypocrisy once so general, by explaining the mainspring of many of his actions to have been a zeal for the Protestant cause; but other 'Elucidations' and 'Vindications' are required before Oliver's character will assume that perfection claimed for him by his warm but indiscriminating admirers.

2. **THE BOTTLE.** In Eight Plates, by George Cruikshank. Published for the Artist, by D. Bogue, London; Wiley and Putnam, New York; and J. Sands, Sydney, New South Wales. 1847.

THOUGH exhibiting less of George Cruikshank's peculiar style than most of his productions, yet do these etchings tell the tale they are intended to illustrate, in such a way, as, perhaps, no other modern artist could have made them tell it. And a sad tale it is; being no other than the downward course of a once respectable and happy family, through all the gradations of want, vagrancy, and misery, to murder and confirmed idiotcy. In the first plate, representing a scene of comfort, we see the fatal bottle introduced for the first time, and the reluctant wife induced by the husband "just to take a drop." The second plate describes one of the earliest consequences of intemperance; the husband is discharged from his employment, and the empty cupboard shows that the eldest girl is not now for the first time despatched to the pawnbroker's to raise funds for the supply of the bottle. An execution next sweeps off the greater portion of the furniture—a miserable comfort is still drawn from the bottle. Begging in the streets is now resorted to by the wretched family; but the proceeds are devoted to the gin-shop, as the bottle must be filled. In the fifth plate, "cold, misery, and want," are supposed to have had their effect upon the youngest child,—in the earlier scenes a chubby-faced, curly-headed, little creature; next, unable to walk, but borne in its ragged mother's arms to the gin-shop; and now, released from misery, lying in its little coffin, with the eldest girl taking a last look and weeping over it, the father and mother meanwhile consoling themselves with the bottle; the frequent use of this produces fearful quarrels, one scene of brutality on the part of the husband being represented in the sixth plate. From this there is but a step to the catastrophe—"the husband, in a state of furious drunkenness, kills his wife" with the bottle—"the instrument of all their misery;" and we next see him, a confirmed maniac, cowering over the fire in a lunatic asylum, unconscious of the presence of his daughter and son, who have come to visit him, in themselves also exhibiting the natural consequences of an addiction to the bottle, being brought by it, the one to the streets, and the other to the companionship of thieves. In the plates there are many bits of *by-play*, as expressive as Hogarth's cobweb over the opening of the poor-box. Such are the kitten playing with the cat's tail on the hearth-rug before the fire, in the first plate (a droll cat and kitten by-the-bye), expressive of comfort; the same cat, gaunt and hungry, essaying the empty plate in the second, where no fire enlivens the grate, and the poor boy's toes are peeping through his shoes. Then, again, the broken horse of the deceased little one set upon the mantel-piece (now bare of its former ornaments), in the fifth plate; and the broken bottle which has just done its work, in the seventh. All honor to George Cruikshank for these powerful auxiliaries in the cause of temperance, powerful, because they speak in such language as cannot be misunderstood.

- 3.—A HISTORY OF SERBIA, AND THE SERBIAN REVOLUTION, from Original MSS. and Documents. Translated from the German of Leopold Ranke, by Mrs. Alexander Kerr, Authoress of 'Songs of Hope and Memory,' &c. London: Murray. 1847.

NOTWITHSTANDING the important character of the fierce struggle between European civilization and Oriental despotism carried on for years upon a portion of the border land separating "two great empires of opposite creeds," the scene of that struggle and its inhabitants are to this day comparatively unknown to the majority of their European brethren. In England, especially, less is known of Serbia and its people than of almost any other portion of the world. To Dr. Bowring we owe our knowledge of the popular poetry of the Servians; and to Mr. Paton we are equally indebted for nearly all we knew of the present state of the country and its people, previously to the appearance of Professor Ranke's 'History of Serbia.' This excellent work, though professedly treating chiefly of the events preceding and accompanying the Servian revolution, is by no means confined to that period. Its introductory chapters contain such a comprehensive account of the early history of the Servians as was necessary to enable the reader to understand the position of affairs at the commencement of their last struggle for independence. This is followed by a copious detail of the various stirring events of the war, which led to the establishment of the present principality, under the government of the son of one the greatest heroes of the revolutionary period. This portion of the work presents,

"The interesting spectacle of a brave, hardy, and simple people contending (almost unaided) for national independence and religious freedom. Christians in faith, and subjected to the cruel persecutions of their infidel oppressors, their efforts to throw off the Moslem yoke met with little encouragement from Christian nations; except so far as they could be made instrumental in checking the encroachments or counteracting the policy of other powers."

From a very early period to the present day, and amidst all the vicissitudes of war, the Servians have preserved their nationality. This is especially evinced by their attachment to their peculiar religious and civil institutions, their traditions, superstitions, and poetry. One of the most beautiful of these superstitions is that relating to the *Wilis*, well known in this country by the ballet of *Giselle*, and the opera of the *Night Dancers*, both founded upon it. A belief in the existence of the vampire is also common in Serbia; although it seems here connected with the dread of danger to the living rather than with the idea of punishment for evil deeds committed in life. In connexion with these and other superstitions, the author observes :—

"In the simple course of a life closely allied to a state of uncultivated nature, nothing more earnestly engages attention than sudden deaths rapidly succeeding one another, and fancy busies itself in accounting for them by ascribing them to influences from beyond the grave.

"Of the witches (*wjeshtices*) the Servians believe that they quit their bodies, and, like other spirits, fly about in fire. Unseen, they approach the sleeper whom they have destined to death—open, with a magic rod, the left side of his breast, and, whilst pronouncing over him an appointed day of death,

extract his heart and devour it. The breast is then closed, and the doomed one will continue to live only till the day appointed by the witch who devoured his heart; but in the meantime the spring of his life is irrecoverably dried up.

"The plague, too, is considered by the Servians, as it is also by the Lithuanians and modern Greeks, to be a personal being. Female forms, with white veils, are supposed to carry the disease from place to place, and from house to house; and many persons sick of the plague will protest most solemnly that they have seen them, to their sorrow,—ay! have even conversed with them! These female forms are personifications of the plague. Their appearance, however, is not ascribed to their own evil will, to chance, or to any other malevolent influence; it is believed that God himself, when wickedness has become too great to be longer permitted, sends them from a distant land."—p. 72.

The Servians, indeed, believe that not only life and death, but all the daily occurrences of their existence, proceed immediately from the Supreme Being and are controlled by him. "They will rarely commence any sort of work but in the name of God, and would deem it sinful to make a promise without the proviso, 'if God permit.'" Instead of commemorating the natal day of each member of a family, each household has its tutelar saint, whose day they jointly celebrate with mirth and festivity. But even in their saintly celebrations, the governance of a superior being is distinctly recognised, for, we are told,—

"The invitation to the festival of the patron saint of the house is usually in these words:—'Our house, too, is the Lord's. We invite you to come this evening. What the saint has bestowed we will not keep back.'"

The prevailing faith of the Servians is essentially that of the Greek church, so modified, however, as to have acquired the character of a strictly national institution. For while, among other Selavonian tribes, the saints' days were distinguished by the names of the calendar, the Servians retain the native names of the saints for their festivals. Their whole year seems to be replete with religious rites; all indicative of "the mysterious relation in which man stands to nature; more especially in such a primitive mode of life." Nor is this to be wondered at; for, as the author justly observes,—

"The man who leads a life of labour, and finds himself so much the more dependant on an inscrutable and almighty power above, in proportion as he knows less of nature, feels the necessity of imagining the protection and aid of the higher powers to be ever near him. At the same time, it is quite possible that, rising above superstition and error, a pure idea of the Supreme Being, whom we all revere and worship, may be kept alive and in full force."—p. 67.

Among the Servians, as in most other Christian countries, the festival of Christmas is celebrated with peculiar ceremonies and rejoicings.

"On Christmas eve, after the labours of the day are finished, the father of the family goes into the wood, and cuts down a straight oak sapling, which he brings into the house with the salutation, 'Good evening, and happy Christmas!' To this all present answer, 'God grant it to thee, thou happy one, rich in honour!' and cast corn over him. Then the tree, which is called *bad-rejak*, is placed upon the coals. In the morning, which is saluted by the firing of pistols, a visitor appears—one being previously chosen for each house. From a glove, he throws corn through the door-way, and exclaims, 'Christ is born!' Some one in the house, in return, throws corn towards the visitor, and answers, 'In truth, he is born!' On this, another of the party advances, and

whilst, with a poker, he strikes the *badrejak*, which is still lying on the coals, so that the sparks are scattered about, he cries, 'As many sparks, so many oxen, cows, horses, sheep, swine, bee-hives; so much good fortune and happiness!' The housewife then envelopes the visitor in a coverlet of the bed, and the remains of the *badrejak* are carried into the orchard. They do not go to church, but every one comes to the repast with a lighted wax taper. Holding the tapers in their hands, they pray, and kiss one another, repeating the words, 'God's peace! Christ is in truth born! We adore him!' To indicate a close union of every member of the bouse, the head of the family collects the yet burning tapers, and fastening them together, places them in a dish filled with the *tshesznitza* and all sorts of grain, and thus 'extinguishes them. The *tshesznitza* is an unleavened roll of the usual form, with a piece of money kneaded into it, and when it is broken, he who finds the money in his piece of bread is expected to have, above all others, a fortunate year. The table is not cleared, nor the room swept, during three days; open house is kept for every comer until New Year's Day, the salutation continuing, 'Christ is born!' and the reply, 'In truth He is born!'"—p. 68.

Among the Servian institutions, the most peculiar is that designated "The Brotherhood," by which "persons unite with one another, 'in the name of God and St. John,' for mutual fidelity and aid during their whole lives." The probationary choice of brothers and sisters is made in the afternoon of the second Monday after Easter, on the morning of which day the turf on graves is renewed. The young people assemble in the afternoon, and twist green garlands:—

"Youths, each one with another, and maidens also, in the same manner, then enter into this alliance, whilst kissing through their garlands, which are afterwards exchanged. This first bond, however—they being quite young—lasts only till the succeeding year: it is not yet 'brotherhood and sisterhood' for ever; only an initiatory preparation. On the following Easter Monday, by which time they have become better acquainted, they either confirm their original choice, or make a new election."—p. 57.

Another curious custom is that prevailing in some districts, where, "when one of two brothers dies, whose birthdays chance to fall in the same month, the survivor is fastened to the dead body, until he adopts in his deceased brother's stead some stranger youth, by whom he is released."

Almost every country has its peculiar marriage customs. The following are described as those of the Servians:—

"The fathers of two houses meet and settle the matter together, exchanging presents, which sometimes amount to a considerable value. Thus, by a sort of purchase, is so useful a member of a household as a grown up maiden surrendered by one to another. Her brother delivers the bride to the solemn procession which comes to conduct her to her new abode; and there she is received by the sister, or sister-in-law, of the bridegroom. She dresses a child, touches with a distaff the walls which are so often to see her occupied with this implement, and carries bread, wine, and water, up to the table, which it will become her daily duty to prepare. With these symbolical ceremonies she enters into the new community. Her mouth is sealed by a piece of sugar, to denote that she should utter little, and only what is good. As yet she is only a stranger; and for a whole year she is termed the 'betrothed.' By an assumption of continued bashfulness, prescribed by custom, she keeps apart, even from her husband. In the presence of others she scarcely converses with him, much less would a playful phrase be permitted from her lips. It is only when years have passed, and she has become the mother of grown-up

children, that she in reality finds herself on an equality with other members of the family into which she has entered."—p. 58.

Each household forms of itself a separate community, all the members of which "work and eat together, and in the winter evenings assemble around the fire," where, while the women are engaged with their spinning, a song is struck up by whoever happens to know it best. The fire is made on the hearth of a central house, around which are constructed separate chambers. Additions to the paternal mansion are made as the family increases, the different members remaining together until they have become so numerous that a separation is desirable. The author states, that "it is not unusual for one house to form an entire street."

"These family households, supplying all their own wants, and shut up each within itself—a state of things which was continued under the Turks, because the taxes were chiefly levied upon the households—formed the basis of Servian nationality. Individual interest was thus merged, as it were, in that of the family."—p. 56.

Such are the people who, almost unaided, have at length so far wrought out their own liberation from Moslem rule, to which for nearly four centuries they had been more or less subjected, as to have secured the privilege of being governed by a native prince, elected by themselves from a distinguished family. Their present position, nevertheless, is somewhat anomalous; for, although "an internal administration, and a stable, special, and privileged national statute" have been granted to the Servians by the Porte, these privileges have been accorded only "on condition that the Servians punctually discharge for the future the duties of fidelity and obedience, and pay exactly at the appointed periods to the Sublime Porte the tax, whereof the exaction has been fixed and determined upon." The fortresses are moreover in the possession of the Turks, who are the actual lords of the soil, and from their known opposition to progress, would probably be once more glad of an opportunity to interpret the last treaty to their own advantage, as they have often before done, should the watchful care of other powers be by any means withdrawn from the heroic Servians.

We cannot conclude without mentioning the admirable manner in which this important work is translated.

4. **COOKSLAND IN NORTH-EASTERN AUSTRALIA**; the future Cotton-field of Great Britain: its Characteristics, and Capabilities for European Colonization. With a Disquisition on the Origin, Manners, and Customs of the Aborigines. By John Dunmore Lang, D.D., A.M. London: Longman and Co. 1847.

PHILLIPS LAND; OR THE COUNTRY HITHERTO DESIGNATED PORT PHILLIP: its present Condition and Prospects, as a highly eligible Field for Emigration. By John Dunmore Lang, D.D., A.M. London: Longman and Co. 1847.

In these volumes Dr. Lang has furnished a vast amount of valuable information relative to two portions of the great southern continent, which are doubtless destined to play a most important part in the

future history of the world. For the information of such of our readers as may not have seen the books, we may briefly state that in commemoration of its discoverer, Dr. Lang proposes the name of *Cookslaud* as the distinctive appellation of the Northern or Moreton Bay division of New South Wales, extending from the 30th parallel of latitude to the Tropic of Capricorn; and *Phillipsland* he proposes as the future designation of the present Southern or Port Phillip District, the third, or middle district still retaining the name of New South Wales proper. Cookslaud is looked upon by the author as a new and most inviting field for emigrant enterprise, more especially as offering singular advantages for the cultivation of sugar and cotton by European free labour. From his own observations, and from the testimony of residents, as well as carefully prepared meteorological documents, Dr. Lang is able to show "that the temperature at Moreton Bay, even in the heat of summer, is comparatively moderate—that the rains are regular and abundant, and that the climate is remarkably equable, and by no means unfavourable to a European constitution." Another great recommendation is that this district is well watered, being intersected in all directions by crystal streams, frequently of great width, while Moreton Bay itself, in the centre of the line of sea-board, offers peculiar facilities for the formation of a first-rate port.

As examples of the fitness of the climate for horticultural and agricultural operations, Dr. Lang says:—

"At Captain Griffin's station on the North Pine River, in latitude 27°, I found that the wheat crop, of which, however, I neglected to ascertain the return per acre, had been reaped by the 1st of November, corresponding to the 1st of May in England; the stubble-ground having been partly planted with maize at the period of my visit, and partly under the plough for more. Mr. Griffin, jun., was also preparing to plant English potatoes on a portion of the stubble-land, to be ready by the beginning of winter. In the garden I observed bananas, pine-apples, and orange-trees, growing luxuriantly along with the common English potato, the sweet potato, cabbages, Cape gooseberries, strawberries, melons, cucumbers, pumpkins, and French beans."—p. 143.

Again, in the garden of Dr. Ballou, the colonial surgeon at Brisbane, the author says:—

"I observed the pomegranate, the orange-tree, the cotton-tree (Sea Island), the vine, the peach, the pear, the sugar-cane, the bamboo, the mulberry-tree, the castor-oil tree, the banana (two varieties), the pine-apple, the fruiting passion-flower, chrysanthemums, larkspurs, roses, strawberries, cabbages, onions, potatoes, carrots, peas, and beans, &c., &c., all growing luxuriantly in the open air, and all apparently quite at home."—p. 146.

It was in this garden that the author saw the cotton-plant for the first time in this country, in December 1845. The plants were to all appearance as healthy and vigorous as those he had previously seen cultivated for exportation at Rio de Janeiro. At Brisbane,

"The cotton had evidently been ready for pulling several weeks before the period I have mentioned; for the plants having been grown merely from curiosity, and with very little attention to their fate, the pods had been left to

wither on the bushes and fall to the ground. It was evident, therefore, that the cotton-harvest at Moreton Bay would be early in November—a circumstance of the utmost importance to the future welfare and advancement of the district; for as the periodical rains of that part of the colonial territory, which would otherwise greatly damage or destroy the cotton-crop, occur in December and January, that crop, if cultivated extensively, would in all likelihood be harvested before the recurrence of the annual rains. In short, it was impossible for any person to see the cotton-tree so strong and healthy as it appeared in the instance I have mentioned—its branches covered with pods, and these filled with cotton of snowy whiteness and apparently superior quality—and to doubt for one moment the adaptation of the soil and climate to the growth of that important article of produce. Indeed, if it grows in Egypt and in South Carolina and Georgia, why, it might be asked, *à priori*, should it not grow in a soil and climate at least equal to that of either of these countries in the corresponding latitudes of the Southern Hemisphere? For my own part, I have not the shadow of a doubt as to the perfect adaptation of the soil and climate of Cooksland for the growth of cotton, and I confess my principal and original object in the publication of this work was to demonstrate to the Christian and philanthropic portion of the British public the practicability of raising, to any conceivable extent, a commodity of such transcendent importance to the commerce and manufactures of Britain, *by means of European free labour in our own Colonies.*”—p. 162.

A sample of cotton grown from American seed in a garden at Mount Flinders, on the Brisbane river, was submitted for inspection to the Messrs. Wright, of Glasgow, who gave it as their opinion that it is a very valuable kind, which would readily have sold in April last at from 11d. to 1s. per lb., adding, “it is clean in colour, fine stapled, but rather weak, which by care taken in cultivation might be much improved.”

“It appears, therefore,” continues Dr. Lang, “that cotton of a most valuable description, equal to much of the Sea Island from Georgia, in the United States, can be grown with perfect facility in the territory of Cooksland in Australia. It is unnecessary to inform the reader how peculiarly interesting and important such a circumstance must necessarily be at the present moment, not only from the brilliant prospects which it holds forth for the future colony of Cooksland, in ensuring remunerative employment to any conceivable extent for myriads of an industrious free emigrant population to inhabit the beautiful country I have been describing, but from its evident bearings on the question of an adequate supply of raw material for the manufactures of Britain, and on the still higher question of the rights and interests of humanity. It is well known that there has been a feverish feeling generally prevalent for some time past in the cotton trade, from an apprehension of an insufficient supply of the raw material for the rapidly extending manufactures both of this country and of the continent of Europe.

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“There can be no doubt, therefore, as to the boundless field which is opened up for the remunerative employment of an industrious free-emigrant population in the territory of Cooksland, in supplying the raw material for the future manufacturing industry not only of Great Britain but of the continent of Europe. For, taking it for granted *for the present*, that the climate of Cooksland is one in which the European labourer can stand field-labour of any kind with perfect impunity, there is land enough, of the first quality, for the cultivation of cotton in that territory, to afford immediate and permanent

employment of the most remunerative character to at least a million of industrious Europeans in the growth of this important article of raw produce for the manufactures of Great Britain and the European continent. In the particular locality in which the specimen, reported on by Messrs. Wright of Glasgow, grew, there are not fewer than forty thousand acres of land, of the first quality for cultivation, and within twenty miles of water carriage. But along the banks of the Brisbane and Bremer rivers, on the Logan and the Pine rivers, and on the various islands in Moreton Bay, as well as along the whole navigable course of the Clarence, the Richmond, and the Tweed rivers, there are millions of acres of land, of the first quality, for cultivation of any kind, and quite close to water carriage."—p. 165.

Cannibalism seems to be pretty generally practised by the Aborigines, not so much, apparently, as a matter of taste, as from a sense of duty towards the deceased; whose body is partially roasted, then deprived of its skin, which is dried and carefully preserved by the relatives, as are the bones when they have been picked clean. This is corroborated by the testimony of a runaway convict, named Davies, who in his own person presented an example of the native belief in metempsychosis. For this man, who, as the author says, was "by no means good-looking as a white man," was looked upon by one of the tribes as the *re-appearance* of one of their number who had died some time previously.

"The name of the native whom he was supposed to represent had been Darumboy, and this was thenceforth his native name. The recognition of the supposed relationship was attended, in the first instance, with lamentations, mingled with rejoicing; and Davies was immediately adopted by the parents of Darumboy, who were still alive, and regularly supplied with fish in abundance, and any other description of provisions they happened to possess."—p. 419.

Davies narrowly escaped being killed by his adopted father, whose wife had a favorite dog which Davies accidentally killed. Irritated by the loss of her dog, she instigated the old man to murder his new-found relative, which he no doubt would have done, had not the *undutiful* youth, "turned to," and given his father a good thrashing.

As a proof of the superiority of the Papuan race to the natives of other portions of the southern hemisphere, the author mentions the distinctive and appropriate names given by the Australian aborigines to remarkable localities and other objects; and particularly instances their name for a book, which by the Polynesians is called *Buca*, a word evidently derived from our own. But the black native of Moreton Bay invented a name of his own, ingeniously descriptive of its resemblance to a natural object with which he was previously familiar. Supposing the first books with which he had become acquainted to have been some of our modern tasty cloth-bound volumes; the native

"Observed, accordingly, that the European implement or book has two covers or shells of a bluish colour, finely streaked and marked; that it opens and shuts, and that it has a hinge at the back; and, in virtue of these characteristics, he assigns it its proper place at once in his system, and names it *Mooyoom*, a muscle! Nay, from this root he forms a derivative or compound

to designate general literature, or everything that is done with the book, whether in the shape of reading, writing, or arithmetic; for all this he designates *mooyoom-yacca*, or muscle-work."—p. 445.

In his chapter on "the squatting system," Dr. Lang treats at some length on the apparently too-well founded reports of the abominable murders of natives at some of the stations by means of arsenic mixed with flour or meal. The reports seem too well supported by impartial testimony to be entirely without foundation; and certainly demand a more searching official investigation than they appear to have yet received.

We have devoted most of our space to the volume on Cooksland from the comparative novelty of its contents; though that on Phillipsland is equally important. Both are highly interesting, and the information they afford upon matters connected with two of our least known colonial possessions, is highly valuable. In each the author gives some pleasant reminiscences of visits to squatters' stations, especially to Captain Griffin's, at Moreton Bay, and those of the Misses Drysdale and Newcombe, two maiden ladies, in the neighbourhood of Geelong. *Squatting*, as it is termed, consists in taking possession of a large tract of the waste unoccupied country, with the squatter's flocks and herds, getting a license from the local government, for which a sum of £10 a year is paid. At the Captain's station "there were whole colonies of turkeys, geese, ducks, fowls (of the large Malay breed), rabbits and pigs—all foraging for themselves, and all apparently happy under the protection of man, from the inroads of the native dogs and cats of the neighbouring glen of the North Pine river." The author says:—

"I was amused at seeing a turkey-cock marching up from the ploughed land, where he had been foraging for insects and worms, with a family of sixteen young turkeys behind him; and on referring to Captain Griffin for an explanation of the phenomenon, he observed, smiling, 'we allow of no idlers here. Mrs. G. set the hen turkey on a fresh set of eggs before she went to Sydney, and the cock is *keeping her watch on deck for her*, as she is doing duty below.'"—p. 119.

Miss Drysdale, one of the lady settlers, is the sister "of the late Sir William Drysdale, treasurer of the City of Edinburgh." She emigrated to Phillipsland in the hope of enjoying better health than in Scotland, as well as of being able to assist such of her fellow-settlers as might stand in need of assistance; and the author informs us she has never had reason to regret this step; and adds that

"Upon the whole, there was something of a domestic character about Miss D.'s establishment generally, which is but rarely seen at the squatting stations of the interior; and I could not help thinking that the very horses and cattle seemed to consider themselves more at home there than elsewhere. Their tameness was anything but 'shocking to me.'"—p. 114.

Here we must take leave of these interesting volumes, feeling assured that they must soon become generally known and appreciated.

5. TANCRED, OR THE NEW CRUSADE. By B. Disraeli, M.P. In 3 vols. Colburn.

MR. DISRAELI has attained a position which enables him to play with his literary reputation. *Tancred* is a third-rate novel, which would never have been tolerated by the public, but for the *prestige* of former success, and the notoriety of the author as a party politician—equal to a standing advertisement for all his productions; of which this is the tamest. It is long since we have met with a work of fiction containing less readable interest, or less originality of thought, than *Tancred*. Mr. Disraeli is a clever artist, with a limited stock in trade. He began by startling the world with a few bold conceptions, but he exhausted his store at once, and he trusts now to the same materials for the same effects. We look in vain for new ideas, or defined principles of any kind susceptible of practical application. The crude notions of ‘*Coningsby*,’ presented in a dress which had a promise of meaning, are, in ‘*Tancred*,’ developed into lunacy. The hero of the story, impressed with a belief that it is only in the Holy land God speaks to man, travels as a pilgrim to Palestine to pray for religious and political inspiration. On Mount Sinai he sees a vision, by which he is instructed “to announce the sublime and solacing doctrine of theocratic equality.” What “theocratic equality” is, the author does not explain; but we gather from the novel that it has nothing to do with equality of wealth, for *Tancred* is one of the richest of English nobles, and nothing with equality of physical and mental powers, for the superiority of the Hebrew race to every other, and the exclusiveness of their high and peculiar privileges, is insisted upon in every page. “Theocratic equality” is something connected with dreams of conquest, the foundation of an Eastern Empire, a great admiration for the gods of the Greeks, and a devotion to beautiful women. *Tancred*, of course, falls in love with a Jewess, a kind of Syrian Minerva; but her claims to worship are feebly supported. *Eva* is a very common-place divinity; more than worthy, however, of such adoration as she receives; for the heart of *Tancred*, who throws himself at her feet at the close of the third volume, without well knowing his own mind, is too closely allied with a soft head to render his idolatry a very high compliment to female charms. Disraeli, as the apologist of Judaism, has been more successful in former novels than in the present work, which yet contains some powerful illustrations of his favourite arguments. The following is a happy explanation of a national custom; and which gives us Houndsditch on its sunny side;—that poetry of life which is not wanting even to the humble and monotonous existence of the old-clothes vendor.

“The vineyards of Israel have ceased to exist, but the eternal law enjoins the children of Israel still to celebrate the vintage. A race that persist in celebrating their vintage, although they have no fruit to gather, will regain their vineyards. What sublime inexorability in the law! But what indomitable spirit in the people!

“It is easy for the happier Sephardim, the Hebrews who have never quitted
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the sunny regions that are laved by the Midland Ocean—it is easy for them, though they have lost their heritage, to sympathise, in their beautiful Asian cities or in their Moorish and Arabian gardens, with the graceful rites that are at least an homage to a benignant nature. But picture to yourself the child of Israel, in the dingy suburb or the squalid quarter of some bleak northern town, where there is never a sun that can at any rate ripen grapes. Yet he must celebrate the vintage of purple Palestine! The law has told him, though a denizen in an icy clime, that he must dwell for seven days in a bower, and that he must build it of the boughs of thick trees; and the Rabbins have told him that these thick trees are the palm, the myrtle, and the weeping willow. Even *Sarinatia* may furnish a weeping willow. The law has told him that he must pluck the fruit of goodly trees, and the Rabbins have explained that goodly fruit on this occasion is confined to the citron. Perhaps, in his despair, he is obliged to fly for the candied delicacies of the grocer. His mercantile connexions will enable him, often at considerable cost, to procure some palm leaves from Canaan, which he may wave in his synagogue while he exclaims, as the crowd did when the Divine Descendant of David entered Jerusalem, ‘*Hosannah in the highest!*’

“There is something profoundly interesting in this devoted observance of oriental customs in the heart of our Saxon and Slavonian cities: in these descendants of the *Bedouccens*, who conquered Canaan more than three thousand years ago, still celebrating that success which secured their forefathers for the first time grapes and wine.

“Conceive a being born and bred in the *Judenstrasse* of Hamburg or Frankfurt, or rather in the purlieus of our Houndsditch or Minories, born to hereditary insult, without any education, apparently without a circumstance that can develop the slightest taste or cherish the least sentiment for the beautiful, living amid fogs and filth, never treated with kindness, seldom with justice, occupied with the meanest, if not the vilest toil, bargaining for frippery, speculating in usury, existing for ever under the concurrent influence of degrading causes which would have worn out long ago any race that was not of the unmixed blood of Caucasus, and did not adhere to the laws of Moses. Conceive such a being, an object to you of your prejudice, dislike, disgust, perhaps hatred. The season arrives, and the mind and heart of that being are filled with images and passions, that have been ranked in all ages among the most beautiful and the most genial of human experience; filled with a subject the most vivid, the most graceful, the most joyous, and the most exuberant—a subject which has inspired poets and which has made gods—the harvest of the grape in the native regions of the vine.

“He rises in the morning, goes early to some Whitechapel market, purchases some willow boughs, for which he has previously given a commission, and which are brought probably from one of the neighbouring rivers of Essex, hastens home, cleans out the yard of his miserable tenement, builds his bower, decks it, even profusely, with the finest flowers and fruits that he can procure, the myrtle and the citron never forgotten, and hangs its roof with variegated lamps. After the service of his synagogue, he sups late with his wife and his children in the open air, as if he were in the pleasant villages of Galilee, beneath its sweet and starry sky.”

It may be noticed, as one of the “curiosities of literature,” that a popular, and somewhat of a political-historical writer like Mr. Disraeli, should be unacquainted with the fact, or should have completely forgotten it,—that England was at one time the seat of the religion of Rome and Athens; a fact which one of his characters, *Astarte*, the Queen of the *Ansarey*, is made to deny:—

"The Prince of England has assured me, that nothing was more unfounded or, indeed, impossible; that this faith, ancient and beautiful, never prevailed in the land of his fathers; and, that the reason why he was acquainted with the god-like poem is, that, in his country, it is the custom—custom to me most singular, and, indeed, incomprehensible—to educate the youth by teaching them the ancient poems of the Greeks."

In a former number of this review, we have gone through the evidence which shows that the religion of Greece and Rome prevailed in England for at least two hundred years. The first St. Paul's was a temple of Diana; and a temple of Apollo stood on the site of the present Westminster Abbey.*

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6. NORMAN'S BRIDGE, OR THE MODERN MIDAS. By the author of 'Emilie Wyndham,' 'The Two Old Men's Tales,' &c. In 3 vols. Richard Bentley.

A MORAL lesson upon the text of "Take heed and beware of covetousness;"—the subject of 'Dombey and Son,' skilfully handled; although we miss in 'Norman's Bridge' that inexhaustible vein of originality and humour, which distinguishes the writings of Dickens.

Michael Grant, the hero, is a Scotchman, devoted to the pursuit of wealth; an object which he finally attains, not by dishonest means, but by plodding industry, miserly economy, clever bargaining, and by steeling his heart against all the claims of private friendship, gratitude, and family affection that might interfere with the worship of Mammon.

It is scarcely characteristic of such a man that his first step in life should be an early marriage. When he leaves Scotland as a youth to accept a situation as junior clerk in an ironmonger's warehouse, only conditionally promised, he takes a wife with him, and we presently see him devoured with care at the prospect of the expenses of a rising family. We doubt whether one in twenty of the enterprising money-making Scotchmen who seek their fortune in this country, commit a similar mistake. They usually defer marriage till ultimate success has been ensured; but, with this exception, the sketch of a modern man of business, soul-absorbed in calculations, is well and faithfully drawn.

The *dénouement* is unsatisfactory. It has of late been the fashion among novelists to avoid what is called "poetical justice," and to disappoint the reader with a catastrophe made as unhappy as possible, to harmonize with what is assumed to be the natural order of events. The Earl of Strathnaer, painted as the *beau idéal* of generous impulse, engages in an enterprise beyond his means, to rescue a decaying neighbourhood from pauperism; fails, and dies of a broken heart. Joan, who inherits all the firmness and energy of Michael Grant, without his faults, is slighted and rejected by the man

* See the article, 'Old and New London,' in the 'Westminster Review' for June, 1845, p. 306.

she loves, and that too, after the reader had been incautiously led to suppose both parties were equally smitten, and waited but a favourable moment to confess their mutual passion. Michael himself, whose example we are to shun, is the only one of the *dramatis personæ* who succeeds in all he undertakes. It is true he makes worthy people miserable, loses children that he never loved, is once thrown into the river by a mob, but, on the whole, he pursues through life a triumphant career, becomes a *millionaire*, the associate of the aristocracy, and is apparently able to congratulate himself upon his exemption from those weaknesses of the heart, which, in the case of others, have only paved the way to misfortune. The moral of the story, therefore, is, that the affections produce bitter fruit;—that a man who can do without them may be as happy as his neighbours, with this advantage in his favour, that he has the better chance of getting on in the world. This was not the inference the author intended should be drawn; and want of pains-taking is the cause. ‘Norman’s Bridge’ has been too hastily constructed. The materials are slight, and the incidents too few for three volumes. Whole chapters have been diluted with trivial common-places, only to make up the required number of pages, where, with a little more study, the author might have shown the effects of a morbid passion for wealth as a self-consuming cancer, and have favourably contrasted it with that contented mind, which, wise men tell us, is a continual feast. Moreover, the fact should have been brought out, that great enterprizes, undertaken from patriotic motives, do not invariably fail. The Dutch could have instructed the author how to construct an embankment, although that of the estuary at Norman’s Bridge was washed away by the sea. The defects of the work are, however, after all, the faults of a writer of undoubted genius. Next to Dickens and Bulwer, in scenes of pathos, we place the author of ‘Two Old Men’s Tales;’ and nothing that has yet proceeded from the same pen is devoid of interest,—often powerful and well sustained.

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7. SPECIES FILICUM; being Descriptions of the known Ferns, particularly of such as exist in the Author’s Herbarium, or are with sufficient accuracy described in works to which he has had access; accompanied with numerous Figures. By Sir William Jackson Hooker, K.H., D.C.L., &c., &c., Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens of Kew. Vol. I. London: Wm. Pamplin, 45, Frith Street, Soho Square. 1846.

THOUGH, perhaps, in some respects not fully realizing the expectations of botanists, yet is this work a welcome addition to the botanical library, seeing that it goes far to supply an important desideratum, no complete work on the species of ferns having previously been published. The task undertaken by Sir William is one of acknowledged difficulty, which hardly any other British botanist would have felt inclined to encounter. To give a concise description of every species of fern known to botanists, even in the restricted sense intimated in

the preface, with references to published descriptions and figures, is of itself an undertaking of no trifling kind; and this is rendered more onerous when accompanied by the necessary attention to grouping, without which a work on species would manifestly be imperfect. Species are generally looked upon as the only groups whose limits can be said to be at all well defined by nature; but even species are liable to so many modifications in appearance and habit, arising from the various conditions under which they may happen to be placed; and are, moreover, in numerous instances so intimately connected by intermediate forms; that in practice it is frequently found almost impossible to determine where the line of separation should be drawn. Hence it follows that the opinions of no two original observers, as to the limits of the higher groups, will be likely to coincide; and hence the confusion with regard to genera which is daily increasing, and has even now reached such an extent that Botany is fast becoming a mass of confusion, which ere long none but a second Linnæus will be able to clear away. In reference to this difficulty of defining specific and other groups, Sir William observes,—

“ Nothing, he feels, could justify the conclusions at which he has arrived respecting the union of many genera and species, but the power of examining the almost countless specimens, preserved either in his own peculiarly rich herbarium, or in the many others, as well public as private, to which he has been allowed access. The opportunities thus afforded of comparing the same species in its varied forms, and from different, indeed, often from widely severed localities, have proved of the utmost utility. They have enabled him to arrive at results to which no other means of investigation could have led. These results, he is aware, are but too likely to startle other students of the same tribe of plants; and, indeed, he is not ignorant that the so frequent junction of supposed distinct species, in the following pages, has already called forth expressions of surprise from the pens of able botanists. He needs, however, scarcely state, that such an amalgamation of supposed genera and species has never been made without the most careful investigation; and he must be allowed to add, that the further this investigation has proceeded the more is he convinced that the system of curtailment ought to be, and will be, carried to a still greater length. There is, perhaps, no family of plants where more false species have been made than among the ferns. This is owing to three causes. 1. The difficulty of accurately defining in words the highly varied forms of these beautiful plants. 2. The often imperfect or incomplete specimens collected, especially of the larger kinds. And, 3. A too generally received opinion that the same fern is not likely to grow in two very remote portions of the globe. In illustration of the last of these remarks, a more striking instance can hardly be adduced than the universally known *Osmunda regalis* of Linnæus, which, retaining its own name as an European species, has been described as *O. spectabilis*, in North America, *O. speciosa*, in Nepal, and *O. Leschenaultii*, in the Neilgherries.”—p. 8.

In the present volume are described about six hundred species (besides varieties), belonging to twenty-five genera of this beautiful family; and the seventy plates contain figures of nearly two hundred species and varieties, for the most part hitherto unfigured. The figures are neatly executed in outline, and display numerous elegant forms belonging to the beautiful genera *Dicksonia*, *Hymenophyllum*, *Tricho-*

manes, Davallia, Lindsaea, &c. This work must be regarded as a sequel to a previous volume on the 'Genera of Ferns' by the same author. The experience acquired in the preparation of the first volume will no doubt suggest many improvements in those which are to succeed; and notwithstanding the limited sale commanded by scientific works, we trust the 'Species Filicum' will be so generally appreciated as eventually to remunerate the spirited publisher for the large outlay incurred in its production.

8.—**ANCIENT ART AND ITS REMAINS, OR A MANUAL OF THE ARCHEOLOGY OF ART.** By C. O. Müller. Translated from the German by John Leitch. London: A. Fullarton and Co., Newgate Street, 1847.

A GOOD translation of a very learned book, which, as a work of reference, must be invaluable; though so didactically is the subject treated, that we suspect none but artists, professional or amateur, will be tempted to consult its pages. So elaborately is the text overlaid with notes and references, the text itself being broken up into infinitesimal doses, that the effect upon the student's mind cannot fail of being rather bewildering than otherwise, and must act against the work ever becoming popular, even among those for whose use it is more especially intended. For example, about a dozen lines of text have frequently no less than two pages of annotations and references in small type—not given as foot notes, but interpolated with the text. These annotations are of the most elaborate character, including references to existing remains of ancient art, and examples in illustration drawn from every work on art, ancient and modern, which has fallen under the author's notice.

As a specimen of the text, and of the more readable annotations, we extract the following section, which treats on the general principles of Drapery:—

(1.) "336. That the human body, immediately placed before us, has become the chief form of the plastic art, needs in reality no explanation; it is the natural body, and not some appendage superadded by human customs and regulations, that sensibly and visibly represents mind and life to our eyes. (2.) However, there was a tendency in the Hellenic mind which prompted to press forward to that point where the natural limbs appear as the noblest costume of man; this feeling was fostered in an especial manner by gymnastics, to whose higher aims all inconvenient shame was easily sacrificed. (3.) The formative art followed in its train, while the costume of the stage, originating in Dionysian pompal processions, struck into the directly opposite path; hence we must never entertain the idea that stage figures were immediately taken from plastic forms, or the reverse. (4.) Nevertheless, however wide spread the feeling and enthusiasm for corporeal beauty were in themselves, and however much the artist sought opportunity for such representation, yet this opportunity was seldom arbitrarily brought about, and the artist deviated little from life, whose particular customs and regulations required consideration in the production of artistic forms. Nakedness presented itself as natural in all gymnastic and athletic figures; from these it was easily transferred to the statues of male deities, which had been very elegantly and copiously draped

by the piety of earlier times, and to heroes, whom elder art exhibited in complete armour; for here the noblest seemed to be the most natural representation. (5.) Under garments, which conceal the form most, were here universally discarded, which answered the more readily, as it was the custom among the early Greeks, for men of healthy and vigorous frame to go abroad in their upper dress without chiton, hence gods and heroes in chitons are extremely seldom to be found in perfected Greek art. (6.) But the upper garment is laid aside in art, as well as ordinary life, during any animated action or work. Standing figures of gods who were conceived as approaching with aid, fighting or otherwise active, might therefore appear entirely without drapery. In sedent statues, on the other hand, the upper garment is seldom laid aside, it is then usually drawn around the loins; it denotes, therefore, rest and absence of exertion. In this way the drapery, even in ideal figures, is significant, and becomes an expressive attribute. Ancient art, at the same time, loved a compendious and allusive treatment; the helmet denotes the whole armour—a piece of the *chlamys*, the entire dress of the *ephebos*. (7.) It was customary at times to represent children naked; on the other hand, the unrobing of the developed female body was long unheard of in art, and when this practice was introduced it required at first a connexion with life; here the idea of the bath constantly presented itself until the eyes became accustomed to adopt the representation even without this justification. (8.) The portrait statue retained the costume of life, if it also was not raised above the common necessity, by the form being rendered heroic or divine."

Notes to the above.

"1. This paragraph deals with the same subject as Hirt's treatise, *Ueber die Bildung des Nackten bei den Achten* (Schriften der Berl., Akad., 1820; but attempts to solve the problem differently.

"2. Complete nakedness was first introduced in the gymnastic exercises in Crete and Lacedæmon. In the 15th Olympiad, Orsippus of Megara lost his girdle by accident, in the stadium at Olympia, and thereby became the victor. Acanthus of Lacedæmon now appeared, at the very outset, naked in the *Diaulos*, and, for the runners, it became a law from that time. But, in the case of other athletes, perfect nudity had been introduced not long before Thucydides. See Büchh, C. I. i., p. 554. Among the barbarians, especially of Asia, the girdle remained; there it was even disgraceful for men to be seen naked (Herod. i., 10); of which traces are still to be seen in the figures of the gods on the imperial coins of Asia Minor, which have, for the most part, more drapery than the Grecian.

"3. The stage costume took its origin, as Pollux and the Ptolemaean mosaic show, from the particoloured coats (*ποικίλοι* comp. Welcker ad Theogn., p. lxxxix.) of the Dionysian processions; according to which, Dionysius himself, in the ordinary popular notion, could not well be imagined without his saffron raiment and purple mantle. Among works of art, only a number of vase-paintings—especially Apulo-Lucanian—have a theatrical style in the draperies, on account of their reference to Bacchian processions. Comp. Fenerbach Vatic. Apoll. s. 354, f. and § 345.

"5. As in life, whoever was merely dressed with the chiton was called *γυμνός*, so art, which could not combine the chiton with ideal forms, represented him as really *γυμνός*.

"7. The draped Charites of Socrates have been often discussed. But was this group, which, according to Pliny, xxxvi., 4, 10, ranked among the best works of sculpture, really produced by the son of Sophroniscus, who surely had scarcely made such progress in art? The Athenians said so to Pausanias, but Pliny evidently knew nothing about it."—p. 342.

- 9.—LETTERS FROM GRAEFENBERG, IN THE YEARS 1843, 1844, 1845, AND 1846. With the Report, and Extracts from the Correspondence, of the Enniscorthy Hydropathic Society. By John Gibbs. London: Charles Gilpin, 5, Bishopsgate-street Without. 1847.

HYDROPATHY AND HOMEOPATHY IMPARTIALLY APPRECIATED, with an Appendix of Notes illustrative of the Influence of the Mind on the Body. By Edwin Lee, Esq., &c. The Third Editions combined. London: J. Churchill, Princes Street, Soho. Brighton: Foltthorp, 1847.

OF the making of books for and against Hydropathy, there would truly seem to be no end; whence we may infer that there is also "no end" of readers of such books. Mr. Lee, we believe to have been the first professional man by whom the "cold-water cure" was treated on in this country; his notice, now appearing in a third edition, was originally appended to his work on the 'Baths of Germany;' and the candour and moderation displayed in the book amply justified the encomiums passed upon it by the press generally. Mr. Gibbs's 'Letters from Graefenberg,' extending over a period of four years, may be received as the testimony of a participator in the doings at that celebrated establishment, an enthusiastic one certainly, but we doubt not a trustworthy one, corroborated as his evidence is in its general bearings by the united testimony of numerous parties, who, from their standing, must be considered as above suspicion. The author had peculiar advantages, whilst residing at Graefenberg during two years and eight months, for forming a correct judgment of the effects of Priessnitz' system, as carried out by the discoverer; he accordingly corrects many erroneous assertions which have promulgated respecting the various applications of the *cure* at the original establishments. Among other important matters he particularly exonerates Priessnitz from a charge relating to his dietary system. Attention to diet, both as respects quality and quantity, must obviously be regarded as of the utmost importance in any course of treatment for "the numerous ills that flesh is heir to;" some misapprehension would appear to subsist in relation to the dietary system followed at Graefenberg; for Mr. Lee states that—

"The coarse nature of the diet at Graefenberg is a just cause of complaint; the dinners being generally composed of beef done to rags, cucumbers in salt and water, acid sauces, and heavy dough puddings."—P. 7.

Without doing more than allude to the unworthy motive attributed to Priessnitz for adopting this diet, by an author on Hydropathy quoted by Mr. Lee, we may cite in answer to it the testimony of Mr. Gibbs, himself an ex-patient, from which it would appear that the diet is neither unsavoury nor unvaried.

"We are also taught by some writers to believe that the diet at Graefenberg is of the worst possible kind, and that musty meat, bad pork, indigestible sausages, and sauer kraut, form the staple comestibles. I can only say that I have been here about fourteen months, and never once saw musty meat upon the

table; that I have seen pork and sausages only about six or seven times; and that I have seen sauer kraut only once for many weeks. Beef is the usual meat, varied occasionally with mutton, veal, chickens, ducks, geese, and, in the season, with hares, venison, and partridges. Trout and carp are also sometimes given. There is always a second course, of pudding or pastry of some kind, generally of rice, or, I believe, coarsely ground wheat; or apple, or other fruit puddings. Baked pears and stewed prunes are also common dishes. No soup is given now. Priessnitz has always been opposed to its use; but a large portion of the guests murmured, and he was obliged to give it. It is now given up, as it were, by consent. It must be confessed that this fare is not calculated to give a false appetite to a pampered English stomach. There is no boiled or roast joint, nicely done to a turn, flanked with fat, and swimming in gravy; no highly-spiced pies, and no rich gravies; but the food, though plain, is, I believe, wholesome."—*Letters*, p. 119.

One would think the above dietary table sufficiently copious to satisfy any reasonable being in good health, much more patients in pursuit of that blessing. Other misapprehensions and misrepresentations in reference to Priessnitz's practice are given throughout the volume, which appears worthy of being consulted by all who wish to become acquainted with remedial measures from which considerable benefit has undoubtedly been derived by many who have been subjected to them.

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10. SYLVAN'S PICTORIAL HANDBOOK TO THE CLYDE AND ITS WATERING-PLACES. With Maps, and upwards of Fifty Illustrations, from Original Sketches. By Thomas and Edward Gilks. London: John Johnstone, Paternoster Row. Edinburgh: J. Johnstone. Glasgow: D. Bryce. Dublin: M'Glashan. 1847.

FROM the introduction to this, the most recent of the pretty handbooks produced by the spirited proprietors, we extract the following passage upon the—

"ASSOCIATIONS OF THE CLYDE.

"Rivers in all countries may be said to be the streams of poetry. Some have about them a classic halo, as the Cam and the Isis, from their contiguity to those two ancient seats of learning, Cambridge and Oxford: others have an historic and romantic interest, from the castles and ruins on their banks, replete with wild legend and story, as the Rhine and the rivers of Germany: but, in addition to the attractive features belonging to these rivers, there is a peculiar and more worldly value attached to others, from their utility as well as picturesqueness; rivers, which seem to have been the cause of the greatness of the cities situated on their banks. Among this latter class may be named the Thames and the Clyde. What the Thames has been to the commercial greatness of London, that has the Clyde been to Glasgow; and certainly, of all the beautiful rivers of Scotland, and their name is legion, the noble Clyde, of which we would speak and be the cicerone of those who would know it aright, is second to none. Whether we follow its course to the mountains of South Lanarkshire, where it takes its rise, or rest for a time 'among the heathy hills and rugged woods,' contemplating with delight and awe its thundering falls—the scenery of the neighbourhood of which is rendered still more interesting by association with the exploits of the great Scottish chieftain and martyr—or whether we descend still farther to the far-famed

Bothwell Brig, where resting, what mind reverts not to the sturdy Covenanters, and their defeat in attempting to cross the river in that fatal fight—or whether we contemplate the river from the Broomielaw, where such different thoughts crowd upon the mind, as it takes in that forest of shipping, the gigantic steamers from all parts of the world, up to the very bridge itself—the bustle of the quays, with that host too of pleasure-boats, bound for all the watering-places—the hundreds crowding and jostling one another on their decks—and those lumbering steam-tugs dragging at each remove a lengthening chain of unwieldy sailing craft—we may surely say, that this river ministers both to the enjoyment and to the commercial importance of its people. One cannot help remembering, that it was on this river that one of the first steam vessels was launched, the “Little Comet,” of Henry Bell, who has a monument erected to his memory on its banks; that in modern times, too, Glasgow and Greenock stand out prominently as builders of ships, not only for their own commerce, but even for English and colonial ports; and that the transatlantic “Acadia” and “British Queen,” the “Britannia” and “Caledonia,” bringing Halifax and the States within ten days of England, owe to the foundries of Glasgow the engine-power which has been their boast and their reputation.”—p. 3.

Starting from Glasgow, the tourist, with the hand-book in his hand, is supposed to proceed down the Clyde to Ardrossan, visiting every object of interest on the route, the trip being enlivened by references to the numerous objects of interest, romantic, poetical, and historical, which present themselves by the way. In addition to the direct route, numerous excursions to celebrated localities are pointed out, the whole being illustrated by neat little woodcuts, and several excellent maps add to the utility of the book as a guide to the tourist. Altogether, the ‘Hand-Book to the Clyde’ is one of the prettiest and most useful tour-books we have ever seen.

11. THE FALL OF NINEVEH, A POEM. By Edwin Atherstone. In two Volumes. London: William Pickering. 1847.

THE ‘Last Days of Herculaneum,’ ‘A Midsummer Day’s Dream,’ and other works of high merit, have already made known Mr. Atherstone’s abilities as a poet; and the present poem, which abounds in passages of great power and beauty, will in no wise lower his fame. Few modern writers are so entirely *au fait* in describing the strife of arms and the opposing currents of the heady fight; we accordingly find the various events of the war, from the revolt of the Median party to the final destruction of the mighty empire, depicted in language always vigorous, and generally highly poetical. We doubt, nevertheless, whether an epic in *thirty* books, however grand the subject, and how poetical soever the treatment, is likely to attract any considerable number of the modern race of readers, among whom it is more than probable that the “few” would constitute the only “fit audience” found by even a Homer or a Milton, were their immortal labours now first given to the world.

As isolated passages, even did our limits allow us to give them, would afford but an inadequate idea of this work, we must refrain from making a selection, and refer such readers to the poem itself as have the courage to attack it.

12. THOUGHTS ON THE DEGRADATION OF SCIENCE IN ENGLAND. By F. R. S. London: J. Rodwell, 46, New Bond Street. 1847.

THE author does not reiterate the old complaint of the *decline* of science in England, but he adduces numerous arguments in proof of its *degradation*, through the neglect and discouragement of its votaries by the government. It is indeed an anomaly, that in a country like England, which owes so much to the triumphs of science, scientific men, as such, should meet with so little attention from "the powers that be." True it is, that a fortunate few, who may perhaps enjoy the advantage of an acquaintance with some influential member of the government, or of the aristocracy, or from some other adventitious circumstance, do occasionally receive a pension for services rendered to art, science, or literature; or they may possibly obtain an appointment to some office where their claims to future advancement will not clash with those of the class by whom such rewards are, for the most part, appropriated. But such cases form the exception to the rule; and there is many an ardent cultivator of science who would consider himself a lucky man indeed, if he could render his favourite pursuit the means of adding a few pounds per annum to the emoluments derived from what are considered the more legitimate means of getting a living. But this is no such easy matter. Business and scientific pursuits are considered incompatible; and the reproach levelled at the government in the following extract, may, with equal justice, be also applied to the mercantile portion of the community.

"Among the hereditary legislators who govern the country, there prevail certain maxims, founded in a spirit of selfishness and exclusion, which are most inimical to the higher branches of science and literature, as well as to the arts in general; such as that none of these things require any protection beyond that of the patronage which may be bestowed upon them by the crown, or by the nobility and the wealthy. Another is, that the employment of literary and scientific men in political stations, interferes with their sublimer pursuits, which, on the other hand, would distract them, and render them less efficient as public servants."—p. 10.

It is precisely this impression, that scientific pursuits on the part of their *employés* "render them less efficient" for business purposes, that has led to a prevalent, though unfounded belief, on the part of the mere man of business, that the duties of the counting-house or the shop cannot be properly performed by persons having the slightest leaning towards science or literature. Many honourable exceptions there are where such inclinations are encouraged and cherished; and in these cases, we will venture to say, the employer has never suffered wrong from fostering and developing such a taste in the employed; and it would be well for the whole body if such examples were more generally followed. In the words of the author, which are equally applicable to states and to mercantile establishments, whether large or small,—

"By protecting science, by rendering its condition more honourable, and more nearly equal to that of the privileged classes, instead of forcing it by degradation to an alliance with the democratic or anarchical influences of

society, the executive government would acquire the most rational and powerful of all agents in the maintenance of order; and as science is of no particular nation, but forms a confederacy consisting of the most permanently powerful class of every country, among whom rivalry tends only to advance knowledge and enlighten mankind, the encouragement of science cannot but be one of the best preservatives against the evils of war."—p. 112.

13. **THE PILGRIMAGE: HOW GOD WAS FOUND OF HIM THAT SOUGHT HIM NOT; OR, RATIONALISM IN THE BUD, THE BLADE, AND THE EAR.** A Tale for our Times. Translated from the German of C. A. Wildenhahn, by Mrs. Stanley Carr. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, Tweeddale Court. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1847.

A NARRATIVE of the career of a young German student, who is introduced to the reader as the private tutor to a young lady, the daughter of a rich merchant of Neuberg. Both teacher and pupil are deeply imbued with what the author terms the Naturalism of Young Germany; the latter doubtingly, and in secret, until confirmed by the elucidations of her tutor, when she no longer hesitates to avow her sentiments to her father, who, holding such doctrines in abhorrence, at once dismisses Volbrecht, the tutor, and is so greatly shocked at the discovery of his daughter's infidel opinions, that he dies broken-hearted, leaving her immensely rich, and capricious and haughty as she is beautiful. Volbrecht quits the city, and hastens to the home of his childhood, where he arrives just in time to witness the decease of his mother, who dies in the full belief of the doctrines of Christianity. Volbrecht sells his house, and sets out on a tour through the Hartz Mountains. On the Ilsestein, he encounters a lady and gentleman, passing as father and daughter, of distinguished appearance, and the former, at least, of fascinating manners and extraordinary beauty. So completely is Volbrecht entangled in her toils, that he proposes for her hand, and is accepted: his blind confidence is repaid by having a sleeping potion administered to him, during the operation of which the fair Eliza robs him of the whole of the Prussian bonds, the proceeds of the sale of his property. Notwithstanding his suspicions, Volbrecht is persuaded to accompany the worthy pair to some town further on their route, the name of which is not given. Here his eyes become completely opened to the true character of the persons with whom he had been so intimately associating: Schmitter is an unprincipled gambler, and the fascinating Eliza a decoy. He now resolves to fly; Eliza becomes aware of his determination, and, in a fit of repentance, prevails on Volbrecht to allow her to accompany him to Lindau, where she restores a portion of the money of which she had robbed him, and leaves him. He journeys onward to Bregenz, where he most unexpectedly encounters some old friends—the Baroness Winter, and Anna, a young girl who had formerly lived with his mother until the decease of the latter, and had then become the companion of the baroness, who, like Volbrecht, was travelling. After spending a day with these ladies most agreeably, Volbrecht proceeds into Switzerland,

where, during a lengthened residence in a secluded village, with an amiable Swiss pastor, his religious doubts are cleared up, and he attains a full belief in the doctrines of Christianity. During his stay here, Eliza finds means to restore the remainder of the property of which she had robbed Volbrecht, and retires to a convent, where the student has an interview with her, and assures her of his forgiveness. Schmitter poisons himself in prison; and full justice being rendered to all other parties, the volume concludes with preparations for the marriage of Volbrecht and Anna, his former companion in the home of his mother.

Such is a brief outline of a tale which appears to be ably rendered into English, and will doubtless have many readers.

14. THE WORKS OF GEORGE SAND. Vol. 3. MAUPRAT. Vol. 4. THE COMPANION OF THE TOUR OF FRANCE. E. Churton: Holles Street.

MAUPRAT is one of the best of the novels of Madame Dudevant. It opens with a graphic sketch, historically accurate, of the state of France prior to the revolution, and the manners and feudal influence at that period of the old nobility in provinces distant from the capital. The story is that of a bandit rescued from ignorance and brutality by female influence, and its moral lies in a powerful contrast of the elevating tendencies of a pure affection with the coarse and debasing sensualities of passion. The title of the fourth volume, 'The Companion of the Tour of France,' is not intelligible English, and reminds us of several errors we have noticed in the progress of the translation, into which Miss Hays has fallen, sometimes from adhering too closely to the original version, and in other cases from misapprehending the text. A "Companion" is a member of a trades' union; the "Tour of France," refers to the wandering of artizans from town to town, and from lodge to lodge of their own body, after the custom very generally prevalent on the continent among workmen, and described in 'Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship.' The hero of the tale is the son of a carpenter, and the design of the author appears to have been to paint the *beau idéal* of a man of the people, aiming at higher objects than wealth or station, and devoting himself to the solution of the social problems most intimately connected with the welfare of his own class. An extraordinary instance of misapprehension of the meaning of the text, and of a total oblivion of one of the most familiar facts of modern French history will be found at page 26, where the word *Assignats** is explained to signify *Mortgage*.

* An account of the paper currency so called was given in our last number. (Page 454.)

15. THE OVERLAND MAIL AND THE AUSTRIAN LLOYDS ; with two Maps, and Documents. London : G. Mann, Cornhill ; F. Thimm, 8, Marylebone Street. 1847.

THE success attending the six experimental voyages for the conveyance of the Indian Mails *viâ* Trieste and Germany having drawn attention to that route, the public are here put in possession of the details of the constitution of the rapidly-rising institution, whose prompt assistance tended to render these voyages so successful, as well as of the general features of the overland route, which will most likely be adopted as a means of communication between Great Britain and her Indian possessions. The Austrian Lloyd's Company was established at Trieste in 1836 ; it now consists of two sections—the Lloyd's proper, and the Steam Navigation Company. The latter, which is the leading party in promoting the acceleration of the Indian Mail, has a capital of £300,000 in 6000 shares of £50 each. They possess 25 steamers, which, during the first ten years of the Company's existence, from 1836 to 1846 inclusive, have been the medium of a traffic amounting to £41,577,810. The balance sheet of last year's operations of the Company showed a profit of £44,000 upon the year ; and it is intended to increase the number of steamers to 30, with the intention of augmenting the number of voyages by instituting more frequent communications with the various ports.

The six experimental voyages were made during a most severe winter ; and numerous delays occurred, arising from unforeseen circumstances, inseparable from the nature of the undertaking. Yet the experiments were eminently gratifying. For, notwithstanding the obstacles encountered, the dispatches *viâ* Trieste, in every case anticipated those by the former route *viâ* Marseilles, as the following paragraph will show :—

"According to an official certificate, the dispatches thus expedited *viâ* Trieste, and simultaneously on the usual way of Marseilles, reached the Secret Committee of the Hon. East India Company as follows :—

Voyage from Bombay.	Via Trieste.	Via Marseilles.
1. Sept. 1, 1846,	Oct. 3,	Oct. 7.
2. Oct. 1, "	Oct. 31,	Nov. 4.
3. Nov. 2, "	Dec. 2, 7 A.M.	Dec. 2, 7 P.M.
4. Dec. 2, "	Jan. 2, 1847, 5 A.M.	Jan. 3, even.
5. Jan. 2, 1847,	Feb. 4, " 3 A.M.	Feb. 6, 2 P.M.
6. Feb. 2, "	Mar. 4, " 7 P.M.	Mar. 4, 1 A.M."—p. 13."

The superiority of the new route over the one by way of Marseilles was further shown by five trials, made without regard to the mail. The Peninsular and Oriental Company made use of one of their swiftest packets, the *Ariel*, running twelve knots an hour ; while the *Ardent*, against which she was pitted, ran but eight knots an hour. The average result was an advantage of fifteen hours per voyage in favour of the Trieste route. For details, we must refer to the pamphlet.

16. CHOLERA, DYSENTERY, AND FEVER, PATHOLOGICALLY AND PRACTICALLY CONSIDERED; or, the Nature, Causes, Connexion, and Treatment of these Diseases, in all their forms. By Charles Searle, M.D., M.R.C.S.E., &c. London: John Churchill, Princes Street, Soho. 1847.

DR. SEARLE's opinions on the subject of cholera are deserving of consideration, from the abundant opportunities he has for many years possessed of witnessing its effects in its worst form upon others, both in India and in Europe, as well as from his having been twice subjected to its attacks in his own person. This little volume contains a clear and succinct exposition of his views relative to the nature, causes, and treatment of the various forms of cholera; and is intended principally as a manual for travellers and residents in countries subjected to visitations of cholera, and where professional advice and assistance may not always be available.

As intimately connected with the subject of cholera, Dr. Searle's book contains many sound, practical remarks upon the nature and mode of operation of malaria, whether arising from the marshes, forests, and jungles of the East, or from the sewers, drains, and other poison-generating localities of our towns and cities. Though concise, these remarks appear well worthy of consideration in connexion with the agitation of the Sanatory Question.

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17. ARCHITECTURAL MAXIMS AND THEOREMS. By T. L. Donaldson. Weale.

A COLLECTION of facts and principles relating to architecture, given in the form of aphorisms; to which perhaps the only objection is, that they embrace, with some important axioms, which the architectural student would do well to commit to his note-book, some rather trivial common-places. We marvel to meet with in the work such a truism as the following, in the dignified form of proposition No. LXXIV. "An architect has much to learn, much to feel, and much to do." Every being born into this world, who survives the perils of infancy, has much to learn, much to feel, and much to do; but a maxim so trite, and of universal application, is not adapted to the object of Mr. Donaldson—that of inducing the student constantly to recur to first principles,—an object of the highest importance. Proposition No. 74 is, however, followed by some useful counsel on the judicious economy of time; and the rules of construction embody much sound information, the result of practical experience. The work contains the germ of what might be developed into a good manual of architecture arranged as a progressive course of study.

18. FAMILIAR ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF ASSURANCE : being Notes of a Lecture delivered in various towns of England. By W. E. Hillman. London : Pateman, Wine-office Court, Fleet Street. 1847.

A CLEARLY written exposition of the principles upon which the various descriptions of Assurance are founded, as well as the usual methods of effecting a policy. From computation, it appears that the sum of £5,000,000 sterling is annually paid in premiums on Life Assurances alone, independently of a much larger sum paid on insurances from losses by fire. This fact is sufficient to show that the importance of providing for future contingencies by this means is beginning to be extensively appreciated ; while, large as is the amount, it falls far short of what it would be, if a very considerable and important portion of the community who, perhaps, have as yet scarcely bestowed a thought upon the advantages to be derived from this mode of investment, were induced to avail themselves of so easy and certain a mode of making a provision for a family. The class we allude to consists for the most part of workmen and small tradesmen, of those, in short, who have hitherto formed the bulk of the members of friendly and benefit societies, and to whom such societies at one time offered the only available means of providing against the necessary expenses of future sickness and death, and whose hopes, in too many instances, have been cruelly disappointed by the failure of such institutions, in consequence of miscalculation or mismanagement, just at the time when they had the greatest need of the expected assistance.

The neglect of the superior advantages of assurance by persons of this class may perhaps be, in the first place, attributed to their ignorance of its principles and mode of action ; to such, Mr. Hillman's pamphlet will afford much valuable information on the subject : and, secondly, to the fact of there having hitherto been no institution specially addressed to their wants and convenience. As members of a benefit society, they would be required to make weekly or monthly payments ; and many a man would manage to keep up his payments to the box in this way, who would not possess moral resolution enough to lay by weekly out of his earnings a sufficient sum to meet an Assurance-premium at the end of six or twelve months.

To the list of offices given by Mr. Hillman, in number upwards of 200, we are happy to be able to add a newly established one—the English Widows' Fund—opened expressly to meet the convenience of persons of this class, by issuing policies for as low a sum as £20, and by allowing the premiums to be paid by weekly, fortnightly, monthly, quarterly, half-yearly, or annual instalments, as may best suit the means of the party assured. We have little doubt, when the plan becomes generally known, that the public will gladly avail themselves of the facilities thus offered.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL PROGRESS OF EMPIRE AND CIVILIZATION. By the Rev. T. Price. London: Longmans. Oxford: Parker. Llandoverly: W. Rees. 1847.

AN extension of an article on the same subject which appeared in the 'Athenæum' and the 'Augsburg Gazette,' in 1844. The author is of opinion, that empire and civilization, or national pre-eminence, "have always progressed in a north-western direction, at the average rate of a degree in seventy-two years, and in a route describing a slightly undulating line, with secondary undulations, or oscillations; which line, if extended, would form a zone encircling the globe. He traces the progress of the centralizing influence from the mouth of the Euphrates through Palestine, Greece, Italy, and France, to Britain, where a rapidly-increasing national pre-eminence is at present located: the time occupied in the progress of the centralizing influence—believed by the author to be analogous to electricity—from the former point to the latter, being a period of 4,092 years.

There is much curious matter in this pamphlet, which is illustrated by several diagrams, showing the route of the supposed influence.

THE MARROW OF THE CONTROVERSY. The Facts and Figures between the Rev. Dr. Reed, and the Directors of the London Missionary Society. By Luther and Melancthon. London: Aylott and Jones. 1847.

FIGURES, as well as *facts*, are notoriously stubborn things; and doubly so when turned against the party who may have supplied them. This is especially shown by the pamphlet before us, which is but one of the many *brochures* called into being by the recent controversy between Dr. Reed and the London Missionary Society. Of the merits of this controversy we personally know nothing. Judging, however, from published documents, it appears that Dr. Reed has met with but sorry treatment from a society whose welfare he has much at heart. The cudgels with which Luther and Melancthon fight on Dr. Reed's behalf, are drawn from the Society's own store-house, both *facts* and *figures* being furnished by its published Annual Reports; and with these, we are bound to say, they appear to have made out a good case against the Society, while their portion of the controversy is conducted in a calm and temperate style.

THE SPELLING BOOK OF UTILITY: consisting of a Series of Spelling and Reading Lessons, progressively arranged, as introductory to a knowledge of the English language. By Richard Chambers, F.L.S. Second Edition, greatly enlarged. London: Sherwood & Co.; Simpkin & Co.; and Darton & Harvey. 1847.

WE are much pleased with this spelling book, which is a decided improvement upon most of its predecessors. In the preliminary lessons, actual words of two and three letters are judiciously substituted for the time-honoured *ba, be, bi, bo, bu*, &c., &c.; and even the more advanced lessons upon words of one and two syllables, consist of short sentences, each inculcating some truth, or imparting some moral or religious instruction, or teaching some fact in natural history or physics. The longer lessons are chiefly upon subjects of natural history, and are illustrated with well-executed woodcuts of animals and plants. The author's experience in tuition, extending over a whole life-time, has enabled him to supply an often-felt want—that of a really useful as well as interesting manual of spelling and reading.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Cultivation of Vocal Music in Scotland.

AN Association, recently formed for the revival of Sacred Music in Scotland, merits the attention of your readers, and a short account of its plan and objects will be acceptable to the friends and promoters of popular education south of the Tweed.

Music has too long been regarded as a luxury for the rich, and in their saloons or in public amusements alone has it been considered at home; while, in truth, of all arts it is most suited to the wants and capacities of the *poor*; *they* most require its cheering and elevating influences, and they are endowed, as well as their wealthier neighbours, with the same ear and the same heart to appreciate sound, and the same wonderful organ to produce it.

Keeping this in view, the "Association for the Revival of Sacred Music" seek to restore in Scotland that cultivation of the science which prevailed in ruder times, as we find from the statute-book of James VI. wherein is an enactment "For instruction of the youth in the arte of Music and Singing, quhilk is almaist decayit, and sall schortly decay *without timous remeid be provided*, Our Sovereine Lord, with advice of his three Estaites of Parliament," requires the Authorities of Burghs and Provosts of Colleges to "set up Sang Scuils" with efficient masters, "as they will answer to his Hienes upon the perrel of their Fundationes." This act was passed in 1579—two hundred and sixty-six years ago, and shows the fears entertained of an *established* branch of education being neglected.

A striking incident took place three years afterwards, which proves the extent to which music was diffused throughout the country at the time—I quote it from 'Specimens and Illustrations of the old Psalmody of Scotland,' by Joseph Mainzer.

"In the year 1582, Mr. John Durie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, having excited the displeasure of the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Arran, the two favourites of King James VI., was suspended from preaching, and banished the city. A change of administration having taken place after the Raid of Ruthven, Durie was recalled; and on the day of his return, 200 of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, to testify their regard to their favourite minister, met him beyond the walls of the town; and their numbers increasing, they formed themselves into a triumphal procession, and, placing the exiled minister in the midst, they marched up the High Street, entering by the Netherbow Port, or the gate leading from the Canongate to Leith, till they reached St. Giles' Church. In their progress through the town the whole multitude, 'to the number of two thousand,' with 'uncovered heads' and 'loud voices,' sung in four parts the 124th Psalm, 'til' (as a contemporary writer expresses it) 'heaven and earth resoundit.'"

A seemingly fruitless effort was made by Provost Drummond and others to improve church music in 1755. The establishment of gen-

tlemen's concerts collected an agreeable society of amateurs, but did nothing to diffuse a taste for music among the people. It is by adopting the views of the Scottish Parliament of 1579, that vocal music may be put within the reach of all ranks throughout the country. And it was upon these views that at a public meeting held in Edinburgh, on 27th November, 1844, the Duke of Sutherland proposed a resolution which led to the formation of the Association. Its objects were, 1st. The improvement of church psalmody. 2nd. To instruct teachers, precentors, and the children of parish and district schools of *all denominations* in the principles of vocal music. 3rd. To prepare and fit young people to impart *these principles*; so that the pupils of those schools in which vocal music is introduced may be able to *read music at sight*. The plan of the school was threefold; 1st. The Normal Music School. 2nd. Classes for Congregational Psalmody. 3rd. Public Evening Classes. These different branches have been all carried out as far as practicable; though it is much to be regretted that the small and uncertain income yielded by private subscriptions should scarcely meet the necessary expenses, and fall very far short of placing the institution on such a foundation as to stand independent of the unwearied exertions and energy of its present director, and a few other supporters. The branch in which the association have succeeded beyond their most sanguine expectations is that of the Normal Music School—a short sketch will best show the results already attained. In March, 1845, a normal elementary class was opened of one hundred and fifty pupils; composed of monitors and monitresses from the different parish and district schools of Edinburgh, who were gratuitously instructed, twice a week, in the principles of vocal music; and such was their progress, that at the end of four months their knowledge, tested by reading at sight, surpassed that of many who have received instruction for years. A remarkable and pleasing proof of this was given when the classes were resumed in the winter of 1845-6; the scholars of their own accord began to impart their knowledge to the younger children at their respective schools; and so thoroughly were they initiated in the principles of music, and so simple is the plan of tuition, that after a careful examination by the director, the association were agreeably surprised to find a new class thus formed already numbering two hundred and six children, who were all as thoroughly acquainted with the elementary exercises, in one or two parts, as their young teachers. The children then and still continue to form their own classes, teaching from two or three, to thirty or sixty; a pupil of the Lancasterian school taught one hundred and ten; and sometimes girls of eight or ten years old are found teaching sisters double their age; thus carrying into the family and social circle an innocent and cheering amusement, connected with moral and elevating sentiments.

With this new mode of multiplication, the classes rapidly increased; and, at the end of 1846, numbered nearly 1,000; and, at the close of 1847, it was estimated that 3,000 had been instructed in the elements of vocal music. *All these* were able to read part music at sight, and besides the songs suited to their age, took part in the public meetings

in the choruses of Handel and Beethoven ; while about 300 of their number who had attended for two or three seasons, were able, in the month of June, 1847, to perform, with the assistance of the necessary bass voices, the whole oratorio of Judas Maccabeus, and that with a power, an expression, and a pathos, not unworthy of a work of Handel's. This was followed shortly after by a *fête champêtre* in the grounds of the Duke of Buccleuch, at Dalkeith,* where the oratorio was again sung, and a numerous assemblage of company was equally astonished and delighted to find, in the vicinity of the modern Athens, a scene which hitherto has been only met with in more favoured Germany, where such meetings for the enjoyment of the works of Mozart, Beethoven, and Handel, are as frequent as here they are rare. Such results are a real triumph ; they show that it is only *cultivation* that is wanted to raise the musical standard of Britain as high as that of any other country ; and where such simple means have produced so much, what might not be effected by an extension of the plan under the same admirable system of tuition, as remarkable for imparting correct knowledge as delicacy of execution !

Another feature of the institution should not be overlooked, and that is, its co-operation with the cause of temperance. Last year, the members of the Juvenile Temperance League were admitted to the normal classes, there to receive a nobler substitute for those grosser pleasures which lead so many families to ruin and destitution ; and those who are acquainted with the lower classes of large towns know full well that a corrupt taste is often imparted to children under the parent's roof, and even where this is not the case, what better *preservative* can be adopted than that of supplying the homes of the poor with an attraction such as music ? And if, as Lord Ashley stated before Parliament, "the dissipated habits of the humbler classes have, for the most part, their source in the utter want of instruction and total intellectual destitution of the *female* part of the population," it must become a matter of considerable importance to see an innocent and elevating recreation, like vocal music, associated with sacred and moral poetry, become a part of the education of the people.

* We copy the programme of this festival as one of some novelty in public concerts :—

"RURAL JUVENILE FESTIVAL.

"A Performance of HANDEL'S ORATORIO, JUDAS MACCABEUS, by Three Hundred Singers, with Organ Accompaniment, in the Grounds of his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, 3rd July, 1847.

"*Programme* :—At 3 o'clock P.M. the trumpet will sound the first call, when the party will meet on the terrace in front of the palace, and perform the first part of Judas Maccabeus. At 4 o'clock the trumpet will sound again to rendezvous the company near the foot of the bridge, preparatory to the walk through the enclosed ground of the deer park. At 5 o'clock the third signal will summon the party to the bowling-green, where the children will be provided with some refreshments ; and, at the fourth call, the company will meet again on the terrace for the performance of the Second Part of Judas Maccabeus."

ELECTION RETURNS

OF

1841 AND 1847.

AT the dissolution of 1841, we published in the July number of the 'Westminster Review,' for that year, the returns of the two preceding elections of 1832 and 1835, including the particulars of the polling, where seats had been contested. For the convenience of reference, we now complete them, with the returns for 1841 and 1847.

Upon the late election and its results we need offer but few observations. We never remember a time when a dissolution gave rise to less party excitement, and when the public mind was more profoundly indifferent to party success. The election of 1847 has shown that the conservatives, as a body, are both disorganized and prostrated in spirit, but it has also demonstrated, that, as yet, there is no liberal party sufficiently strong, either in popular or aristocratic elements, or both combined, to convert the advantages gained into a decisive success. In the West Riding of Yorkshire, the name alone of Mr. Cobden was sufficient to scare the supporters of privilege and protection from the field.

"Man but a rush against Othello's breast,
And he retires."

In some other districts victories have been won with equal ease; but they have not been numerous. Leaders and an object have been wanting. The corn laws repealed, and free trade in the ascendancy, the current of popular enthusiasm has naturally subsided, and what is left of the old League leaven has not yet had time to work itself into new effervescence, for a new overturning of yet lingering abuses. The question of, what next? has not yet been settled by English reformers, nor by the public for them, and the majority of elections have therefore been governed by considerations affecting chiefly the personal qualities of a candidate, or the strength of his purse.

The exception to this has been the decided part taken by a considerable section of English dissenters and the presbyterians of Scotland,

to obstruct or prevent the re-election of members of the present government and their avowed supporters. This new movement among the non-conformists it would perhaps be less difficult to explain than to justify ; but it was the not unnatural consequence of the timid and compromising policy of ministers in reference to the Church. The general tendency of the government educational measures we believe to be in favour of progress, but it is not the less true, that the public looked for plans of a much more liberal and comprehensive character than ministers found the courage to adopt, and that alarm was necessarily felt by many at the concessions made to Sir Robert Inglis and the Bishop of London in return for parliamentary support. This alarm, however, would probably have worn off without giving rise to any active election opposition on the part of dissenters, but for the unaccountable blunder, or it may be, the unfortunate accident, of the bill (neglected or forgotten) for a bishoprick of Manchester, being left to be passed as the last measure of the session. This measure had been introduced soon after the House met without attracting the slightest notice, and if pushed through its different stages during the intervals of discussion upon matters of much graver moment, it probably would have passed *sub silentio*, as part of an arrangement with the Church which had been long understood as settled with the sanction of the leading politicians on both sides the House. But a debate upon the creation of a new bishop, on the very eve of a dissolution, rivetted the attention of the whole country ; and the fact that the House was detained some days longer than it had been intended it should sit, to pass this bill, after the Health of Towns bill, and every other measure of public utility had been withdrawn, although, doubtless, only the result of a pledge which could not be honourably retracted, seemed to the dissenters an act of wanton injury and open defiance. Under the first impulse of this feeling, it is not surprising that many of the liberal non-conformists, who had usually voted for the candidates of a whig administration, should throw themselves for the moment among the ranks of an "anti-Maynooth" and "no popery" opposition, and in sufficient force, in some instances, to turn the scale against their old members ; as in the case of the ejection of Mr. Macaulay from Edinburgh, and Mr. Hawes from Lambeth. In the city, however, the gain to government, if gain it be, from the same cause, was greater than the loss. The split votes of the conservatives who voted for Mr. Masterman and Lord John Russell, placed the latter at the head of the poll.

It is, perhaps, a consequence of the false position of every statesman belonging to the aristocracy, who is surrounded at every moment of his life by persons interested in church preferment for their younger sons, that Lord John Russell should know but little of what is passing in the public mind upon the subject of religious abuses. Were it otherwise, we believe he would never commit the mistake of sacrificing the scruples of a single honest adherent to the objects of episcopal ambition. A minister who would not confound things

so essentially dissimilar as the influence of lawn sleeves and the power of the religious sentiment; who would identify himself, not with the hierarchy, but with the working clergy; seek to improve their circumstances by a better distribution of church revenues, and sternly suppress the sacrilegious misappropriation of them to the repairs of church palaces; a minister who, at the same time, would bring dissenters within the pale of the church, by the abolition of subscription tests at universities, and for holy orders, would be too powerful out of doors, to require the aid of the conservative liverymen of the London Corporation to protect his seat in the House of Commons; and even if driven from office, would still be the first man, and the greatest benefactor of his age.

One of the results of the late election—the return of an increased number of Repeal members for Ireland—has been startling to English politicians, most of whom had expected that the question of Repeal would be buried for ever in the same grave with O'Connell. The fact that this question is one which has taken deep root in the mind of the whole Irish people cannot now be disputed, and it may be well to prepare for a change in the relations of this country to the sister kingdom which sooner or later must be inevitable. “Repeal of the *Union*” is an unfortunate phrase, as suggestive of separation, adverse interests, and hostile collision; but these are not necessarily involved in the proposition of repealing or remodifying the act of 1800, which settled the union with England and Ireland on its present basis, against which Lord Holland and Lord King protested at the time, as a basis not permanently adapted to promote the interests of the two nations. Repeal is something more than a cry of evanescent agitation. It has a germ of vitality in the right of self-government; a right too universally acquired by civilized communities to be withheld in any part of Europe without an under current of ever-increasing discontent. We have elsewhere shown to how limited an extent this right is recognized in Ireland in the narrow municipal privileges of its towns; and whether the Irish be fitted or unfitted for a larger share in the national representation, something more at least might surely be conceded to them of the privilege of repairing their own streets and highways. But we cannot ourselves conceive of the shadow of a valid reason for not going a step further, and giving to an Irish domestic legislature the charge of Irish railways, Irish canals, Irish education, Irish pauperism, and of all other matters of exclusively local and Irish interest. It must come to this; and what is certain is, that England will benefit even more largely than Ireland by such an ultimate division of the duties of legislation. The time of the House of Commons will not then, as now, be taken up with business to which it cannot seriously give its attention; and the money we now throw away in a fruitless attempt to benefit a people whom we do not understand, and who would prefer to benefit themselves in their own way, we shall keep in our own pockets. Ireland, that will not be taxed by England, will have to tax itself; and notwithstanding its apparent poverty, it *will* then tax itself, and to the full extent required,

without a murmur; for it is a curious result of the machinery of representation, of which even the King of Prussia has hastened to avail himself, that all the powers of despotism fail to extract from the public resources so large an amount of annual revenue as the modern constitutional contrivances, by which a nation, in form at least, is taxed with its own consent. We speak of Ireland as a nation,—for a people insularly situated, and numbering eight millions, may fairly be so considered,—but let it be always borne in mind, that the right of self-government does not include independence of *international relations* between neighbouring states. If a domestic legislature were established in Dublin for Irish local objects, all questions of foreign policy, mutual defence, and mutual trade, must still be left to an united parliament.

Much might be said of Irish grievances, but after all, those of the English representative system scarcely present a favourable contrast. The number of new members, that is to say, members who had no seats in the last Parliament, is unusually large, amounting to two hundred and ten. Of these, some have been popular candidates, fairly and fully representing the state of electoral opinion, but the majority represent nothing but the bank notes placed in the hands of an election agent to purchase suffrages. The number of saleable constituencies brought to market every general election is steadily on the increase. Hence the sudden emergence of legislators from the mass of the illustrious obscure; a distinction merited in one sense, because honestly paid for. For a minimum sum of £2,000 deposited in the hands of an election agent, and no questions asked, the stoker of a railway locomotive could have been returned to Parliament for an English borough in this year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty seven! After all it may be doubted whether the state of our representation is worse as it regards the smaller boroughs than the counties. The electors of counties are not usually bribed, but their choice of a member, whenever parties and local interests are about equally balanced, is always determined by money. Whether A, the nominee of one section of the aristocracy, or B, the nominee of another, shall contest a county, depends upon the question of whether the friends of A and B can muster £20,000 for such an object. If A have the requisite funds and B not, then B retires from the field, and A walks over the course. The principle carried out is not representation, but that of giving the making of law-givers to the wealthiest landowners; an object which would be best effected by a registry of title-deeds. Why should the form of an election be gone through, when it might be proved by a simple office return, made out for a shilling, that a whig earl, or a tory duke, was the legal proprietor of the greatest number of acres in the county, and was, therefore, the only fit and properly qualified person to return the county members.

The whole system of what is called representation in this country, is one of false colours; and after considering for some years the remedies proposed, of vote by ballot, extension of the suffrage, &c., we have been led almost to despair of improvement, from the conviction that a

fundamental error pervades the reasoning of all reformers on this subject. The error to which we allude, lies in the assumption that *representation is only for majorities*. Now, although majorities must govern, minorities should be heard; and the very object of a council is defeated, if those only are called together to consult who are known to be of one opinion. This "tyranny of the majority," as it is sometimes called, is felt in the United States as a very sensible evil, in practically excluding the best men, when not the best mob orators, from the House of Representatives; and both in America and England it is the chief cause of those fierce struggles of party for which there would otherwise be no adequate motive. Minorities will not submit to be crushed; and why should they be crushed? Recognize the principle that minorities should enjoy a fair share of the representation—that a national council should be a place for the discussion, not of one set of opinions exclusively, but of all opinions; that the sects and parties of the House of Commons should exist in the same proportion as out of doors,—and elections would be conducted for the most part as quietly as a census; contests would diminish; and with them would disappear the temptations of corruption.

A new work, entitled 'The Elective Franchise as it is, and as it ought to be,' has just appeared, from the pen of Mr. Jas. J. Macintyre, the author of 'The Influence of Aristocracies on the Condition of Nations.' It supports the bill introduced by Lord Normanby—but subsequently dropped—for extending the suffrage to all persons paying the income tax; a proposition which has at least the recommendation of being a simple and uniform qualification, and so far an improvement upon the present system; but, with the authors of most similar publications, Mr. Macintyre scarcely looks below the surface of existing evils, and does not, in our judgment, trace them to their root. The work, however, is one which the reader will find extremely useful for reference, as abounding with valuable statistical details; and with some of them, relating to the present state of the elective franchise, we may appropriately conclude.

"Comparative number of Electors in Scotland, England, and Ireland.—It is necessary to describe the present plan of elective franchise in Scotland as compared with the system that prevailed previous to the year 1832. In the first place, there is a very considerable difference in the number of electors in the two periods. In 1832 the total population was 2,365,000; of whom were male adults 540,000—electors 2,340; or 1 elector to every 1,000 souls; or 1 elector for every 230 men above twenty years of age. In 1842 the total population was 2,620,184—male adults 630,000; total electors 85,200: 1 elector for every 31 souls, or thereby; or 1 for every 7 to 8 male adults; or, in other words, there are 544,800 men who live by food, and of legal age, but who have no voice, directly or indirectly, in the choice and election of men to concoct and enact laws of life or death—of peace or war—of taxation and religion. Compared with the franchise before the year 1832, there is at present a considerable increase of the electors;

but, compared with the unenfranchised adult male inhabitants, there is yet much to be done towards an augmentation.

England, in 1841, had total population	...	...	14,995,138
Of whom were males 7,323,387, and females 7,671,751.			<hr/>
Male adults above twenty years of age	...	...	3,893,748
Men above twenty years of age, who possessed the Elective Franchise (1842, 1843)	...	...	<hr/>808,216

Unenfranchised men or fiscal slaves 3,085,532

The electors form one for every $18\frac{1}{2}$ of population of men, women, and children, or one elector for every $4\frac{1}{2}$ male adults.

Wales in 1841—total population	...	...	911,603
Total males	...	...	447,707
Males above twenty years of age, in possession of the franchise (1842, 1843)	...	...	48,322
One elector for every $18\frac{1}{2}$ total population ; for every $4\frac{1}{2}$ male adults.			
Unenfranchised male adults	...	...	185,105

Ireland in 1841—total population 8,175,000

Electors in 1843, 1844 117,440

One for every seventy, or thereby, of total population.

“What is to be remarked in the foregoing statements is the disproportion between the numbers of electors in Scotland, England, and Wales.

“Scotland has one elector for every thirty-one of the total population ; and England and Wales one for every eighteen to nineteen of theirs.

“The whole political influence of Scotland is neutralised by thirty-one English boroughs returning the same number (fifty-three) of members to Parliament, thus—

	Electors.	Male Adults.	Members.
Scotland	85,244	630,328	53
Thirty-one English boroughs...	9,862	41,560	53

“We find, in the same manner, the legislative votes of Ireland neutralised in the House of Commons by sixty-six English boroughs, returning the same number of members as Ireland.

	Electors.	Male Adults.	Members.
Ireland	117,448	1,890,743	105
Sixty-six English boroughs	26,443	122,500	105

“But a very extraordinary and alarming part of the electoral system of Great Britain, is that the thirty-one boroughs that are able to neutralise the whole political weight of Scotland in the legislature, are almost powerful enough in votes to give checkmate to all the most populous and influential cities in England and Scotland together; including London and the metropolitan boroughs. This will appear

incredible without an investigation into the details which will be found in the notes at foot.* The abstract is this:—

	Elec- tors.	Male Adults.	Mem- bers.
Twenty-seven large cities and boroughs ...	203,945	916,923	53
Thirty-one small boroughs ...	9,862	41,560	53

“It thus appears that a minister who possesses the means, through money or place, of controlling the thirty-one boroughs with their fifty-three representatives, can, on questions affecting Scotland, neutralise the Scottish votes, and, turned in another direction, can defeat the representation of the most important cities of the empire.

“On looking into the representation of counties we shall discover similar results of equal numbers of votes representing very unequal constituencies. There are eighteen counties, partly in England and partly in Scotland, with 21,027 electors, that have twenty members or legislative votes, against ten English counties with 140,457 electors returning only twenty members.”

ELECTION RETURNS FOR 1841 AND 1847.

<i>Election of 1841.</i>		<i>Election of 1847.</i>	
ABERDEEN			
Returns Members (1)	Registered Electors. 2,189 —		
Bannerman, L.	780	Capt. Fordyce, L.	918
Innes . . .	513	Col. Sykes, L.	427
Scwry . . .	80		
ABERDEENSHIRE (1) 3,540 —			
Gordon, C.		Admiral Gordon, C.	
ABINGDON (1) 323 —			
Thesiger, C.	156	Sir F. Thesiger, C.	153
Caulfield, L.	126	General Caulfield, L.	151
ANDOVER (2) 242 —			
Etwall, L.	113	H. B. Coles, P.	134
Paget, L.	112	W. Cubitt, C.	121
Pollen, P.	105	J. N. Fellowes, L.	107
		Chaloner Smith, L.	60
ANGLESEA BOROUGH (1) —			
Paget, L.		Lord G. F. A. Paget, L.	
ANGLESEA COUNTY (1) 2,465 —			
Stanley, L.		Sir R. W. Bulkeley, L.	
ANTRIM COUNTY (2) 2,157—2,599			
Alexander, C.		N. Alexander, C.	
Irving, N. <i>dead</i>		Sir E. W. M'Naughten, C.	
Seymour, P.			

* These details are copious tables extracted from the ‘Complete Suffrage Almanac,’ to give which would occupy too much of our space.

Election of 1841.

ARGYLESIRE (1) 1,803	—
Campbell, C. <i>vacated</i>	
M'Neill, C.	
ARMAGH (1) 892	—
Rawdon, F.	
ARMAGH COUNTY (2) 3,089	—
Acheson, L.	
Verner, C.	
ARUNDEL (1) 261	—
Lord Arundel, L.	
ASHBURTON (1) 269	—
Matheson, L.	141
Palmer, P.	96
ASHTON-UNDER-LINE (1) 871	—
Hindley, L.	303
Harrop, L.	254
ATHLONE (1) 342	—
Farrell, L. <i>void</i> .	118
Beresford, P. <i>void</i> .	66
Collett, L.	114
Beresford, P.	106
AYLESBURY, (2) 1,652	—
Clayton, P.	
Hamilton, P.	
AYR BURGHs, (1) 1,897	—
Stuart, L.	
AYR COUNTY (1) 4,203	—
Lord Kelburn (now Earl of Glasgow)	
M'Neill, P., <i>vacated</i>	
Oswald, C.	
BANBURY (1) 386	—
Tancred, L.	124
Holbeach, P.	100
Vincent, L.	57
BANDON (1) 355	—
Jackson, P. <i>vacated</i>	
Bernard, P.	
BANFFSHIRE (1) 808	—
Duff, L.	309
Reidhaven	266
BARNSTAPLE (2) 811	—
Hodgson, P.	361
Gore, P.	350

Election of 1847.

Duncan M'Neill, C.	
Col. Rawdon, L.	
Sir W. Verner, C.	
Col. Caulfield, L.F.	
Lord Arundel, L.	
Col. T. Matheson, L.	
Charles Hindley, L.	
W. Keogh, C.	101
O. Bernal, R.	95
J. P. Deering, P.	687
Lord Nugent, R.L.	620
R. R. Clayton	546
Lord James Stuart, L.	
A. Oswald, C.	
H. W. Tancred, L.	226
J. McGregor.	164
Lord Bernard, P.	
James Duff, L.	
R. Bremridge, C.	464
Hon. J. W. Fortescue, L.	396

Election of 1841.

BARNSTAPLE (continued)		
Fortescue, L.	.	347
Chichester, L.	.	338
BATH (2) 3,119		
Duncan, L.	.	1,214
Roebuck, L.	.	1,141
Bruges, P.	.	935
Powerscourt, P.	.	925
BEDFORD, BOROUGH (2) 878		
Polhill, C.	.	433
Stuart, C.	.	421
Whitbread, L.	.	411
BEDFORDSHIRE (2) 4,287		
Astell, P.		
Alford, P.		
BELFAST (2) 4,234		
Ross, L.	.	886
Tennent, C. <i>vacated</i>		859
Chichester, L.	.	500
Chichester, L.		
BERKSHIRE (3) 5,192		
Palmer, P.		
Barrington, P.		
Pusey, C.		
BERWICK, (2) 755		
Forster, L.	.	392
Hodgson, C.	.	343
Weeding, P.	.	335
BERWICKSHIRE (1) 1,207		
Campbell, P.		
BEVERLEY (2) 1,063		
Towneley, L.	.	531
Hogg, C.	.	529
Fox, P.	.	488
BEWDLEY AND STOURPORT (1) 429		
Winnington, L.	.	173
Monteith, C.	.	168
BIRMINGHAM (2) 4,619		
Muntz, L.	.	2,175
Scholefield, <i>dead</i>	.	1,963
Spooner, C.	.	1,825
1844, <i>vice Scholefield, deceased.</i>		
Spooner, P.	.	2,095
Scholefield, L.	.	1,735
Sturge, L.	.	346
BLACKBURN (2) 1,121		
Feilden, C.	.	441

Election of 1847.

Frederick Hodgson, P.		356
<hr/>		
Lord Ashley, C.	.	1,287
Lord Duncan, L.	.	1,268
J. A. Roebuck, L.	.	1,120
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Sir H. Verney, L.	.	453
H. Stuart, C.	.	432
F. Polhill, C.	.	392
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Lord Alford, P.		
H. Russell, L.		
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R. J. Tennent, F.	.	929
Lord Chichester, C.	.	747
Geo. Suffern, P.	.	689
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R. Palmer, P.		
Viscount Barrington, P.		
P. Pusey, C.		
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M. Forster, L.	.	484
J. C. Renton, C.	.	463
W. H. Miller, C.	.	151
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Hon. F. Scott, P.		
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J. Towneley, L.	.	540
S. L. Fox, P.	.	539
Sir I. L. Goldsmid, L.	.	259
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T. J. Ireland, P.	.	160
Sir T. Winnington, L.	.	158
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G. F. Muntz, L.	.	2,830
J. Scholefield, L.	.	2,824
R. Spooner, P.	.	2,302
Serjeant Allen, L.	.	89
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John Hornby, C.	.	641

Election of 1841.

BLACKBURN (continued)

Hornby, C. . .	427
Turner, L. . .	426

BODMIN (2) 339

Vivian, L. . .	224
Gardiner, C. . .	142
Spry, L. . .	139

1843 *vice Vivian, succeeded to peerage as Lord Vivian.*

Spry, C. . .	165
Sawle, L. . .	161

BOLTON (2) 1,531

Ainsworth, L. . .	670
Bowring, L. . .	614
Rothwell, P. . .	536
Bolling, P. . .	441

BOSTON (2) 1,086

Brownrigg, L. . .	532
Duke, L. . .	513
Wood, P. . .	478

BRADFORD (2) 1,465

Hardy, L. . .	612
Lister, L. <i>dead</i> . . .	540
Busfield, L. . .	536

1841, *vice Lister, deceased*

Busfield, L. . .	526
Wilberforce, P. . .	522

BRECON, BOROUGH (1) 335

Morgan, P. . .	—
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BRECON, COUNTY (1) 2,548

Wood, P. . .	—
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BRIDGNORTH (2) 778

Whitmore, C. . .	493
Pigot, C. . .	476
Howard, L. . .	322
Throgmorton, L. . .	266

BRIDGEWATER (2) 529

Broadwood, P. . .	280
Forman, P. . .	276
Drew, L. . .	253
Robinson, L. . .	249

BRIDPORT (2) 558

Warburton, L. <i>vacated</i> . . .	304
Mitchell, L. . .	282
Cochrane, C. . .	244

Election of 1847.

James Pilkington, L. . .	602
W. Hargreaves, L. . .	392
W. P. Roberts, L. . .	68

J. Wyld, C. . .	297
H. C. Lacy, L. . .	259
Sir S. T. Spry, L. . .	117

W. Bolling, P. . .	715
Dr. Bowring, L. . .	650
John Brooks . . .	644

Sir J. Duke, L. . .	580
B. B. Cabbell, P. . .	466
D. W. Wire, L. . .	339

G. W. Busfield, L. . .	937
Col. Thompson, L. . .	926
H. H. Wickham, C. . .	860
G. Hardy, C. . .	812

L. V. Watkin, L. . .	—
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J. Bailey, P. . .	—
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Thos. C. Whitmore, C. . .	610
Sir Robt. Pigot, P. . .	388
Sir John Easthope, L. . .	365

C. K. Tynte, L. . .	388
H. Broadwood, P. . .	247
Serjt. Gaselee . . .	189

A. B. Cochrane, C. . .	276
T. A. Mitchell, L. . .	267
Hon. E. Petrie, L. . .	222

Election of 1841.

Election of 1847.

BRIDPORT (*continued*)

1841, *vice Warburton, resigned.*

Cochrane, C., *unseated*
on petition.

Romilly, L.

BRIGHTON (2) 2,533

Pechell, L. . . 1,443

Wigney, *vacated* . . 1,235

Dalrymple, P. . . 872

Brooker, L. . . 19

1842, *vice Wigney, resigned*

Hervey, C. . . 1,277

Harford, L. . . 640

Brooker, R. . . 16

BRISTOL (2) 10,878

Miles, P. . . 4,193

Berkeley, L. . . 3,739

Fripp, P. . . 3,684

BUCKINGHAM (1) 393

Fremantle, P. *vacated*

Chetwode, P. *do.*

Chandos, P.

Hall, P.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE (3) 5,733

Young, P., *dead* . . 2,578

Du Pré, P. . . 2,572

Murray, *vacated* . . 2,547

Lee, L. . . 495

Vane, L. . . 450

1843, *vice Young, deceased*

Fitz Maurice, P.

Vice Murray, resigned

Tower, P.

BURY (1) 790

Walker, L. . . 325

Hardman, P. . . 288

BURY ST. EDMUNDS (2) 704

Jermyn, C. . . 344

Fitzroy, L. . . 311

Twiss, C. . . 302

Alston, L. . . 257

BUTESHIRE, (1) 420

Wortley, C.

CAITHNESS COUNTY (1) 567

Traill, L.

Montgomery Martin . . 11

Capt. Pechell, L. . . 1,571

Lord A. Harvey, C. . . 1,238

W. Conyngham, L. . . 882

Hon. F. H. F. Berkeley, L. 4,398

P. W. S. Miles, P. . . 2,600

W. Fripp, C. . . 2,469

Apsley Pellatt, L. . . 160

Marquis of Chandos, P.

Col. Hall, P.

Hon. C. Cavendish, L.

C. G. Du Pré, P.

B. D'Israeli, P.

Richard Walker, L.

Earl Jermyn, C. . . 390

E. H. Bunbury, L. . . 327

II. Twiss, C. . . 267

Hon. J. S. Wortley, C.

G. Traill, L.

Election of 1841.

CALNE, (1) 179	_____
Shelburne, L.	
CAMBRIDGE, BOROUGH (2) 1,857	
Sutton, C. . . .	758
Grant, P. <i>vacated</i>	722
Foster, L. . . .	696
Russell, L. . . .	656
1843, <i>vice Grant, resigned</i>	
Kelly, C. <i>vacated</i> .	713
Foster, L. . . .	680
<i>Vice Kelly, resigned</i>	
Kelly, C. . . .	746
Adair, L. . . .	729
CAMBRIDGE COUNTY (3) 7,090—	
Yorke, P.	
Eaton, P.	
Allix, P.	
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY (2) 3,800	
Goulburn, C.	
Law, P.	
CANTERBURY (2) 1,774	_____
Smyth, C. . . .	823
Bradshawe, P. <i>deceased</i>	729
Hodges, L. . . .	720
<i>Vice Bradshawe, deceased</i>	
Lord A. D. Conyngham, L.	
CARDIFF (1) 765	_____
Nieholl, P.	
CARDIGAN, BOROUGH (1) 863 —	
Pryse, L.	
CARDIGANSHIRE (1) 2,312	_____
Powell P.	
CARLISLE (2) 953	_____
Howard, L. . . .	419
Marshall, L. . . .	345
Goulburn, C. . . .	296
CARLOW, BOROUGH (1) 417	_____
Layard, L.	
CARLOW, COUNTY (2) 1,984	_____
Bruen, P. . . .	705
Bunbury, P. . . .	704
Yates, L. . . .	697
O'Connell, L. . . .	696

Election of 1847.

Earl of Shelburne, L.	_____
A. S. Adair, L. . . .	819
Hon. W. F. Campbell .	734
Hon. H. M. Sutton, C.	465

Hon. E. T. Yorke, P.	
R. G. Townley, C.	
Lord G. J. Manners, P.	

Hon. C. E. Law, P. . .	1,486
Right Hon. H. Goulburn	1,189
Viscount Fielding, P. .	1,147
Lefevre, L.	860

Lord Conyngham, L. . .	808
Hon. G. P. S. Smythe, C.	782
J. Vance, P.	643
Lord Clinton, P. . . .	641

Dr. J. Nicholl, C.	

P. Pryse, L.	

Col. Powell, P.	

J. Dixon, L.	479
W. N. Hodgson, P. . . .	471
P. H. Howard, L. . . .	440

J. Sadlier, F.	164
Capt. Layard, L. . . .	101

Col. Bruen, P.	
Capt. Bunbury, P.	

Election of 1841.

CARMARTHEN, (1) 977	—
Morris, L.	
CARMARTHENSHIRE, (2) 5,261	—
Trevor, L.	
Jones, P. <i>dead</i>	
1842, <i>vice Jones, deceased.</i>	
Davies, P.	
CARNARVON BOROUGH (1) 1,037	
Hughes, C.	416
Paget, L.	387
CARNARVONSHIRE (1) 2,319	—
Pennant, C.	
CARRICKFERGUS (1) 1,426	—
Kirk, P.	
CASHEL (1) 267	—
Stock L. <i>vacated</i>	
O'Brien, R.	
CAVAN COUNTY (2) 1,445	—
Young, P.	
Clements P. <i>dead</i>	
Maxwell, C.	
CHATHAM (1) 877	—
Byng, L.	456
Dufferin, P.	234
CHELTENHAM (1) 2,345	—
Berkeley, L.	764
Gardner, P.	655
CHESHIRE NORTH (2) 6,889	—
Egerton, C.	2,736
Legh, P.	2,611
Stanley, L.	2,185
CHESHIRE SOUTH (2) 7,949	—
Egerton, P.	3,110
Tollemache, P.	3,034
Wilbraham, L.	2,365
CHESTER (2) 2,170	—
Grosvenor, L. <i>vacated</i>	
Jervis, L.	
Grosvenor, L.	
CHICHESTER (2) 829	—
Lennox, P.	
Smith, L.	
CHIPPENHAM (2) 265	—
Nield, P.	165
Boldero, P.	128
Lisley, L.	96

Election of 1847.

David Morris, L.	
Col. Trevor, P.	
David A. S. Davies, P.	
W. Bulkely Hughes, C.	
Col. Pennant, C.	
Hon. W. H. Cotton, P.	
T. O'Brien, R.	
John Young, P.	
Hon. James Maxwell, C.	
Hon. G. J. Byng, L.	
Sir Willoughby Jones, P.	1,023
Hon. Craven Berkeley, L.	916
Capt. Smith, C.	5
W. T. Egerton, C.	
Hon. J. T. Stanley, L.	
Sir P. D. M. G. Egerton, P.	
J. Tollemache, P.	
Earl Grosvenor, L.	
Sir J. Jervis, L.	
J. A. Smith, L.	
Lord H. G. Lennox, P.	
J. Nield, P.	
H. G. Boldero, P.	

Election of 1841.

CHRISTCHURCH (1) 269	—
Rose, P. <i>vacated</i>	
Harris, P. . .	180
Tice, L. . .	84
CIRENCESTER (2) 552	—
Cripps, C.	
Master, P. <i>vacated</i>	
Villiers, C.	
CLACKMANNANSIRE (1) 1,388	—
Abercrombie, L. <i>vacated</i>	
Morrison, L.	
CLARE COUNTY (2) 2,199	—
Macnamara, L. .	450
C. O'Brien, L. .	347
Vandeleur, C. .	223
Malony, C. . .	48
CLITHEROE (1) 494	—
Cardwell, C. .	171
Wilson, L. . .	170
CLONMEL, (1) 687	—
Pigot, L. <i>vacated</i>	
Lawless, L.	
COCKERMOUTH (2) 288	—
Aglionby, L. .	129
Horsman, L. .	127
Wyndham, P. .	100
COLCHESTER (2) 1,206	—
Sanderson, P.	
Smyth, P.	
COLERAINE (1) 368	—
Litton, P. <i>vacated</i>	
Boyd, P. . .	100
Bruce, L. . .	84
CORK, CITY (2) 4,965	—
Callaghan, L. .	1,464
Murphy, L., <i>vacated</i>	1,486
Chatterton, C. .	1,017
Morris, C. . .	131
CORK, COUNTY (2) 4,474	—
O'Connell, L., <i>deceased</i>	1,256
Roche, L. . .	1,256
Leader, C. . .	406
Longfield, C. .	357
CORNWALL, EAST (2) 6,197	—
Elliot, P., <i>vacated</i>	3,008

Election of 1847.

E. A. J. Harris, P.	
W. Cripps C.	
Lord Villiers, C.	
General Morrison, L.	
Sir Lucius O'Brien, L. F.	809
Major Macnamara, R. .	723
Cornelius O'Brien, R. .	584
William Fitzgerald .	395
M. Wilson, L.	
Hon. Cecil Lawless, R.	298
J. H. Monahan, L. .	23
H. A. Aglionby, L.	
G. Horsman, L.	
J. H. Hardcastle, L. .	678
Sir G. H. Smyth, P. .	595
R. Sanderson, P. . .	531
Dr. Boyd, C. . .	116
Sir. H. Bruce, C. . .	60
W. Fagan, R. . .	929
D. Callaghan, R. . .	917
McCarthy, R. . .	799
E. B. Roche, R.	
Dr. Power, R.	
W. H. P. Carew, P.	

Election of 1841.

CORNWALL EAST (<i>continued</i>)	
Rashleigh, P.	2,801
Trelawney, L.	1,647
CORNWALL, WEST (2) 5,212 —	
Pendarves, L.	
Boscawen, P.	
Lemon, L.	
COVENTRY (2) 3,810 —	
Williams, L.	1,874
Ellice, L.	1,830
Weir, P.	1,283
CRICKLADE (2) 1,646 —	
Neeld, P.	
Howard, L.	
CUMBERLAND, EAST (2) 5,107—	
Howard, L.	2,086
James, L.	1,987
Stephenson, P.	1,905
CUMBERLAND, WEST (2) 3,993	
Stanley, P.	
Irton, P.	
DARTMOUTH (1) 261 —	
Seale, L. <i>dead</i>	
<i>Vice Seale, deceased</i>	
Soames, P., <i>dead</i>	125
Moffat, L.	118
<i>Vice Soames, deceased</i>	
Moffat, L.	125
Prinsep, P.	111
DENBIGH (1) 941 —	
Mainwaring, P.	365
Biddulph, L.	309
DENBIGHSHIRE (2) 3,939 —	
Bagot, P.	
Wynn, P.	
DERBY (2) 1,829 —	
Strutt, L.	874
Duncannon, L.	783
Pole, P.	587
DERBYSHIRE, NORTH (2) 5,547	
Cavendish, L.	
Evans, L.	
DERBYSHIRE, SOUTH —	
Mundy, P.	

Election of 1847.

T. Agar Robartes, L.	
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E. W. W. Pendarves, L.	
Sir C. Lemon, L.	
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Rt. Hon. E. Ellice, L.	2,901
G. J. Turner, C.	1,754
William Williams, L.	1,633
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John Neeld, P.	
A. Goddard Lethbridge, P.	
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Hon. C. Howard, L.	
W. Marshall, L.	
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E. Stanley, P.	
Lieut. H. Lowther, P.	
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G. Moffat, L.	
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F. R. West, L.	
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Sir W. Wynn, P.	2,055
Hon. W. Bagot, P.	1,530
Col. Biddulph, L.	1,394
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Rt. Hon. E. Strutt, L.	880
F. L. Gower, L.	852
H. Raikes	800
M'Grath	216
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Hon. G. H. Cavendish, L.	
W. B. Evans, L.	
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C. R. Colville, P.	

*Election of 1841.*DERBYSHIRE, SOUTH (*continued*)

Colville, P. . .	3,209
Gisborne, L. . .	2,403
Waterpark, L. . .	2,325

DEVIZES (2) 375

Sotherrau, P., <i>vacated</i>	
Heneage, P.	

1844, *vice Sotherrau, resigned*

Bruges, P. . .	202
Temple, L. . .	67

DEVONSHIRE, NORTH (2) 8,494

Aeland, P.	
Buck, P.	

DEVONSHIRE, SOUTH (2) 10,191

Buller, P.	
Courtenay, P.	

DEVONPORT (2) 2,121

Tufnell, L. . .	976
Grey, L. . .	932
Dawson, P. . .	782

DONEGAL COUNTY (2) 858

Hayes, P.	
Conolly, P.	

DORCHESTER (2) 398

Cooper, L.	
Graham, C.	

DORSETSHIRE (3) 6,094

Ashley, P. <i>vacated</i> .	
Sturt, P. <i>vacated</i>	
Bankes, P.	

Vice Ashley, resigned.

Seymer, P.

Vice Sturt, resigned.

Floyer, P.

DOVER (2) 1,846

Reid, C. . .	1,000
Rice, L. . .	960
Halcomb, P. . .	536
Galloway, L. . .	281

DOWN, COUNTY (2) 2,367

Castlereagh, C.	
Hillsborough, P.	
Hill, P.	

DOWNPATRICK (1) 342

Kerr, C.

DROGHEDA (1) 734

Somerville, L.

Election of 1847.

E. M. Mundy, P.

G. H. W. Heneage, P.
W. H. L. Bruges, P.

Sir T. D. Aeland, P.
L. W. Buck, P.

Sir J. Y. Buller, P.
Lord Courtenay, P.

H. Tufnell, L. . . . 1,138
J. Romilly, L. . . . 1,018
J. Sandars, P. . . . 852

Sir Edmund Hayes, P.
Col. Conolly, P.

Col. Dawson Dauer, C.
H. G. Sturt, C.

G. Bankes, P.
H. K. Seymer, P.
J. Floyer, P.

E. R. Rice, L. . . . 1,107
Sir George Clerk, C. . . . 937
H. T. Prinsep, P. . . . 897

Lord Castlereagh, C.
Lord E. Hill, P.

R. Kerr, C.

Rt. Hon. G. W. Somerville, L. 155
Lamie Murray, R. . . . 151

Election of 1841.

DROITWICH (1) 357	—
Pakington, P.	
DUBLIN CITY (2) 19,562	—
West P. <i>dead</i>	3,860
Grogan, C.	3,839
O'Connell, L.	3,692
Hutton, L.	3,662
Gregory, C.	3,825
Morpeth, L.	3,435
DUBLIN, COUNTY (2) 3,681	—
Hamilton, P.	1,051
Taylor, P.	1,042
Brabazon, L.	1,009
Evans, L.	1,006
DUBLIN UNIVERSITY (2) 1,727	—
Shaw, P.	
Lefroy, P. <i>vacated</i>	
Jackson, P. <i>vacated</i>	
Hamilton, P.	
DUDLEY (1) 937	—
Hawkes, P. <i>vacated</i>	436
Smith, L.	189
1844, <i>Vice Hawkes, resigned.</i>	
Benbow, C.	388
Rawson, L.	175
DUMBARTONSHIRE (1) 1,265	—
Smollett, C.	
DUMFRIES (1) 977	—
Ewart, L.	412
Johnstone	353
DUMFRIESSHIRE (1) 2,240	—
Johnstone, P.	
DUNDALK (1) 538	—
Redington, L. <i>vacated</i>	
O'Connell, Jun., L.	
DUNDEE (1) 2,739	—
Duncan, L.	577
Smith	445
DUNGANNON (1) 196	—
Northland, P.	56
Falls, L.	52
DUNGARVON (1) 434	—
Sheill, L.	
DURHAM, CITY (2) 1,031	—
Grainger, L.	
Fitzroy, P. <i>vacated</i>	

Election of 1847.

Sir J. G. Pakington, P.	
J. Reynolds, R.	3,229
E. Grogan, C.	3,353
W. Gregory, C.	3,125
J. H. Hamilton, P.	
Col. Taylor, P.	
G. A. Hamilton, P.	738
Fred. Shaw, P.	572
J. Napier, P.	540
Professor M'Cullagh, C.	374
J. Benbow, C.	
A. Smollett, C.	536
T. C. Robertson, L.	294
W. Ewart, L.	
Lord Drumlanrig, C.	
C. M'Tavish, R.	124
W. T. M'Cullagh, L.	121
George Duncan, L.	
Lord Northland.	
Rt. Hon. R. L. Sheill, L.	151
J. F. Maguire, R.	135
T. C. Grainger, L.	595
R. J. Spearman, L.	519

Election of 1841.

DURHAM, CITY (Continued)

1844, Vice Fitzroy resigned.

Bright, L. . . . 488

Purvis, P. . . . 410

DURHAM, NORTH (2) 6,119 —

Lambton, L.

Liddell, P.

DURHAM, SOUTH (2) 5,681 —

Vane, L. . . . 2,579

Bowes, L. . . . 2,511

Farrer, P. . . . 1,737

EAST RETFORD (2) 2,271 —

Duncombe, P.

Vernon, P.

EDINBURGH, CITY (2) 5,346 —

Macaulay, L. . . . 1,735

Sir C. Smith 832

EDINBURGHSIRE (1) 2,158 —

Ramsay, P. vacated

Hope, P.

ELGIN BURGHS (1) 612 —

Hay, L. . . . 311

Duff 297

ELGIN & NAIRN COUNTY (1) 720

Bruce, C. . . . 372

Duff 173

ENNIS (1) 230 —

Bridgeman, L.

ENNISKILLEN (1) 179 —

Cole, P.

ESSEX, NORTH (2) 5,366 —

Tyrrell, P.

Round, P.

ESSEX, SOUTH (2) 5,681 —

Bramston, P. . . . 2,310

Palmer, P. . . . 2,230

Alston, L. . . . 583

EVESHAM (2) 370 —

Hill, L. . . . 188

Election of 1847.

Capt. Wood, C. . . . 450

R. D. Shafto, L.

Lord Seaham, C.

Lord H. Vane, L.

J. Farrer, P.

Hon. A. Duncombe, P.

Lord Galway, P.

Charles Cowan, L. . . . 2,063

W. G. Craig, L. . . . 1,854

Rt. Hon. T. B. Macaulay, L. . . . 1,477

Peter Blackburn 980

Sir John Hope, P.

General Duff, C. . . . 242

Bannerman, L. . . . 192

Hay, L. . . . 147

Major C. Bruce, C.

O'Gorman Mahon, R.

Hon. A. H. Cole, P.

Sir J. Tyrrell, P. . . . 2,472

Major Beresford, P. . . . 2,292

J. G. Rebow, L. . . . 1,555

Fyske Harrison, P. . . . 36

T. W. Bramston, P. . . . 2,152

Sir E. N. Buxton, L. . . . 1,727

Smyth, P. . . . 1,694

Lord Marcus Hill, L. . . . 193

Election of 1841.

<i>EVESHAM (continued)</i>		
Borthwick, P.	.	161
Rushout, P.	.	137
EXETER (2) 3,669		
Follett, P., <i>vacated</i>		1,302
Divett, L.	.	1,192
Lovaine, P.	.	1,119
1844, <i>vice Follett, resigned</i>		
Follett, P., <i>dead</i>	.	1,293
Briggs, L.	.	529
<i>Vice Follett, deceased</i>		
Duckworth, P.	.	1,258
Briggs, L.	.	588
EYE (1) 332		
Kerrison, P.		
FALKIRK (1) 1,369		
Lincoln, P.		
FALMOUTH AND PENRYN (2) 885		
Vivian, L.	.	462
Plumridge, L.	.	432
Gwynn, C.	.	388
Sartoris	.	240
FERMANAGH COUNTY (2) 2,426		
Archdall, C.		
Brooke, C.		
FIFESHIRE (1) 2,535		
Wemyss, L.		
FINSBURY (2) 12,974		
Wakley, L.		
Duncombe, L.		
FLINT BOROUGH (1) 1,053		
Bulkeley, L.		
FLINTSHIRE (1) 3,158		
Glynne, P.	.	1,192
Mostyn	.	1,186
FORFARSHIRE (1) 2,461		
Hallyburton, L.		
FROME (1) 339		
Sheppard, P.	.	154
Sturch, L.	.	129
GALWAY BOROUGH (2) 1,675		
Martin, L.		
Bodkin, L.		

Election of 1847.

Sir H. Willoughby, C.		172
Sir R. Howard, L.	.	131
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Sir J. Duckworth, P.		
E. Divett, L.		
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Sir Edward Kerrison, P.		
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Lord Lincoln, C.	.	522
S. Boyd, L.	.	491
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Howell Gwynn, C.	.	550
P. Mowatt, L.	.	370
P. Borthwick, P.	.	87
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Sir Arthur Brookes, C.		
Captain Archdall, C.		
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Fergus, L.	.	834
Balfour, C.	.	768
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T. Wakley, L.		
T. S. Duncombe, L.		
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Sir J. Hanmer, L.		
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Hon. C. M. L. Mostyn, L.		
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Lord F. G. Hallyburton, L.		
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Hon. Major Boyle, L.		
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M. J. Blake, R.		
A. O'Flaherty, R.		

Election of 1841.

GALWAY COUNTY (2) 2,195—	
Blake, L., <i>vacated</i>	
Monahan, L.	
GATESHEAD (1) 650—	
Hutt, L.	
GLAMORGANSHIRE (2) 5,471 —	
Adare, P.	
Talbot, P.	
GLASGOW (2) 8,241 —	
Oswald, L.	2,776
Dennistoun, L.	2,728
Campbell	2,416
Mills	355
GLOUCESTER CITY (2) 1,872 —	
Philpotts, L.	753
Berkeley, L.	732
Hope, C.	646
Loftus, P.	510
GLOUCESTERSHIRE EAST (2) 7,803	
Codrington, P.	
Charteris, P., <i>vacated</i>	
<i>Vice Charteris, resigned</i>	
Worcester, P.	
GLOUCESTERSHIRE WEST (2) 7,601	
Berkeley, L.	
Hale, P.	
GRANTHAM (2) 691—	
Welby, P.	
Tollemache, C.	
GREAT MARLOW (2) 373—	
Williams, P.	283
Clayton, L. <i>unseated</i>	170
Hampden, C.	169
GREAT GRIMSBY (1) 515 —	
Heneage, L.	
GREENOCK (1) 1,113 —	
Wallace, L. <i>vacated</i>	406
Cochrane, L.	309
Baine, L.	350
Dunlop, L.	344
GREENWICH (2) 3,610—	
Dundas, L.	1,747
Barnard, L.	1,592
Cockburn, P.	1,274
GUILDFORD (2) 495 —	
Mangles, L.	243

Election of 1847.

Captain Burke, L.	
C. St. George, L.	
W. Hutt, L.	
Lord Adare, P.	
C. Talbot, C.	
John M'Gregor, L.	2,196
Provost Hastie, L.	2,084
W. Dixon, L.	1,812
John Dennistoun, L.	1,740
H. T. Hope, C.	
M. F. F. Berkeley, L.	
Sir W. Codrington, P.	
Marquis of Worcester, P.	
R. B. Hale, P.	4,240
Grantley Berkeley, L.	2,744
Grenville Berkeley, L.	2,123
G. E. Welby, P.	
Hon. P. Tollemache, C.	
J. P. Williams, P.	239
Col. Knox, P.	179
Sir R. Clayton, L.	161
Edward Heneage, L.	
Lord Melgund, L.	456
Alex. Dunlop, L.	315
Admiral Dundas, L.	2,409
E. J. Barnard, L.	1,511
S. Salomons, L.	1,236
H. Currie, P.	
336	

Election of 1841.

GUILDFORD (*continued*)

Wall, L.	222
Scarlett, P.	177
Currie, P.	151

HADDINGTON (1) 650

Balfour, P.	273
Steuart.	264

HADDINGTONSHIRE (1) 628

Hepburn, P.

HALIFAX (2) 1,020

Protheroe, L.	411
Wood, L.	384
Sinclair, P.	319

HAMPSHIRE, NORTH (2) 3,353

Lefevre, L.
Heathcote, P.

HAMPSHIRE, SOUTH (2) 5,687

Fleming, P. *vacated*
Compton, P.

Vice Fleming, resigned.

Wellesley, P.

HARWICH (2) 181

Attwood, C.	94
Beresford, P.	94
Bagshawe, L.	84
Le Marchant, L.	73

HASTINGS (2) 958

Planta, P. *vacated*
Holland, L.

1844, *vice Planta, resigned.*

Brisco, P.	513
Moore, L.	174

HAVERFORDWEST (1) 726

Philips, L.

HELSTONE (1) 406

Vyvyan, P.	159
Vigors, L.	133

HEREFORD (2) 1,123

Clive, L. <i>dead</i>	531
Hobhouse, L. <i>vacated</i>	499
Burr, P.	309

1841, *vice Hobhouse, resigned.*

Pulsford, L.	500
Griffith, P.	308

Election of 1847.

R. D. Mangles, L.	242
T. L. Thurlow	184

Sir H. F. Davie, L.

Hon. F. Charteris, C.	268
Sir D. Baird, L.	132

Cap. H. Edwards, P.	511
Sir C. Wood, L.	507
E. Miall, L.	349
Ernest M. Jones, L.	280

Rt. Hon. C. S. Lefevre, L.
Sir W. Heathcote, P.

Lord C. Wellesley, C.
C. Compton, P.

J. Bagshawe, L.	213
J. Attwood, C.	184
W. Knight, P.	65
Sir Dudley Hill, C.	2

R. Holland, L.	424
M. Brisco, P.	407
J. A. Warre, L.	379
J. P. Robertson, L.	350

John Evans, L.

Sir R. Vyvyan, P.

Sir R. Price, L.
Lieut. Col. Clifford, L.

Election of 1841.

HEREFORD (*continued*)*Vice Clive, deceased.*

Price, L.

HEREFORDSHIRE (3) 7,371 —

Hoskins, L.

Baskerville, P.

Bailey, P.

HERTFORD (2) 614 —

Cowper, L.

Mahon, C.

HERTFORDSHIRE (3) 5,430 —

Grimstone, P. . 2,585

Ryder, P. . 2,552

Smith, P. . 2,525

Alston, L. . 1,732

HONITON (2) 447 —

Baillie, C.

McGeachy, C.

HORSHAM (1) 336 —

Scarlett, P.

Hurst, L.

HUDDERSFIELD (1) 865 —

Stansfield, L.

HULL (2) 4,767 —

Hanmer, P. . 1,843

James, P. . 1,830

Clay, L. . 1,761

Thompson, L. . 1,645

HUNTINGDON (2) 386 —

Peel, C.

Pollock, P. *vacated**Vice Pollock, deceased*

Baring, C.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE (2) 3,047 —

Fellowes, P.

Thornhill, P.

HYTHE (1) 509 —

Marjoribanks, L.

INVERNESS BURGHS (1) 757 —

Morrison, L.

INVERNESS COUNTY (1) 887 —

Baillie, C.

IRSWICH (2) 1,690 —

Gladstone, P. . 651

Election of 1847.

J. Bailey, Jun., P.

G. C. Lewis, L.

F. R. Haggitt, P.

Hon. W. F. Cowper, L.

Lord Mahon, C.

Sir H. Meux, P.

T. P. Halsey, P.

T. Brand, L.

Joseph Locke, L.

Sir J. W. Hogg, C.

John Jervis, L. . 164

W. R. S. Fitzgerald, C. . 155

W. C. R. Stansfield, L. . 542

John Cheetham, L. . 487

M. T. Baines, L. . 2,168

James Clay, L. . 2,135

James Brown, L. . 1,705

Col. J. Peel, C.

T. Baring, C.

E. Fellowes, P.

George Thornhill, P.

E. D. Brookman, L. . 211

Bar. M. de Rothschild, L. . 189

Alex. Matheson, L. . 280

R. H. Kennedy, C. . 199

H. J. Baillie, C.

J. C. Cobbold, P. . 833

Election of 1841.	Election of 1847.
IPSWICH (continued)	
Fox, P. . . . 647	H. E. Adair, L. . . . 712
Thornbury, L. . . . 548	J. R. Gladstone, P. . . . 667
	H. Vincent, L. . . . 544
ISLE OF WIGHT (1) 1,167 —	
Holmes, P.	J. Simeon, L. . . . 476
	T. W. Fleming, C. . . . 373
KENDAL (1) 351 —	
Wood, L. <i>dead</i>	George Carr Glynn, L.
1843, Vice Wood, deceased	
Warburton, L. . . . 182	
Bentinck, P. . . . 119	
KENT, EAST (2) 7,251 —	
Knatchbull, P. <i>vacated</i>	J. P. Plumptre, P.
Plumptre, P.	W. Deedes, P.
Deedes, P.	
KENT, WEST (2) 9,271 —	
Marsham, P.	Sir E. Filmer, P. . . . 3,222
Filmer, P.	T. L. Hodges, L. . . . 3,133
<i>Vice Marsham, now Earl of Romney</i>	Col. Austen, P. . . . 3,087
Austen, P.	
KERRY (2) 1,840 —	
Browne, L. . . . 751	Morgan J. O'Connell, R.
O'Connell, L. . . . 744	H. A. Herbert, L. F.
Blennerhasset, P. . . . 445	
Hickson, P. . . . 37	
KIDDERMINSTER (1) 469 —	
Godson, C. . . . 212	R. Godson, C.
Ricardo, L. . . . 200	
KILDARE (2) 1,275 —	
Archbold, L.	Marquis of Kildare, L. . . . 544
O'Ferrall, L.	S. Bourke, C. . . . 413
	A. O'Neile, R. . . . 301
KILKENNY (1) 448 —	
O'Connell, L.	John O'Connell, R.
KILKENNY COUNTY (2) 1,090 —	
Butler, L. <i>vacated</i>	John Green, R. . . . 277
Bryan, L. (<i>dead</i>)	P. S. Butler, R. . . . 262
Butler, L.	C. Healy, R. . . . 241
Smithwick, L.	P. R. Welsh 139
KILMARNOCK (1) 1,262 —	
Bouverie, L. . . . 389	Hon. E. P. Bouverie, L.
Prinsep, P. . . . 379	
Vincent 98	
KINCARDINESHIRE (1) 796 —	
Arbuthnot, P.	Gen. Arbuthnot, P.

Election of 1841.

KING'S COUNTY (2) 1,371	—
Westenra, L.	
Armstrong, L.	
KING'S LYNN (2) 1,144	—
Lord Bentinck, P.	
Sir S. Canning, P. <i>vacated</i>	
1842, <i>vice Canning, resigned</i>	
Lord Jocelyn, P. C.	
KINGSTON-UPON-HULL, see HULL	
KINSALE (1) 216	—
Watson, L.	98
Attwood, P.	79
KIRKALDY (1) 657	—
Ferguson, L.	
KIRKCUDBRIGHT (1) 1,274	—
Maitland, L.	486
McDonall	344
KNARESBOROUGH (2) 240	—
Lawson, C.	150
Ferrand, C.	125
Sturgeon, L.	85
LAMBETH (2) 6,547	—
Hawes, L.	2,601
D'Eyncourt, L.	2,558
Cabbell, P.	1,999
Baldwin, P.	1,763
LANARKSHIRE (1) 3,696	—
Lockhart.	
LANCASHIRE, NORTH (2) 10,710	
Patten, P.	
Stanley, P., <i>vacated</i> .	
1841, <i>vice Lord Stanley, resigned</i> .	
Clifton, P.	
LANCASHIRE, SOUTH (2) 24,179	
Egerton, P., <i>vacated</i> .	
Wilbraham, P., <i>vacated</i> .	
<i>Vice Egerton and Wilbraham, resigned.</i>	
Entwistle, P.	7,571
Brown, L.	6,973
LANCASTER (2) 1,377	—
Green, C.	693
Martin, P.	593
Armstrong, L.	577
LAUNCESTON (1) 393	—
Hardinge, P., <i>vacated</i> .	
Bowles, C.	

Election of 1847.

Sir A. Armstrong, L. F.	
Col. Westenra, L.	
Lord G. Bentinck, P.	
Lord Jocelyn, C.	
R. S. Guinness, C.	104
W. H. Watson, L.	86
Col. Ferguson, L.	
Thos. Maitland, L.	
Lascelles, C.	157
Westhead, L.	128
Lawson, C.	114
Charles Pearson, L.	4,614
Tennyson d'Eyncourt, L.	3,708
Benjamin Hawes, L.	3,344
Wm. Lockhart.	
J. W. Patten, C.	
James Heywood, L.	
Hon. C. P. Villiers, L.	
W. Brown, L.	
S. Gregson, L.	724
Thomas Greene, C.	721
E. D. Salisbury	621
Admiral Bowles, C.	

Election of 1841.

LEEDS (2) 6,182	
Beckett, C. . .	2,076
Aldam, L. . .	2,043
Hume, L. . .	2,033
Jocelyn, P. . .	1,926
LEICESTER (2) 3,687	
Ellis, L.	
Easthope, L.	
LEICESTERSHIRE, NORTH (2) 4,146	
Manners, P.	
Farnham, P.	
LEICESTERSHIRE, SOUTH (2) 5,455	
Halford, P. . .	2,638
Packe, P. . .	2,622
Gisborne, L. . .	1,196
Cheney, L. . .	1,213
LEITH (1) 1,732	
Rutherford, L.	
LEITRIM (2) 1,434	
White, L.	
Clements, L.	
LEOMINSTER (2) 624	
Greenaway, L., <i>vacated</i> .	
Wigram, P., <i>vacated</i> .	
<i>Vice Wigram, resigned.</i>	
Arkwright, P.	
<i>Vice Greenaway, resigned.</i>	
Barkly, L.	
LEWES (2) 900	
Elphinstone, L., <i>vacated</i>	404
Fitzroy, C. . .	404
Harford, L. . .	403
Cantilupe, P. . .	383
LICHFIELD (2) 876	
Anson, L., <i>vacated</i> .	381
Paget, L. . .	289
Dyott, P. . .	281
1841, <i>vice Lord Anson, resigned.</i>	
Leveson, L.	
LIMERICK CITY (2) 2,063	
O'Brien.	
Roche, <i>vacated</i> .	
Kelly.	
LIMERICK COUNTY (2) 1,673	
Powell, L.	
O'Brien, L.	

Election of 1847.

William Beckett, C. . .	2,526
J. G. Marshall, L. . .	2,181
Joseph Sturge, L. . .	1,980
Sir R. J. Walmsley, L. . .	1,647
Richard Gardiner, L. . .	1,602
E. Parker, C. . .	1,403
Lord C. S. Manners, P.	
E. B. Farnham, P.	
Sir H. Halford, P.	
Sir C. W. Packe, P.	
A. Rutherford, L.	
Hon. C. Clements, L. . .	389
E. K. Tennyson, L. . .	376
J. R. Godley . . .	329
H. Barkly, L.	
George Arkwright, P.	
Hon. H. Fitzroy, C. . .	459
R. Perfect, L. . .	403
Godfrey Hudson, P. . .	209
Lord H. Loftus, P. . .	140
Lord Alfred Paget, L.	
Lord Anson, L.	
J. O'Connell, R. . .	583
J. O'Brien, R. . .	537
R. O'Gorman . . .	37
W. Monsell, F. . .	588
Smith O'Brien, R. . .	482

Election of 1841.

LIMERICK COUNTY (*continued*)

LINCOLN (2) 1,041	
Sibthorpe, P.	541
Collett, P.	481
Bulwer, L.	443
Seeley, L.	340

LINCOLNSHIRE, NORTH (2) 11,398

Lord Worsley, L.	5,401
Christopher, P.	4,522
Cust, P.	3,819

Vice Lord Worsley.

Cholmeley, L.

LINCOLNSHIRE, SOUTH (2) 9,163

Turner, P.	4,581
Trollope, P.	4,562
Handley, L.	2,948

LINLITHGOWSHIRE (1) 593

Hope, P., *vacated*.

Baillie, P.

LASBURN (1) 203

Meynell, P.

LISKEARD (1) 285

Buller, L.

LIVERPOOL (2) 14,976

Sandon, C.	5,979
Cresswell, P. <i>vacated</i>	5,792
Walmsley, L.	4,647
Palmerston, L.	4,431

1842, *vice Cresswell, resigned*.

Douglass, P.

LONDON (4) 19,064

1841 Masterman, C.	6,339
Wood, L. <i>dead</i>	6,315
Lyall, P. C.	6,290
Russell, L.	6,221
Attwood, P.	6,212
Pattison, L.	6,070
Crawford.	6,065
Pirie, P.	6,017

1843, *vice Wood, deceased*.

Pattison, L.	6,532
Baring, P.	6,367

Election of 1847.

C. Powell, L.	458
G. O'Connell, R.	407
Patrick Carroll	1

Colonel Sibthorpe, P.	659
C. Seeley, L.	520
Sir E. L. Bulwer, L.	437
W. Collett, P.	277

R. A. Christopher, P.	
Sir M. J. Cholmeley, L.	

Sir J. Trollope, P.	
Lord Burghley, P.	

George Dundas, C.

Sir H. Seymour, C.

C. Buller, L.	170
W. C. Curteis, P.	117

E. Cardwell, C.	5,581
Sir Thomas Birch L.	4,828
Sir D. Mackworth P.	3,719
Lord John Manners, P.	2,226

Lord J. Russell, L.	7,137
J. Pattison, L.	7,030
Baron Rothschild, L.	6,792
J. Masterman, C.	6,722
Sir. G. Larpent, L.	6,719
R. C. L. Bevan, P.	5,268
Alderman Johnson, P.	5,069
J. W. Freshfield, P.	4,704
W. Payne, L.	513

Election of 1841.

LONDONDERRY, CITY (1) 958 —
Ferguson, L.

LONDONDERRY, COUNTY (2) 4,663
Bateson, P. *vacated*
Jones, P.
Bateson, P. *dead*
Bateson, P.

LONGFORD, COUNTY (2) 1,089
White, L. . . 621
Lefroy, P. . . 482
White, L. *unseated* 631

LOUTH (2) 1,167 —
Bellew, L. . . 447
Dawson, L. . . 430
Fortescue, L. . 358

LUDLOW (2) 422 —
Botfield, C. . . 222
Ackers, P. . . 212
Salwey, L. . . 154

LYME REGIS (1) 277 —
Hussey, P. . . 112
Pinney L. . . 110

LIMINGTON (2) 305 —
Stewart, P. . . 170
Mackinnon, P. . 149
Keppel, L. . . 106

MACCLESFIELD (2) 908 —
Brocklehurst, L. . 534
Grimsditch, P. . 410
Stocks, L. . . 327

MAIDSTONE (2) 1,687 —
Hope, P. . . 765
Dodd, P. . . 725
Salomons, L. . 424

MALDON (2) 844 —
Dick, P. . . 472
Round, P. . . 466
Abdy, L. . . 413

MALLOW (1) 336 —
Norreys, L. . . 108
Longfield, P. . 52

MALMESBURY (1) 280 —
Howard, L. . . 125
Burton, C. . . 105

Election of 1847.

Sir R. A. Fergusson, L.

Capt. Bateson, P.
Theobald Jones, P.

Major Blackall, R. . . 447
R. S. Fox, R. . . 434
A. Lefroy, C. . . 352
L. H. K. Harman, C. . 323

Chichester Fortescue, L.
Major Bellew, L.

H. B. Clive, C. . . 207
Col. Salwey, L. . . 206
B. Botfield, C. . . 183

T. N. Abdy, L. . . 148
Sir F. Kelly, C. . . 145

Col. Keppel, L. . . 162
W. A. Mackinnon, C. . 146
J. Stewart, C. . . 120

J. Brocklehurst, L. . 598
J. Williams, L. . . 500
T. Grimsditch . . . 428

A. J. B. Hope, P.
George Dodd, P.

D. Waddington, P. . 461
T. B. Lennard, L. . 443
Q. Dick, P. . . 427

Sir D. Norreys, L. . . 70
David Ross, C. . . 60

Hon. J. V. Howard, L.

Election of 1841.

MALTON (2) 558	Childers, L. <i>vacated</i>
	Denison, L.
	Milton, L.
MANCHESTER (2) 12,841	
	Phillips, L. . . 3,695
	Gibson, L. . . 3,575
	Murray, P. . . 3,115
	Entwistle, P. . . 2,692
MARLBOROUGH (2) 291	
	Bruce, C.
	Baring, C.
MARTLEBONE (2) 11,625	
	Hall, L. . . 4,661
	Napier, L. . . 4,587
	Cabbell, P. . . 3,410
	Hamilton, P. . . 3,383
	Sankey, L. . . 61
MAYO (2) 1,391	
	Browne, L.
	Blake, L. <i>vacated</i> .
	M'Donnell, L.
MEATH (2) 1,611	
	Grattan, L.
	O'Connell, L.
MERIONETHSHIRE (1) 1,180	
	Richards, P.
MERTHYR TYDVIL (1) 760	
	Guest, L.
MIDDLESEX (2) 13,400	
	Byng, L. <i>dead</i> .
	Wood, P.
	<i>Visc Byng, deceased.</i>
	Grosvenor, L.
MIDHURST (1) 261	
	Seymour, P. <i>vacated</i> .
	Walpole, P.
MONAGHAN (2) 2,351	
	Westenra, L.
	Shirley, P.
	Leslie, P.
MONMOUTH (1) 1,304	
	Blewitt, L.
MONMOUTHSHIRE (2) 4,614	
	Morgan, P.

Election of 1847.

J. W. Childers, L.	
J. G. Denison, L.	
John Bright, L.	
T. Milner Gibson, L.	
Lord Ernest Bruce, C.	
H. B. Baring, C.	
Lord Dudley C. Stuart,	5,367
Sir Benjamin Hall, L. .	5,343
Sir James Hamilton, P.	3,677
Serjeant Shree, L. .	662
Robert Owen . .	1
George H. Moore, L. F.	498
R. D. Browne, R. .	254
J. M. M'Donnell, R. .	53
John D. Browne . .	11
M. E. Corbally, L. .	575
H. Grattan, R. . .	482
H. C. Singleton . .	319
R. Richards, P.	
Sir J. L. Guest, L.	
Lord R. Grosvenor, L.	4,944
B. Osborne, L. . .	4,175
Col. T. Wood, C. . .	3,458
S. H. Walpole, P.	
Hon. M. Dawson, L. .	
P. Leslie, C.	
R. J. Blewitt, L.	
C. O. S. Morgan, P. .	2,327

Election of 1841.

MONMOUTHSHIRE (continued)	
Lord G. Somerset, C.	
MONTGOMERY, BURGHS (1) 1,021	
Cholmondeley, P.	463
Edwards, L.	437
MONTGOMERYSHIRE (1) 3,065	
Wynn, P.	
MONTROSE, BURGHS (1) 1,403	
Chalmers, L. <i>vacated</i> .	
Hume, L.	
MORPETH (1) 363	
Howard, L.	
NEWARK (2) 1,130	
Gladstone, P. <i>vacated</i> .	633
Manners, P.	630
Hobhouse, L.	394
NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LINE (2)	
1,031	
Buckley, L.	720
Harris, L. <i>void</i> .	565
Miller, P.	417
1842, vice Harris, void.	
Harris	499
Colquhoun, P.	479
NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE (2) 4,530	
Ord, L.	
Hinde, P.	
NEWPORT, ISLE OF WIGHT (2) 669	
Martin, C.	254
Hamilton, P.	252
Gisborne, L.	229
Blake, L.	226
NEW ROSS (1) 277	
Gore, L.	
NEWRY (1) 1,089	
Newry, C.	319
Doyle, L.	237
NORFOLK, EAST (2) 8,507	
Wodehouse, P.	3,498
Burroughes, P.	3,437
Folkes, L.	1,379
NORFOLK, WEST (2) 7,510	
Bagge, P.	
Chute, P.	
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Election of 1847.

Lord G. Somerset, C.	2,235
Capt. Somerset, P.	2,188
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Hon. H. Cholmondeley, P.	389
David Pugh, L.	389
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Rt. Hon. C. W. Wynn, P.	
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Joseph Hume, L.	773
Greenhill, C.	335
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Hon. Capt. Howard, L.	
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M. Sutton, L.	584
J. Stuart, P.	479
G. H. Packe, P.	431
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W. Jackson, L.	570
S. Christy, C.	565
Lord Brackley, C.	522
W. Greig	101
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W. Ord, L.	2,196
T. E. Headlam, L.	2,068
R. Hodgson, P.	1,680
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W. H. Plowden, C.	262
C. W. Martin, C.	252
W. J. Blake, L.	250
C. Crompton, L.	238
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J. H. Talbot, R.	76
R. Keily, C.	48
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Lord Newry, C.	
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Hon. E. Wodehouse, P.	
H. M. Burroughes, P.	
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W. Bagge, P.	3,113
Hon. E. K. Coke, L.	3,052
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Election of 1841.

NORFOLK, WEST (*continued*)

NORTHALLERTON (1) 281—	
Wrightson, L. . .	129
Lascelles, P. . .	114

NORTHAMPTON (2) 2,057—	
Smith, L.	981
Currie, L.	970
Willoughby, P. . .	884
M'Dowall, L. . . .	170

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, NORTH (2)	
4,031—	

Maunsell, P.
O'Brien, P.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, SOUTH (2)	
4,715—	

Cartwright, P. <i>dec.</i>	2,436
Knightley, P. . .	2,324
Earl of Euston, L.	925

Vice Cartwright deceased.

Vyse, P.

NORTHUMBERLAND, NORTH (2)	
3,004—	

Ossulston, P. . .	1,216
Cresswell, P. . .	1,163
Howick, L. . . .	1,106

NORTHUMBERLAND, SOUTH (2)	
5,260—	

Bell, P.
Ogle, L.

NORWICH (2) 4,334—	
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Marquis of Douro, C.
Smith, L.

NOTTINGHAM (2) 5,436—	
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Larpent, L. <i>vacated.</i>	527
Hobhouse, L. . .	523
Walter, C. . . .	144
Charlton, P. . . .	142

1842, *vice Larpent, resigned.*

Walter, C. <i>void</i> . .	1,885
Sturge, L.	1,801

1843, *vice Walter, void.*

Gisborne, L. . . .	1,839
Walter, Jun., C. . .	1,728

Election of 1847.

A. Hamond	2,935
H. L. G. L'Estrange .	2,676

W. B. Wrightson, L.

R. Currie, L. . . .	898
Rt. Hon. R. Smith, L.	840
Humphrey, C. . . .	652
A. F. Bayford, C. . .	606
Dr. Epps, L.	140

T. P. Maunsell, P.
A. S. O'Brien Stafford, P.

Sir Chas. Knightley, P.	2,282
Captain Vyse, P. . .	2,076
Lord Henley, C. . .	1,469

Sir G. Grey, L. . . .	1,366
Lord Ossulston, P. .	1,247
Lord Lovaine, P. . .	1,237

M. Bell, P.
S. C. H. Ogle, L.

S. M. Peto, L. . . .	2,448
Marquis of Douro, C. .	1,727
J. H. Parry, L. . . .	1,572

J. Walter, L.	1,830
Feargus O'Connor, L. .	1,340
T. Gisborne, L. . . .	1,089
Sir J. Hobhouse, L. . .	974

Election of 1841.

Election of 1847.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, NORTH (2)

3,650

Houldsworth, P.

Knight, P. *dead*

Vice Knight, deceased.

Bentinck, P.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, SOUTH (2)

3,469

Rolleston, P.

Lincoln, C. *vacated.*

Hildyard, P.

T. Houldsworth, P.

Lord H. Bentinck, P.

F. B. Hildyard, P.

Col. Rolleston, P.

OLDHAM (2) 1,650

Johnson, L.

Fielden, L.

W. J. Fox, L. . . 725

J. Duncroft, C. . . 694

J. M. Cobbett, L. . . 624

J. Fielden, L. . . 612

ORKNEY (1) 552

Dundas

Anderson, L. . . 209

Dundas . . . 183

OXFORD, CITY (2) 2,773

Langston, L. . 1,349

Maclean, C. . 1,238

Malcolm, P. . 1,041

J. H. Langston, L.

W. P. Wood, L.

OXFORDSHIRE (3) 5,384

Norreys, P.

Harcourt, P.

Henley, P.

Lord Norreys, P.

G. G. V. Harcourt, P.

J. W. Henley, P.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY (2) 3,300

Estcourt, C.

Inglis, C.

Sir R. H. Inglis, C. . 1,700

J. Gladstone, C. . . 997

C. G. Round, P.. . 824

PAISLEY (1) 1,324

Hastie, L.

A. Hastie, L.

PEEBLES (1) 727

Mackenzie, P.

W. F. Mackenzie, P. . 240

A. G. Carmichael . . 163

PEMBROKE (1) 1,779

Owen, P. . . 246

Owen . . . 172

Child . . . 84

Sir John Owen, C.

PEMBROKESHIRE (1) 3,450

Emlyn P.

Viscount Emlyn, C.

PERTH (1) 1,082

Maule, L. . . 356

Black . . . 227

Rt. Hon. Fox Maule, L.

Election of 1841.

PERTSHIRE (1) 4,034 ———	
Drummond, P.	
PETERBOROUGH (2) 569 ———	
Fitzwilliam, L.	317
Heron, L.	255
Gladstone, P.	244
PETERSFIELD (1) 377 ———	
Jolliffe, P.	
PLYMOUTH (2) 1,907 ———	
Gill, L.	821
Ebrington, L.	787
Johnson, P.	552
PONTEFRAC (2) 722 ———	
Pollington, P.	464
Milnes, P.	433
Gully, L.	253
POOLE (2) 543 ———	
Ponsonby, L.	231
Phillips, L.	211
Rose, P.	189
PORTARLINGTON (1) 188 ———	
Damer, P.	
PORTSMOUTH (2) 1,837 ———	
Staunton, L.	
Baring, L.	
PRESTON (2) 3,044 ———	
Fleetwood, L.	1,655
Strickland, L.	1,629
Parker, P.	1,270
Swainson, P.	1,255
PRESTEIGN, RADNOR (1) 500 —	
Price, P.	
QUEEN'S COUNTY (2) 1,166 ———	
Coote, C.	
Vesey, C.	
RADNOR, see PRESTEIGN.	
RADNORSHIRE (1) 1,924 ———	
Walsh, P.	1,102
Harley	522
READING (2) 1,220 ———	
Russell, P.	570
Chelsea, P.	564
Mills, L.	410
Tooke, L.	399

Election of 1847.

H. H. Drummond, P.	
Hon. G. W. Fitzwilliam, L.	
W. G. Cavendish, L.	
Sir W. Jolliffe, P.	
Viscount Ebrington, L.	921
R. Palmer, P.	837
C. B. Calmady, L.	769
S. Martin, L.	415
R. M. Milnes, L.	365
T. H. Preston, P.	346
G. R. Robinson, C.	220
S. R. Phillips, L.	199
E. J. Hutchins, L.	187
M. M. Turner, L.	49
Col. Dunn, L. F.	
F. T. Baring, L.	
Sir G. Staunton, L.	
Sir G. Strickland, L.	1,402
C. P. Grenfell, L.	1,380
R. T. Parker, P.	1,351
Sir T. F. Lewis, C.	
Hon. T. Vesey, C.	
J. W. Fitzpatrick, L.	
Sir J. B. Walsh, P.	
F. Pigott, L.	614
Serjeant Talfourd, L.	596
C. Russell, P.	521
Lord Chelsea, P.	376

Election of 1841.

REIGATE (1) 198	
Eastnor, C. . .	106
Bedford, L. . .	9
RENFREWSHIRE (1) 2,334	
Mure, P.	
RICHMOND (2) 289	
Colborne, L. <i>dead</i>	
Dundas, L.	
<i>Vice Colborne, deceased</i>	
Rich, L.	
RIPON (2) 383	
Sugden, P. <i>vacated</i>	
Pemberton, P. <i>vacated</i>	
Cockburn, C.	
1841, <i>vice Sugden, resigned</i>	
Smith, P. <i>vacated</i>	
1843, <i>vice Pemberton, resigned</i>	
Lascelles, C.	
ROCHDALE (1) 1,026	
Crawford, L. . .	399
Fenton, P. . .	333
ROCHESTER (2) 1,124	
Douglas, C. . .	546
Bodkin, C. . .	506
Melgund, L. . .	498
Dashwood, L. . .	485
ROSCOMMON (2) 1,038	
Ffrench, L.	
O'Connor Don, L.	
ROSS AND CROMARTY (1) 798	
Mackenzie, P.	
ROXBURGHSHIRE (1) 2,032	
Scott, P. . .	830
Elliot, L. . .	748
RUTLANDSHIRE (2) 1,914	
Heathcote, P. . .	761
Hon. W. Dawnay, P.	675
Noel, L. . .	670
Finch, P.	
RYE (1) 524	
Curteis, L. . .	262
Frewen, P. . .	108
ST. ALBAN'S (2)	
Repton, P. . .	288
Listowel, L. <i>vacated</i>	258

Election of 1847.

T. Somers Cocks, C.	
Col. Mure, P.	
H. Rich, L.	
M. Wyvill, jun., L.	
Hon. E. Lascelles, C.	
Sir J. Graham, C.	
Sharman Crawford, L.	
R. Bernal, L. . .	637
T. Hodges, L. . .	617
J. Douglas, C. . .	464
W. H. Bodkin, C. . .	462
Fitzstephen Ffrench, L.	205
O. Grace, L. . .	170
O'Connor Blake, R. . .	115
James Matheson, L.	
Hon. E. Elliot, L.	
G. J. Heathcote, P.	
Hon. G. J. Noel, C.	
H. B. Curteis, L. . .	235
B. B. Williams . . .	113
A. Raphael, L. . .	295
G. W. J. Repton, P. . .	276

*Election of 1841.*ST. ALBAN'S (*continued*)

Worley, P. C.	251
Muskett, L.	150

Vice Lieutenant, resigned

Cabbell, P.

ST. ANDREW'S (1) 835

Ellice, L.	366
Mackgill	258

ST. IVES (1) 598

Præd, P. <i>dead</i>	272
Lay, P.	268

Vice Præd, deceased

Paulett, P.

SALFORD (1) 2,696

Brotherton, L.	990
Garnett, P.	873

SALISBURY (2) 698

Wyndham, P. <i>dead</i>	361
Brodie, L. <i>vacated</i>	292
Ashley, P.	231

1843, *vice Brodie, resigned*

Hussey, C. <i>vacated</i>	252
Bouverie, L.	188

1843, *vice Wyndham, deceased*

Campbell, P.	317
Bouverie, L.	270
Chaplin, P.	

SANDWICH (2) 977

Trowbridge, L.	
Lindsay, P.	

SCARBOROUGH (2) 559

Johnstone, C.	295
Trench, P.	253
Phipps, L.	235

SELKIRKSHIRE (1) 607

Pringle, P. <i>vacated</i>	
Lockhart, C.	

SHAFTESBURY (1) 491

Howard, L.	218
Matthew, P.	201
Sheridan, L.	

SHEFFIELD (2) 4,451

Parker, L.	1,849
Ward, L.	1,805
Urquhart, C.	503
Sheppard, P. C.	457

Election of 1847.

Hon. F. Craven, L.	230
J. Wilks, L.	126

E. Ellice, jun. L.

Lord W. Paulett, P.
Peter Borthwick, P.

Joseph Brotherton, L.

W. J. Chaplin, L.	490
C. B. Wall, L.	374
J. Smith, P.	170

Lord C. Paget, L.	458
C. W. Grenfell, L.	436
Lord C. P. Clinton, P.	395

Sir J. V. B. Johnstone, C.
Earl Mulgrave, L.

A. E. Lockhart, C.

R. B. Sheridan, L.	213
R. Bethell	176

J. Parker, L.	1,125
H. G. Ward, L.	1,110
T. Clarke, L.	326

Election of 1841.

SHOREHAM (2) 1,988	
Burrell, P. C. .	959
Goring, P. .	856
Howard, L. .	673
SHREWSBURY (2) 1,865	
Tomline, P. .	791
D'Israeli, P. .	786
Parry, L. .	599
Temple, L. .	576
SHROPSHIRE, NORTH (2) 4,735	
Gore, P.	
Viscount Clive, P.	
SHROPSHIRE SOUTH (2) 3,692—	
Clive	
Earl of Darlington, P.	
1842, <i>vice Earl of Darlington,</i>	
<i>succeeded to Peerage</i>	
Viscount Newport, P.	
SLIGO BOROUGH (1) 821	
Somers, L.	
SLIGO COUNTY (2) 798	
Perceval, P., <i>vacated</i>	
Gore, P.	
Ffolliott, C.	
SOMERSETSHIRE, EAST (2) 9,655	
Langton, L., <i>vacated</i>	
Miles, P.	
Pinney, L.	
SOMERSETSHIRE, WEST (2) 8,433	
Acland, C.	
Dickinson, C.	
SOUTHAMPTON (2) 1,463	
Mildmay, P. .	686
Hope, C. .	683
Nugent, L. .	538
Thompson, L. .	535
SOUTH SHIELDS (1) 686	
Wawn, L. .	240
Ingham, L. .	207
Fyler, P. .	84
SOUTHWARK (2) 5,047	
Humphery, L.	
Wood, L., <i>dead</i>	
1846, <i>vice Wood, deceased</i>	
Molesworth, L. .	1,943

Election of 1847.

Sir C. Burrell, P. C.	
C. Goring, P. C.	
E. H. Baldock, C. .	769
R. A. Slaney, L. .	743
G. Tomline, P. .	732
Viscount Clive, P.	
W. O. Gore, P.	
Hon. H. R. Clive, C.	
Viscount Newport, P.	
R. P. Somers, R.	
F. Ffolliott, C.	
O. Gore, C.	
William Miles, P.	
William Pinney, L.	
C. A. Moody, P. .	3,603
Sir Alex. Hood, P. .	3,311
Hon. P. P. Bouverie .	2,783
Bickham Escott, L. .	2,624
A. E. Cockburn, L.	
B. M. Wilcox, L.	
J. T. Wawn, L. .	339
W. Whateley, C. .	877
Alderman Humphery, L.	
Sir Wm. Molesworth, L.	

*Election of 1841.*SOUTHWARK (*continued*)

Pilcher, P.	1,182
Miall, L.	352

STAFFORD (2) 1,265

Carnegie, P.	681
Buller, L.	587
Holmes, P.	339

STAFFORDSHIRE, NORTH (2) 9,438

Russell, C.	
Adderley, P.	

STAFFORDSHIRE, SOUTH (2) 8,545

Anson, L.	
Viscount Ingestrie, P.	

STAMFORD (2) 679

Marquis of Granby, P.	
Clerk, P.	

STIRLING BURGHS (1) 1,141

Dalmeny, L.	438
Aytoun	419

STIRLINGSHIRE (1) 2,569

Forbes, P.	1,019
Bruce	895

STOCKPORT (2) 1,279

Marsland, L.	569
Cobden, L.	541
Marsland, P.	351

STOKE-UPON-TRENT (2) 1,623

Ricardo, L.	881
Copeland, C.	614
Ryder, P.	495

STROUD (2) 1,292

Staunton, L.	594
Scrope, L.	528
Wraxall, P.	377

SUFFOLK, EAST (2) 6,677

Lord Henniker, C.	3,279
Vere, C.	3,178
Adair, L.	1,787

1843, *vice Vere, deceased.*

Lord Rendlesham	2,952
Adair	1,818

Election of 1847.

D. Urquhart, C.	754
Alderman Sidney, L.	576
Hon. S. T. Carnegie, P.	271
John Lea	6
J. A. Gordon	1

C. B. Adderley, P.	4,092
Lord Brackley, C.	4,076
E. Buller, L.	3,353

Lord Ingestrie, P.	
Colonel Anson, L.	

Marquis of Granby, P.	325
Rt. Hon. J. C. Herries, P.	290
J. Rolt, L.	235

J. B. Smith, L.	347
A. G. Maitland, L.	312
Alex. Alison, L.	156

W. Forbes, P.

R. Cobden, L.	643
J. Heald, L.	570
Alderman Kershaw, L.	537
J. West	14

W. T. Copeland, C.	495
J. L. Ricardo, L.	493
T. P. Healey	147

G. P. Scrope, L.	541
W. H. Staunton, L.	563
M. M. Turner, L.	176

Lord Rendlesham	
E. S. Gooch	

Election of 1841.

SUFFOLK, WEST (2) 4,819	—
Rushbrook, P. <i>dead</i>	
Waddington, P.	
Bennet, P.	
SUNDERLAND, (2) 1,657	—
Thompson, P. <i>vacated</i>	
Barclay, L.	
1841, <i>vice Thompson, resigned.</i>	
Viscount Howick, L.	705
Attwood, P.	463
Hudson, P.	626
Thompson, L.	498
SURREY, EAST (2) 6,028	—
Antrobus, P.	
Kemble, P.	
SURREY, WEST (2) 3,778	—
Denison, L.	
Trotter, P.	
SUSSEX, EAST (2) 5,503	—
Darby, P. <i>vacated</i> .	2,398
Fuller, P.	2,367
Shelley, L.	995
<i>Vice Darby, resigned.</i>	
Frewen, P.	
SUSSEX, WEST (2) 3,453	—
Earl of March, P.	
Wyndham, P. <i>vacated</i>	
<i>Vice Wyndham, resigned.</i>	
Prime, P.	
SUTHERLANDSHIRE (1) 170	—
Duddas, L.	
SWANSEA (1) 1,247	—
Vivian, L.	
TAMWORTH (2) 501	—
Peel, C.	365
Acourt, C.	241
Townshend, L.	147
TAUNTON (2) 1,010	—
Labouchere, L.	430
Bainbridge, L. <i>vacated</i>	410
Wilberforce, C.	382
Hall, P.	218
1842, <i>vice Bainbridge, resigned.</i>	
Colebrook, L.	394
Hardy, P.	337

Election of 1847.

H. S. Waddington, P.	
Philip Bennet, P.	
G. Hudson, P.	879
D. Barclay, L.	642
W. A. Wilkinson, L.	568
T. Alcock, L.	
Hon. Locke King, L.	
W. J. Denison, L.	
H. Drummond, L.	
A. E. Fuller, P.	
C. H. Frewen, P.	
Earl of March, P.	
R. Prime, P.	
Sir David Dundas, L.	
J. H. Vivian, L.	
Sir Robert Peel, C.	
W. Y. Peel, C.	
Rt. Hon. H. Labouchere, L.	543
Sir T. E. Colebrook, L.	388
A. Mills, C.	376

Election of 1841.

TAVISTOCK (2) 347 —————		
Russell, L.	.	
Rundle, L. <i>vacated</i>	.	
1843, <i>vice Rundle, resigned.</i>		
Trelawney, L.	.	113
Vincent, L.	.	69
TEWKESBURY (2) 409 —————		
Dowdeswell, P.	.	193
Martin, L.	.	189
Easthope, L.	.	181
THETFORD (2) 160 —————		
Baring, C.	.	86
Flower, P.	.	71
Euston, L.	.	70
THIRSK (1) 327 —————		
Bell, L.	.	
TIPPERARY (2) 2,412 —————		
Maher, L.	.	
Fitzgerald, L.	.	
TIVERTON (2) 496 —————		
Heathcoat, L.	.	
Palmerston, L.	.	
TOTNESS (2) 341 —————		
Seymour, L.	.	
Baldwin, C.	.	
TOWER HAMLETS (2) 13,551 —		
Clay, L.	.	4,706
Fox, L.	.	4,096
Robinson, C.	.	2,183
Hutchinson, L.	.	1,775
Thompson, L.	.	831
TRALEE (1) 258 —————		
O'Connell, L.	.	
TRURO (2) 644 —————		
Turner, L.	.	
Vivian, P.	.	
TYNEMOUTH (1) 764 —————		
Mitcalfe, L.	.	295
Chapman, P.	.	232
TYRONE (2) 1,838 —————		
Hamilton, C.	.	
Corry, C.	.	
WAKEFIELD (1) 809 —————		
Lascelles, P.	.	300
Holdsworth, L.	.	294

Election of 1847.

Lord E. Russell, L.			156
J. S. Trelawny, L.			153
R. J. Phillimore, C.			86
Samuel Carter, C.			56
John Martin, L.			
Humphrey Brown, L.			
Hon. W. B. Baring			
Lord Euston, L.			
John Bell, L.			
N. Maher, R.			
Francis Scully, R.			
Viscount Palmerston, L.			
J. Heathcoat, L.			
Lord Seymour, L.			280
C. B. Baldwin, C.			154
S. Ricardo, L.			153
George Thompson, L.			6,268
Sir W. Clay, L.			3,839
General Fox, L.			2,622
Maurice O'Connell, R.			
J. E. Vivian, P.			
E. Turner, L.			
W. Grey, L.			
Lord C. Hamilton, C.			
Rt. Hon. H. C. Corry, C.			
George Sandars, C.			392
G. W. Alexander, L.			258

<i>Election of 1841.</i>		<i>Election of 1847.</i>	
WALLINGFORD (1) 386—			
Blackstone, L.		W. S. Blackstone, P.	157
		A. Morrison, L.	142
WALSALL (1) 837			
Scott, L.	334	Hon. E. R. Littleton, L.	289
Gladstone, C.	311	C. Forster, L.	282
		W. H. Cooke, P.	124
WAREHAM (1) 428			
Drax, L.	211	J. S. W. Erle Drax, L.	
Calcraft, P.	187		
WARRINGTON (1) 699			
Blackburne, P.		G. Greenall, C.	327
		W. Allcard, L.	298
WARWICK (2) 997			
Collins, L.		Sir. C. Douglas, C.	
Douglas, C.		W. Collins, L.	
WARWICKSHIRE, NORTH (2)			
6,126			
Dugdale, P.		C. R. Newdegate, P.	2,915
Wilmot, P. <i>vacated</i>		R. Spooner, P.	2,451
Newdegate, P.		Hon. W. H. Leigh, L.	2,278
WARWICKSHIRE, SOUTH (2) 3,926			
Mordaunt, P. <i>dead</i>		E. J. Shirley, P.	
Shirley, P.		Lord Brooke, P.	
Brooke, P.			
WATERFORD, CITY (2) 1,696			
Barron, L.	532	T. Meager, R.	523
Wise, L.	528	Daniel O'Connell, R.	498
Christmas, P.	318	Sir H. Barron, L.	281
Reade, P. <i>unseated</i>	286	Thomas Wyse, L.	249
WATERFORD, COUNTY (2) 872—			
Stuart, L.		N. Power, R.	
Carew, L.		R. Keatinge, R.	
WELLS (2) 414			
Hayter, L.		R. Blakemore, C.	
Blakemore, C.		W. G. Hayter, L.	
WENLOCK (2) 949			
Forester, P.		Hon. G. C. Forester, P.	
Gaskell, P.		J. M. Gaskell, P.	
WESTBURY (1) 334			
Lopes, P.		J. Wilson, L.	170
		M. Higgins, P.	149
WESTMEATH (2) 1,261—			
Chapman, L.		W. H. Magan, R.	
Tuite, L.		Sir Percy Nugent, L. F.	
WESTMINSTER (2) 14,810			
Rous, C.	3,338	Sir De Lacy Evans, L.	3,139
Leader, L.	3,281	C. Lushington, L.	2,831

Election of 1841.

WESTMINSTER (*Continued*)

Evans, L.	3,258
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1846, *vice Leader*

Evans	3,843
Rous	2,906

WESTMORELAND (2) 4,136 —

Lowther, P. <i>created a Peer</i>	
Lowther, P.	
Thompson, P.	

WEXFORD (1) 405 —

Esmonde	145
Bourne	101

WEXFORD, COUNTY (2) 1,958 —

Hatton, L.	873
Power, L.	859
Morgan, C.	450

WEYMOUTH (2) 660 —

Villiers, P. <i>unseated</i>	259
Hope, P. <i>unseated</i>	257
Bernal, L.	254
Christie, L.	253

WHITBY (1) 445 —

Chapman, P.	
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WHITEHAVEN (1) 520 —

Attwood, C.	
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WICK BURGHS (1) 742 —

Loch, L.	270
Dempster	189

WICKLOW, COUNTY (2) 1,732 —

Acton, P.	663
Howard, L.	603
Grattan, L.	563

WIGAN (2) 565 —

Greenall, P. <i>dead</i>	273
Standish, L.	270
Crosse, L.	268
Grenfell, L.	263

Vice Greenall deceased.

Lindsay, C.	274
Thicknesse, L.	211

WIGTON BURGHS (1) 393 —

Dalrymple, L.	403
Blair	398

WIGTONSHIRE (1) 1,070 —

M'Taggart, L.	157
Agnew, P.	129

Election of 1847.

C. Cochrane, L.	2,819
Lord Mandeville, P.	1,985

Hon. C. H. Lowther, P.	
Alderman Thompson, P.	

J. J. Devereux, R.	
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James Fagan, R.	
Grogan Morgan, C.	

Hon. F. Villiers, P.	274
G. M. Butt, P.	274
W. D. Christie, L.	272
Colonel Freestun, L.	271

Robert Stephenson, C.	
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R. C. Hildyard, P.	
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James Loch, L.	
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Lord Milton, L.	
Colonel Acton, C.	

Colonel Lindsay, C.	
R. Thicknesse, L.	

Sir J. M'Taggart, L.	
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Captain J. Dalrymple, L.	
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Election of 1841.

WILTON (1) 205	_____
Somerton, C.	
WILTS, NORTH (2) 5,340	_____
Burdett, C. <i>dead</i>	
Long, P.	
1844, <i>vice Burdett, deceased.</i>	
Sotheran, P.	
WILTS, SOUTH (2) 2,755	_____
Bennett, P.	
Herbert, C.	
WINCHESTER (1) 618	_____
East, C.	318
Escott, C.	291
Crowder, L.	189
Pigot, L.	159
WINDSOR (2) 667	_____
Ramsbottom, L. <i>dead.</i>	316
Neville, P.	311
Fergusson, L.	265
De Beauvoir, L.	130
<i>Vice Ramsbottom, deceased.</i>	
Reid, C.	
WOLVERHAMPTON (2) 2,643	_____
Villiers, L.	
Thornely, L.	
WOODSTOCK (1) 369	_____
Thesiger, C. <i>vacated.</i>	
<i>Vice Thesiger, resigned.</i>	
Lord Loftus,	
Churchill, P.	
WORCESTER (2) 2,445	_____
Wilde, L. <i>vacated.</i>	1,187
Bailey, P.	1,173
Hardy, L.	875
Le Marchant, L.	
WORCESTERSHIRE, EAST (2) 6,307	
Barneby, P. <i>dead.</i>	
Rushout, P.	
Taylor, P.	
WORCESTERSHIRE, WEST (2)	
4,357	
Lygon, P.	
Knight, P.	
WYCOMBE, HIGH (2) 399	_____
Dashwood, L.	189
Osborne, L.	159

Election of 1847.

Viscount Somerton, C.	_____
Walter Long, P.	
T. H. S. Sotheran, P.	
J. Bennett, P.	_____
Sidney Herbert, C.	
J. B. Carter, L.	336
Sir J. B. East, P.	315
B. Escott, L.	234
Col. Reid, C.	_____
Lord John Hay, L.	
Hon. C. P. Villiers, L.	_____
T. Thornely, L.	
Marquis of Blandford, C.	_____
Osman Ricardo, L.	1,164
F. Rufford, P.	1,142
R. Hardy, L.	926
Hon. G. Rushout, P.	_____
J. H. Foley, L.	
General Lygon, P.	_____
F. W. Knight, P.	
H. G. Dashwood, L.	_____
M. T. Smith, L.	

*Election of 1841.**Election of 1847.*

WYCOMBE, HIGH (continued)

Freshfield, P.	130
Alexander, P.	86

YARMOUTH (2) 1,904

Wilshere, L.	945
Rumbold, L.	943
Baring, P.	501
Soames, P.	494

YORK, CITY (2) 3,326

Lowther, P.	1,625
Yorke, L.	1,552
Atcherly, P.	1,456

YORKSHIRE, EAST (2) 7,577

Broadley, P.	
Hotham, P.	

YORKSHIRE, NORTH (2) 11,897

Duncombe, P.	
Cayley, L.	
Duncombe, P.	

YORKSHIRE, WEST (2) 36,084

Wortley, P.	13,165
Denison, P.	12,789
Milton, L.	12,080
Morpeth, L.	12,031

YOUGHAL (1) 498

Cavendish, L.	
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Lord A. Lennox, P.	832
O. E. Cope, P.	811
C. E. Rumbold, L.	739
T. H. Goldsmid, L.	709

H. R. Yorke, L.	
J. G. Smyth, P.	

Lord Hotham, P.	
H. Broadley, C.	

E. S. Cayley, L.	
O. Duncombe, P.	

Lord Morpeth, L.	
Richard Cobden, L.	

C. Anstey, R.	110
Hon. C. Ponsonby, C.	68

. Those of our readers who may desire to refer to the election returns of different boroughs or counties prior to the Reform Bill, will find the particulars of the polling at contested elections, as far back as the year 1714, given in a work recently published by Simpkin and Marshall, entitled 'The Parliaments of England, from the first of George I. to the present time;' by H. S. Smith. For an index to the sentiments and personal position of every member of the new parliament, including the House of Peers, and for an explanation of the more important details of parliamentary business, our readers should consult 'Dodd's Parliamentary Companion,' for the present year; the fifteenth volume of the series; published by Whittaker.

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THE
WESTMINSTER
AND
FOREIGN QUARTERLY
Review.

ART. I.—1. *The Granaries of Great Britain; or, Perpetual Preservation of Food.*

2. *Equalizing prices and diminishing risk to Food Manufacturers and Food Dealers.*

CHARLES LAMB records that roast pig was a Chinese discovery, accidentally made by the burning down of a house, and that for many years it was deemed essential to burn down houses in order to attain that delicate edible, being in fact not roast pig, but burnt-house pig. Even thus do we in England talk of "mummy wheat" 3,000 years old, and yet capable of germination. We have not yet asked ourselves the question whether the "mummy" be essential, or whether the wheat might not be preserved 3,000 years without the "mummy."

The painful realities of Irish famine, and the reaction more or less severe throughout Europe, has resulted in a conviction that the *world*, during the whole period, actually possessed a sufficient supply of food, and that a deficient means of distribution, together with a panic, peculiar to a state of ignorance, but which would not exist in a state of enlightenment, was the chief cause of the misery, excitement, mad speculation, and widespread ruin to individuals that have ensued.

The question arising is,—must this irregularity and misery be a constant condition of humanity? Is it an ordinance of Providence, or an ignorance that can be removed by attaining higher steps in mental and physical progress? Must we read the Scripture phrase "the poor shall never cease from out of the land" as a denunciation of constantly recurring famine, or simply as an assertion of the physical and mental inequality of mankind, and an injunction on human power to protect human poverty? We

hold to the latter ! We cling to the belief that human misery is synonymous with human ignorance, and that the Being who has planted reason within us, gave us that reason to enable us to develop every branch of knowledge, and remove from us these conditions, which are positive evils to civilised humanity, but salutary laws where mere instincts are the incentives to action.

In common with the lower animals, the first want of mankind is food. Savage man, like the wild beasts, consumes natural or spontaneous food. Civilized man is supported on artificial food, in the production of which skill and labour have been applied. Wild animals, and wild fruits and roots supply wild men thinly scattered over a wilderness. Cultivated animals and cultivated plants furnish food for the cultivated men ; and thus population thickens and arts advance, and it would be a very fair standard to measure the civilization of nations by the quantity and varieties of their artificial food.

In the wild state, all animal nature of the carnivorous kind is supported by prey, and the human hunter exists by the same law. Life is supported by the destruction of life. Even when we have cultivated our animal food, by changing the argali into a sheep, the bison into an ox, the savage boar into a tame hog, and many other similar processes, we only make a variation without altering the condition of the law of prey. We increase the quantity, but frequently also deteriorate the quality. No artificial animal food can compare with the wild venison of the wild thymy heath as a healthy nutriment, in producing, or rather in maintaining, a sound body for a sound mind. The perception of this truth will continue to gain ground and produce a change in the mode of training animals for food, till the time shall come when the law of prey will disappear before the law of human reason.

Let us not be understood as advocating the bigotry of "vegetable diet" as an universal food. The varieties of temperament in human beings are countless, and so should be the qualities of their food. It is the province of chemistry to solve the great question of the abolition of the law of prey, and till that be done, we must be content to follow the nature of the lower animals, obeying our natural instincts, subject to many of the evils engendered by half progress. It is a certain thing, that what we call civilization, *i. e.* half progress, has engendered amongst human beings many disorders unknown in a state of nature. So, also, has it done in the case of the lower animals bred by human beings for food ; and it is impossible to doubt that the flesh of those animals, deposited in human stomachs, must re-act in various modes mischievously.

"Like follows like throughout this mortal span ;
In bloodier acts conclude those who with blood began."

The practice of hunting wild animals for food engenders a disregard of animal life, which gradually extends to fellow human beings. All history will bear testimony to the fact, that hunters are men of violence, from Esau, who frightened Jacob, down to Grantley Berkeley, who "punches the heads" of peasants. It was our fortune—good or bad—to sojourn for a long period in sunny climes, amongst human tribes, half pastoral half predatory, who lived on horseback, whose sole food was the flesh of recently slain animals and their drink brackish water; their couch the grassy plain, and their roof the blue heaven. Lean, wiry, and lithe of body, with cat-like, half-sleepy eyes, and long black horse-looking hair, these people possessed the attributes of tigers, and they passed their time half in sloth, and half in ferocity. Often witnessing, and sometimes compelled to join in the eating of half-roasted flesh, torn from an animal just slain, and the mass still quivering, we have learned how, by slight degrees, refinement departs, and the mind becomes callous to horrors and bloodshed. The slightest word of provocation, and drawn knives to gratify revenge, the dried blood of the animal on the blade mingling with the red torrent flowing from human veins, was a common occurrence. To dress wounds was an almost daily task, and at last a drudgery, from which even compassion shrunk. The gradual callousness of the natives of more civilized climes was remarkable. Wounds became a matter for mirth. On one occasion, encamped rudely, awaiting the attack of some hostile tribes, with bristling spears and prepared rifles, a native of Scotland, a mechanic of ordinary decent habits, tolerably educated, and possessing some five thousand pounds capital, entered into conversation with us—calculating the strategy of their position, and the number that would be slain, all in the cool, quiet, guttural Saxon dialect, denominated Lowland Scotch. And, gliding from one subject to another, as easily as if discussing a chapter of Adam Smith, he thus went on. "Wall, noo, awm thinkin' that we've tried maist kinds o' flesh meat,—bull and quey and cauf, and horse and mule, and lion and deer, and ostrich and armadillo, and bees-catcher and your common swine,—so when the fight is over I should like to cut steaks from one of those brown deevils of Ingeuns yonder to try what *he* eats like."

We looked at the speaker, thinking he jested, but it was no jest. It was simply a man of average intellect, and very coarse nerves, who stood before us,—one who by force of habit might have obeyed moral laws, but too coldly practical ever to discover them for himself. He was merely going a little beyond

the practices of his wild companions. They, albeit Christians, were in the habit of skinning their human foes to make horse-trappings of their hides; *he* from curiosity, was desirous to taste their flesh. Possibly he might have called himself a Christian also. We did not ask him his descent, but it struck us that after all, the story of Sawney Beane* might be no fable. Such a man, placed in a position where the only food was human flesh, would have made his experiment a habit, and would have enjoyed his cannibal meals with as much relish as a chief of the Feejee Islands.

Our civilized habits, in slaughtering animals for our food, are akin to savage nature. We should regard with distaste the man who could voluntarily kill and eat his own dog, or his cosset lamb, or turtle dove. This difficulty is got rid of by selling the lamb and dove to another—exchanging lambs and doves, precisely as Feejee mothers are said to exchange their children in time of scarcity, in order not to devour their own. All this is merely cheating the conscience; palliating the evil, not trying to remove the cause of it.

If we examine the question logically, it runs thus: A large portion of people living in a state of civilization require food of a highly stimulating kind. Our limited progress in chemistry forbids our finding this food otherwise than in animal flesh. But with refined habits the great mass of the community has acquired a horror at the thought of butchering animals. A Whitechapel kennel or Whitechapel cellar, the rows of butchers' shops, are all objects passed by and spoken of with disgust. A practical butcher we regard as a Helot. Why is this? Only because the habit of shedding blood has a tendency to brutalise. If this be so, what right have we to set others to do that which is disgusting to ourselves? Or is it a right thing to doom certain human beings to eternal brutality? There are jungle deserts in some parts of India through which foot postmen carry the letter-bags. Occasionally postman after postman disappears in succession.

* Sawney Beane, as the tradition goes, was a Scottish outlaw, who had committed so many robberies and murders that a large price was set on his head, and concealment became difficult. In his emergency, he discovered a large cavern on the coast only accessible at low water. Here he took shelter with a congenial wife; and to destroy the evidences of murder, he used to carry the bodies of his victims to his cavern, and ate them as butcher's meat, both fresh and salted. On such food, he "raised" a stock of children, and lived respectably after his own moral standard. But though the water "on the salt sea's marge" could obliterate his footsteps' traces, it was not so with the smoke of his hideous kitchen on the blue heaven. He was tracked at last, and his race extinguished, without any experiment as to the possibility of eradicating the cannibal habits of the children.

Search is made, and their remains, with the letters, are found in a tiger's den. This is thought horrible, and the tiger is shuddered at as something fiendlike. Yet how, in truth, does this differ from the cellar of a butcher, strewed with the carcasses of sheep and oxen? Could the tiger reason, he might complain of the injustice that holds him up to odium for keeping dead men's bodies in his cellar as food, while men in their cellars keep the dead bodies of sheep for the same object.

Can we alter this? Can we abolish the law of prey? Let our chemists fairly try the experiment. Liebig has shown that certain chemical ingredients, in certain proportions, must be taken into our bodies at intervals, in order to supply heat, and the waste of our bodies. Sugar, butter, and similar substances supply the former; blood and flesh containing nitrogen supply the latter. To procure these substances we manure the ground with their constituent materials. On the ground so manured we grow plants. On these plants we feed sheep and cattle. These sheep and cattle we cause to be slaughtered, and then bury them in our stomachs. The problem then first is, how to dispense with part of these processes?—to concentrate in the vegetables a sufficient amount of the chemical ingredients constituting flesh and fat, so as to pass them at once into the human stomach, without going through the animal form? To produce animalised vegetables is the problem. Nor can this be deemed very difficult, if we divest our thoughts of cabbages, turnips, carrots, potatoes, and similar coarse watery vegetables, and reflect that there are also olives, nuts, and other oily vegetables, and that there are mushrooms—which seem to form the link between animal and vegetable substances. Our culinary vegetables, in their existing state, are not natural productions, but results of art, which art may be enhanced by chemistry and horticultural skill, till it will be possible to produce a vegetable combining the qualities of the olive and the mushroom. When this shall be accomplished it may be possible to dispense with animal food, and the law of reason shall triumph in the extinction of the law of prey, by the progress of art, which is but another name for man's developed nature.

Whether our chemists will ultimately succeed in preparing nourishing and stimulating food wholly from inorganic matter, is another problem. When the mysteries of flavours and aromas shall be unfolded to us, those subtle influences which appear to constitute the principle of nutrition, it is probable that we shall attain this end. There appears to be no chemical difference between the odour of coal tar and attar of roses, more than

between charcoal and diamond; yet in their action on our senses they are wholly distinct. It was once our lot to live for a time on the flesh of cattle driven with a caravan during a long journey. The flesh of these animals, though not lean, was devoid of all flavour. It was tasteless as chopped hay. The people called it "tired meat." It did not nourish: the ozmazone, or animal spirit, or electricity, or whatever constituted the flavouring matter, was wanting. The same thing takes place with cooked meat which is several days old, though not putrid. If we can once discover the principle of the aromas, so to prepare them artificially, the arrangement of the solid bases of human food will probably not involve any great difficulty. There is no more of a miracle in this, than in the common experiment of preparing sugar from old rags or sawdust.

These are speculations at which probably existing practical men will smile, till future more practical men shall realize them; and meanwhile the question remains how most efficiently to apply our existing food, in the animal and vegetable forms, so as always to have a surplus on hand in readiness for emergencies—how, in short, to enable the speculator to store up food as well as other commodities, without risk of destruction? If a merchant buy a shipload of pipes of wine or brandy, he can deposit them in the London Docks, and they become a property, on which, if he produces the certificate or dock warrant, he can raise by mortgage within ten per cent. of the total value. But if he buy a shipload of wheat, or other grain, and deposit it in a granary, he can raise no money at all on it, because it is fluctuating in value; and, moreover, "there be land rats and water rats," and mice, and thieves, and weevils, and germination, and decomposition, and expenses of turning over and measuring. In short, while the pipes of wine remain a fixed quantity, the grain is a constantly decreasing quantity. It goes into the granary corn, and comes out rotten bran. It has often occurred to us that the term "animalized biscuit," may have been originally suggested by some waggish miller, who after doing his utmost to winnow away the weevils, finding the majority of the little black vermin too snugly ensconced each in his barley or wheat corn, fairly ground them up in despair, and, to account for the strange flavour, gave them a name indicating to willing believers the pleasant calves' foot association of gelatine. Be this as it may, it is certain that the lieges of Great Britain may fairly claim the creature weevil as constituting part of the food of man. Weevils eat wheat, and working men eat weevils; buying bread of "small profits and quick returns." Weevil may be good or may be bad, as food of men, but assuredly

it must be expensive food, inasmuch as its maintenance while getting up flesh is costly—in farmer phrase, weevil “eats more than his head is worth.”

With regard to animal food a similar difficulty prevails; it is limited in its term of durability. It is not fit for food while fresh, *i. e.* tough, and after it has become tender small is the interval between that and putridity; and, therefore, the public must pay a high price to compensate the dealer for his risk; unless the primitive practice be resorted to of making contract by sound of bell, to ensure the sale of the whole previous to killing.

In all articles of periodical produce, and especially in food, it will be found that the fluctuations in price are greatest in proportion to the difficulty of preservation. The mass of mankind are conservative, and indisposed to take risks. The speculative few must be paid in proportion to their risks. During a personal residence in Spanish America we observed that the usual price of wheat in harvest time was half-a-dollar the *fanega*; but mid-time between harvests it usually rose to a whole dollar. A rainy season occurred and produced blight, and the maximum price was three dollars. Scarcity and ignorance induced the preservation of the worst wheat for sowing, and the following year the price rose to twenty dollars. Flour in barrels then first became an import from the United States into the granary of the Pacific. To the want of efficient granaries was this evil mainly owing, and as in Ireland, the people resorted to sea-weed in their extremity.

The preservation of food has at most periods been an object; but the usual processes of man have been, for the most part, little in advance of the squirrels and other animals; less than those of the bees, which have an instinctive perception of the true principle, *viz.* the exclusion of air, which they accomplish by hermetically sealing up their honey-cells. In some cases this principle is aimed at, but in a clumsy way. Preserved provisions, as meat, fish, soup, and milk, are enclosed in hermetically sealed tin cases, and rendered durable for years. The air in these cases is excluded by the agency of heat and a partial cooking. The expense of these methods prevents their being more than a luxury. Potted meats are prepared with antiseptics, and the air is excluded by a covering of melted fat. Green fruits and vegetables are enclosed in sealed bottles, from which the air has been driven out partially by heat. Meats, antiseptically treated, are also preserved from the air by enclosing in a bladder or gut, in the form of sausages. Salted meat in brine is preserved partly antiseptically by the salt, and partly by immersion in the liquid brine. Smoked meats are

preserved, partly antiseptically by the empyreumatic acid, and partly by the watery particles being driven off by heat, so that the meat becomes a kind of glue, and the air is excluded. Dry cakes of glue may be preserved any length of time; but if they be moistened to admit the air, they soon putrefy. The charqui or jerked beef of Southern America, is made into a glue by the heat of the sun, and thus assumes the character of cheese; decomposing by mites in the same manner. Dried flesh of this kind, mixed with butter or fat, is the pemican of North West America, from which air is thus excluded. Egyptian mummies have the air excluded by bandages.

There are various modes in which grain is preserved, some intentional, some accidental. What are called brewers' grains, or spent malt, the cowkeepers in the neighbourhood of London seek to preserve by covering them over in pits. The air is not excluded, and therefore the method is inefficient. What is called mummy wheat has been preserved by the effectual exclusion of the air. In Spain, wheat is preserved in what are called Silos, *i. e.* underground pits of peculiar soil, covered in with earth. Wheat thus treated lasts many years. The French armies were accustomed to hunt for these deposits for subsistence. A flat stone usually covered the opening; and on its removal a quantity of deleterious gas generally rushed out, sometimes killing the opener with asphyxia. In Canada West, hunters and Indians make deposits of corn and other things in artificial caverns called Caches, chosen in dry spots, and covered over. In some of the internal parts of Spanish America, the common granary is the skin of an ox taken off entire, and the legs and neck being tied round, it is filled with tightly-rammed earth through a hole in the back, while suspended between posts. When dried to a state of parchment, the earth is taken out, and the bloated bag, resembling a huge hippopotamus, is filled with grain, which is thus kept air and vermin proof.

Three conditions are essential to the process of putrefaction; viz. heat, moisture, and still air. With wind, moisture is carried off; with cold, the decomposing process is checked, as may be seen by the carcasses of animals that lie through the winter in snowy mountains, and dry up to glue. Without air, everything is locked up and remains *in statu quo*; as reptiles have been buried for ages in blocks of stone or ancient trees, and then resumed their vital functions, unchanged by time.

In direct opposition to these principles are the granaries of Great Britain and other countries constructed. Their site is generally the bank of a river, or the sea-side. They are built of

many floors, at a vast expense. They are provided with many windows, each floor being the height of a man, yet not permitting more than twelve to fifteen inches depth of grain on each floor for fear of heating, unless in the case of very old samples. Men are continually employed to turn the grain over, to ventilate it, and clear out the vermin; and the weevil is naturalised in every crevice, as surely as bugs in neglected London beds, or cockroaches in West Indian sugar ships. It is the admission of air that permits this evil, that promotes germination, that permits the existence of rats and mice. *In the exclusion of air is to be found the remedy.*

The practicalization of this is neither difficult nor costly: on the contrary, close granaries might be constructed at far less proportional cost than the existing kind. They might be made under ground as well as above ground, in many cases better. They might be constructed of cast iron, like gasometer tanks; or of brick and cement; or of brick and asphalt, like underground water-tanks. It is only required that they should be air-tight, and consequently water-tight. A single man-hole at the top, similar to a steam boiler, is all the opening required, with an air-tight cover. The air-pump has long ceased to be a philosophic toy, and has taken its place in the arts as a manufacturer's tool; and no difficulty would exist as to that portion of the mechanism. Now, if we suppose a large cast-iron or brick cylinder sunk in the earth, the bottom being conical, and the top domed over; an air-pump adjusted for exhausting the air, and an Archimedean screw pump to discharge the grain, we have the whole apparatus complete. If we provide for *wet* grain, a water-pump may be added, as to a leaky ship. Suppose, now, a cargo of grain, partly germinating, and containing rats, mice, and weevils, to be shot into this reservoir, the cover put on and luted, and the air-pump at work, the germination would instantly cease, and the animal functions would be suspended. If it be objected that they would revive with the admission of the air, we answer, that the air need not be admitted, save to empty the reservoir. If it be contended that the reservoir may be leaky, we answer, so may a ship; and if so, the air-pump must be set to work just as is the case with a water-pump in a leaky ship.

The cost of an underground reservoir would possibly be more than one above ground, but it has the advantage of occupying space of otherwise little value. One obvious cheapness of this improved granary over those now existing is, that the whole cubic contents may be filled, whereas, in the existing mode, not above one-fourth of the cubic contents can be rendered available.

But many existing structures might be rendered eligible. For example: the railway arches of the Eastern Counties, the Black-wall, and the Greenwich. In such cases the grain would be discharged into them from waggons on the line, in the mode used with coals. Reservoirs might be erected in farm yards, and the grain threshed out and carried from the harvest field direct, with the absolute certainty of preserving it any length of time that might be desired. Or, inasmuch as it is a certain thing that all farms must ultimately communicate with railways, by means of cheap horse-trains, or steam sidings, in order to work to profit, it would be desirable that the granary should be erected at some central railway station, where a steam mill would do the work of exhausting the air, discharging the grain by Archimedean screw when required, and grinding it into meal.

No better purpose could be found to which to apply the atmospheric engines and stations of the Croydon Railway with their existing air-pumps. Communicating with all the southern wheat-growing counties of England, and also with the Thames, no spot could be more eligible as a central depôt. In connexion with these arrangements it would be desirable to minimise the cost of transit in every possible way.

The same arrangements that are good on land are also good at sea. Many cargoes of wheat have been abandoned owing to heat and germination on their passage. Rats, mice, and weevils, also, are very destructive. If the vessel were built with metal-lined, air-tight compartments, the air might be exhausted by pump; occasionally trying the pump to ensure against leakage; and thus even new, undried grain, might be carried and delivered across the sea undamaged. Collateral advantages would also be gained: the vessel would be more safe by means of air-tight compartments, and also more buoyant. And the same arrangements would be equally available for various kinds of goods subject to damage in transit,—such as are hermetically sealed in tin cases; and thus the expense of package would be saved.

In reservoirs on shore the air might not merely be pumped out; warm air might be pumped in, to dry damp grain. Water might also be pumped in and out to *cleanse* the grain.

Similar reservoirs or magazines on a smaller scale might be constructed for butchers or other provision dealers, and meat might be preserved fresh for weeks in the heat of summer, preventing the necessity of waste, or of selling at ruinously low prices; and so with the fish brought to Billingsgate or other markets. On the same principle, there is no doubt that fresh meat, as sea stock, might be carried instead of salt meat, and that fresh provi-

sions might be transported from any part of the world to any other part. Pork, or beef, or mutton, or venison, might be killed in America, and transported into England. Weevilly biscuit would be a traditional commodity only, in the annals of sailor craft.

"Water-tight compartments" is at present the expression for a safe ship. "Air-tight compartments" would be a term expressive of equal safety and far more general utility. The expense of air-tight joints for the man-holes or openings would be but trifling. By the application of *gutta percha*, a perfect fit might at all times be ensured with scarcely any expense.

As regards the economy of transport of grain from foreign countries, the process would be as follows. The corn brought down the Mississippi to New Orleans, or by canal or rail to New York, would be discharged into the air-tight magazines of the vessel. On arriving at Liverpool, or Birkenhead, or Harwich, the Archimedean screw pump would discharge the grain into close waggons on a railway on the edge of the quay. These waggons might be rendered measurers of quantity, being all made to hold a given number of quarters; and thus all labour and expense in measuring would be saved. The waggons so loaded in bulk, and without the expense of sacks, would discharge their contents into reservoirs beneath the sidings; say, for instance, the railway arches of the Eastern Counties. There it might remain secure against all detriment for any number of years the owner might desire, with the minimum of expense in transit and stowage. The waggons would be constructed with a hatch at top and a discharge-pipe below.

Lynn is the shipping port of Norfolk, where grain is collected to forward by sea to the markets of Yorkshire and elsewhere. With the granaries before described, in connexion with railways, Lynn might become a centre for mills and biscuit manufacture. The government dock-yards, communicating with railways, might have similar establishments. There can be little doubt, that with such arrangements, the prices of food would be far less fluctuating, and that it would become a practicable thing to borrow money on food as on brandy or iron, or any other commodity, when once its durability and unchangeability were demonstrated.

The various modes of applying the principle of air-exhausted reservoirs, may be thus summed up.

As Fixed Reservoirs.

1. Granaries for seaports and dockyards.
2. Ditto, for rivers and canals.
3. Ditto, farms.

4. Granaries for railways.
5. Ditto, for mills and breweries.
6. Reservoirs for butchers.
7. Ditto for fishmongers.

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|---------------------------------------|---|
| 8. Reservoirs for fruiterers. | 14. Fresh meat in ships as provisions or cargo. |
| 9. Ditto, for private dwellings. | 15. Fruit and vegetable ships. |
| 10. Ditto, for dairies. | 16. Fish vessels. |
| 11. Ditto, for government dock-yards. | 17. Damageable goods generally. |
| <i>As Moveable Reservoirs for</i> | 18. Canal boats. |
| 12. Grain ships. | 19. Railway waggons. |
| 13. Combustibles in ships. | 20. Road waggons. |

In these simple means will be found an economic and ample security against those fluctuations in the price of food that really constitute the groundwork of the greater part of the miseries of man.*

G. A. H.

ART. II.—1. *Moyen de diriger un Ballon par une Machine appliquée à la Nacelle.* Bruxelles. 1847.

2.—*An Essay on Aërial Navigation, pointing out modes of directing Balloons.* By Joseph Mac Sweeney, M.D. Cork: 1844. Second Edition.

WHEN the ingenuity and perseverance of man had rendered the river and the ocean subservient to human wants—when the art of navigation was so far advanced as to become of real and practical utility—it was natural that the speculations of sanguine and ingenious philosophers should be directed to the more daring project of navigating the air; and that having rendered tributary to his wishes one element, man should seek to make another his slave. The first conception of the idea of aërial navigation dates then from a very early period; and the expectation that man, at some period subsequent to their own, would be able to wing his way through the air, was certainly entertained by many of the early philosophers. This idea of the possibility of flying appears, in fact, to be one of those popular notions which have always more or less occupied the attention of projectors; and it has led in every age and country to schemes, many of them of the most absurd nature—all hitherto tried remarkable for their utter failure. But if the failures of the attempts hitherto made have been numerous and complete, this

* The suggestions contained in the preceding article appearing to us of great public importance, and eminently practical, we shall feel happy to be the medium of communication between any parties desirous of trying the experiment, and the author; for whom a line may be left with our publisher. The best mechanical arrangements involved in the principle have been the subject of some recent patents.—ED.

want of success may fairly be said to have arisen not more from the real and unavoidable difficulties attending such attempts than from the imperfect and inadequate idea of the nature and extent of the difficulties necessary to be overcome, which experimentalists have in general formed.

It is perhaps somewhat remarkable, that instead of following the method adopted in the first case, namely, that of inventing and employing a machine specifically lighter, volume for volume, than the fluid in which it floats, so much ingenuity and perseverance should have been wasted in vainly endeavouring to discover means of supporting the human body in the air by mechanical apparatus analogous to the wings of birds. Of this general belief in the possibility of flying so long entertained, and probably not yet extinct, the ancient fables of Dædalus and Icarus, and the dove of Archytas, were probably the popular and traditional expression, rather than the records of such attempts having been made.

However this may be, the problematical art of flying captivated, during some centuries, many a speculative genius, and the possibility of the human body floating in the atmosphere proved an idea so seductive, as to prevent any attempts at aerostation of a practicable nature till the end of the last century. The knowledge of the existence of gases, specifically lighter than atmospheric air, was not necessary in order to make a rational attempt at aerostation; and a careful study of the most ordinary phenomena might at any time have led to the invention of the Montgolfier balloon. Borelli was perhaps the first, who, by a comparison of the anatomical peculiarities of the human frame, and the structure of birds, demonstrated, to a certain extent, the impossibility of the realization of the cherished project of flying. He arrived at this conclusion from a comparison of the form and strength of the muscles of the wings of birds with the corresponding muscles of the human body. From about this period, when the attention of scientific men began to be withdrawn from impracticable attempts at flying, and directed to more rational and feasible schemes for supporting the human body in the atmosphere, may, in reality, be dated the commencement of the art of aerostation.

Perhaps, however, we might instance the Jesuit, Lana, as one of the earliest to point out the true direction to be given to experiments of this nature, although the method proposed by him was not in reality reducible to practice. Lana, in his work, published in 1670, discarding the ideas of his predecessors, suggested the construction of a machine weighing less than the volume of air it displaced, and this he believed it possible to

effect in the following manner. He proposed to construct large copper vessels, of a spherical form, one twenty-fifth of an inch in thickness, and perfectly air-tight. From these, by a method, which is, however, evidently imperfect and insufficient, he proposed to exhaust the air they contained. If these vessels were made of so large a size that the weight of the air contained in them previous to exhaustion were greater than the weight of the shells themselves, it is evident that, after the exhaustion of the air contained in it, a copper sphere, such as we have described, would, on being left freely to itself, rise into the air until it reached a region where the surrounding air had a density such that the volume of air displaced by the spherical case was exactly equal to the weight of the case itself.

Such was Lana's conception of a balloon, and impracticable as the idea is, and probably must ever remain, it is undoubtedly correct in theory, and was one of the first steps towards the invention of the balloon, such as it exists in the present day.

The fallacy, or rather the impracticability of the invention, was two-fold: first, the method of creating a vacuum proposed by Lana was imperfect; and secondly, it is practically impossible to construct a hollow sphere of so small a thickness that the sphere should weigh less than the volume of air it contains, and at the same time be sufficiently strong to resist the pressure of the atmosphere when exhausted of air. Various methods of exhausting receivers of any size or capacity might now be employed, all these methods being far superior to that of Lana, so that the first difficulty may be said to be overcome; but the mechanical problem of constructing a recipient, the shell of which should be of the thinness required, and at the same time possess sufficient strength to resist the pressure of the atmosphere, appears to be, notwithstanding the advance which the mechanical arts have made since that period, as hopeless at the present moment as it was in the time of Lana. We need scarcely dwell longer on the subject of this machine. In 1775, a Frenchman of the name of Galien, in a little treatise published at Avignon, suggested, instead of exhausting the air from a sphere as proposed by Lana, the employment of gases or vapours of less density than atmospheric air, but of equal tension or elasticity. In this case the tension of the gas inside the vessel or balloon being equal to that of the external air, no pressure on the surface of the balloon would exist; the metallic case proposed by Lana might be dispensed with, and a material, lighter and more convenient than copper, be substituted. Our celebrated countryman, Dr. Black, was one of the earliest who practically applied a similar idea. He employed in his experiments a bladder formed

of thin animal membrane, and filling the bladder or balloon so formed with pure hydrogen, found on trial that the bladder, when inflated, rose rapidly to the ceiling. Black, however, did not prosecute his experiments any further, and it was in France that the first experiments of this nature on a large scale took place. M. Montgolfier, soon after the experiment of Dr. Black here mentioned, repeated the same experiment on a somewhat greater scale, but found, from the perviousness of the materials—silk and paper, of which he constructed his balloons—that although at the instant of inflation they possessed a considerable ascending power, the escape of gas was so rapid that they fell to the ground in a few seconds. It was apparently this circumstance which led Montgolfier to discard the gas balloon, and turn his entire attention to the construction of that form of balloon which still bears his name, and of which he was undoubtedly the inventor.

With an aerostat of this description, the first aerial voyage was made November 21st, 1783, by MM. de Rozier and d'Arlandes. The invention of Montgolfier was, however, one which, although successful, was destined to be strangled in its birth. M. Charles, some time previous to this, had discovered, that by carefully covering the silk, of which balloons are constructed, with a coating of varnish, the escape of gas might be rendered trifling; and this capital invention having proved successful in an experiment made with a small balloon, carrying up no person, about a month before the ascent of M. Rozier, a few days after the voyage of the latter, MM. Charles and Robert having constructed a large gas-balloon, made a successful ascent with it. The success of this invention was so complete, that on the occasion of the first ascent with the above-mentioned balloon, on the 1st of December, 1783, from the garden of the Tuilleries, the balloon, although inflated with gas the previous day, was still found to retain an ascending power sufficient to carry up two persons. From the moment of this ascent, it was clear that the days of fire-balloons were numbered. The superior safety, the smaller size, and the more manageable nature of the gas-balloon, were advantages so evident, as to induce scientific men to consider the hydrogen-gas-balloon as alone fulfilling the conditions required in a machine destined to navigate the air.

The art of floating in the air had then at length been discovered, and the adventurer had at his command a machine which enabled him to soar to the skies, and which, within certain although circumscribed limits, afforded him the means of varying his elevation above the earth at will. But the problem of aerial navigation is of course not completely resolved by the invention of a machine or apparatus capable of sustaining the human body in the air. It

is necessary to discover, likewise, the means of guiding or propelling such a machine in any direction. It would, perhaps, at first sight appear probable, that if means of floating in the air be discovered, a method of propulsion could be readily found; yet it has proved in practice a far more difficult attempt than had, at first, been imagined: and the numerous schemes for effecting this object have all proved abortive, or been attended with success so insignificant as not to warrant the further prosecution of them. The balloon invented, the art of guiding or propelling it appears thus to be almost as far from our grasp and as distant of attainment as ever.

Since the invention of the gas-balloon by M. Charles, but few improvements of importance have been made in it, and, as might be foreseen from the original simplicity of the invention, what improvements have been made are not improvements in the principle, but in minor matters of detail. The most important improvement since introduced, is one effected in the early part of the present century by Mr. Green, well known for the many successful public ascents which he has since made. This improvement consists in the use of coal gas instead of pure hydrogen, which latter gas was employed in the ascents of M. Charles and the subsequent ones of Lunardi, Garnerin, and other aeronauts in this country.

One of the principal advantages arising from the employment of coal gas is economy, the saving of expense being very great; at the same time, from the greater density of the gas, its use entails this disadvantage, that the balloon is required to be of somewhat larger dimensions than when pure hydrogen is employed for inflation. The original expense of construction is thus increased, but the disadvantage of the greater cost and size of the balloon is more than counterbalanced by the economy and convenience attending the use of coal gas; and, what is of great importance if balloons are eventually to become of practical utility, the period during which a balloon retains its ascending power is considerably increased, when coal gas is substituted for hydrogen.

It is found, in fact, by observation, that coal gas, on account of its greater density, escapes much less rapidly than pure hydrogen through a porous substance, or through a membrane, or any body permeable to gases. This remarkable fact depends on a certain law which, although deducible theoretically from first principles, had escaped observation, until demonstrated some few years back by a series of ably conducted experiments by Professor Graham. The law discovered by this chemist is, that the velocity of diffusion is inversely proportional to the

square root of the specific gravity of the effluent gas. As an example and explanation of the meaning and operation of this law, we may cite the following experiment. If a glass jar be filled with any gas, and the mouth of the jar closed by a sheet of India rubber, or a plug of dry plaster-of-Paris, and a bell glass of common air, or any other gas different from that contained in the first jar be placed over it, an interchange of the two gases takes place, so that after a short time a portion of the gas contained in the small jar is found to have escaped into the bell glass covering it, whilst some part of the gas originally contained in the bell glass will be found to have permeated through the India rubber or plaster-of-Paris plug, and be contained in the small jar. If the length of time during which this process of interchange is allowed to go on be considerable, it will be found on examination that the composition of the gases in each of the jars is identical; but if the composition of the gases be examined a short time only after the commencement of this process, the volumes of the two gases which have passed through the porous screen will be found to be inversely proportional to the square roots of their respective specific gravities. It is evident, from the expression of the law of diffusion, that the difference between the rate of escape of hydrogen and common air, under similar circumstances, is very great. The diffusion-volumes are, in fact, as 457 to 100; or, in other words, if the vessel be filled with air, 100 volumes or measures of air will escape from it, while 457 volumes of hydrogen pass in; or if the vessel were filled with hydrogen, 457 measures would escape, and in the same time be replaced by 100 measures of atmospheric air.

With such intensity does this action proceed, that in the case above supposed of a tube, or jar, filled with hydrogen, and having its extremity carefully closed by a sheet of India rubber, being placed under a bell glass full of common air, the sheet of India rubber is gradually bent into the glass until it ultimately bursts by the external pressure. If, on the contrary, the bell glass be filled with hydrogen, and the small jar with common air; the hydrogen passing more freely than air through the screen, the sheet of India rubber will be forced out and gradually distended till it burst.

It is evident, as above remarked, that this interchange, or, as it is termed, diffusion of the two gases, will in general go on until the mixture of gases in the two receivers is precisely the same; but if the gas be contained in a collapsible body, like a balloon, and instead of being placed in a limited and air-tight space, such as the bell glass used in the above experiment, it be placed in the open air, it is clear that the hydrogen which escapes

from the balloon, not being replaced by an equal volume of common air, the balloon will collapse to an extent corresponding to the difference between the diffusion-volumes of hydrogen and common air. Thus the actual loss of ascending power will be two-fold. First, there will be the loss arising from the passage of the external air into the balloon; and, secondly, the loss arising from the actual escape of hydrogen. The real amount of the loss of gas of course depends on the condition of the balloon, and the extent of surface it presents; but the numbers above given show that the loss of ascending power must, in most cases, and where pure hydrogen is employed, be considerable. The specific gravity of coal gas varies very considerably, but it is in all cases greater than that of pure hydrogen; from which fact, joined to its much lower cost, arises the great advantage of employing it, the loss of ascending power being less rapid. At the same time, the balloon being required to be larger, the surface from which the escape of gas takes place is increased, though not in the same ratio, the capacity increasing for any augmentation of the diameter more rapidly than the surface; and this enlarged surface rendering necessary a greater extent of the cordage or netting on which the whole strain of the weight falls, has the advantage, the weight to be supported being the same, of diminishing the strain on the netting and against the balloon. On the whole, this improvement was one of considerable importance, especially on the score of economy, as it immediately reduced very greatly the expense of filling a balloon. Coal gas can be manufactured at a prime cost of less than one shilling per thousand cubic feet, and if made in large quantity at even a smaller sum; and taking the content of a large balloon at 40,000 cubic feet, the actual expense of manufacturing the gas necessary for inflating a balloon of such a size would be only £2, while, in the early experiments made with hydrogen balloons, the cost of the gas, owing to the then high price of sulphuric acid, amounted, in some instances, to as much as £200.

Since the introduction of the use of coal-gas in acrostation, but few, or rather, perhaps, we ought to say, no improvement in the construction of balloons have been made; minor improvements have indeed been introduced in the form and arrangement of some parts of the machine or apparatus connected with it, such as the ingenious method of liberating the balloon employed by Mr. Green, whom we have already mentioned; but these are all simple contrivances of detail, which in no respect alter the principle of the machine.

With the invention of the balloon, we had then obtained the means of floating in the air, and acquired possession of a con-

trivance for this purpose, which, except its inability to support very great weights, left but little to be desired, when considered as destined merely to support the human body in the air, and to move freely with the wind. But the employment of such a contrivance can scarcely be called aerial navigation, and, in fact, only half the work had been done: the ship for navigating the air had been invented; the art of sailing it is still unknown. We can scarcely consider ourselves to have succeeded in discovering the art of aerial navigation until the aeronaut has at his command the means of varying the elevation of the balloon above the earth, and of causing it to move in any horizontal direction, at will. Two methods of effecting this naturally suggest themselves; indeed, the art of aerial navigation may be considered (as that of ocean navigation now generally is) as divided into two great and distinct branches; the one, comprising the manner of directing the machine by the agency of the wind itself in any direction, either coincident with or different from that of the wind; the other, the employment of artificial means of propulsion, such as propellers driven by steam-engines, or machinery of a similar nature. Of the attainment of a practically useful method of propelling balloons by the motive power of steam, we fear there is little hope; and were the attention of projectors directed to a method of sailing balloons, rather than propelling them, it is probable some useful practical progress might soon be made in the art of aerial navigation. Attempts at guiding balloons have indeed been made, but, being ill directed, have always failed; and, in fact, the application of the steam-engine to locomotion not having been made at the time of the invention of the balloon, all the early attempts at guiding balloons or increasing their speed, were directed by the analogy, real or supposed, of a balloon and a sailing vessel. The supposed identity of the two cases led immediately to the trial of sails and rudders applied to balloons; the experimentalists not perceiving the considerable and important difference existing between a balloon and a ship, appear to have fancied that the two cases differed merely in that the balloon floated in a medium of far less density than water. The similarity of the two cases is, however, apparent rather than real. In the eagerness of the attempt it was entirely overlooked, that whilst the balloon, entirely surrounded by and immersed in the fluid which supports it, moves necessarily at the same rate as the current of air in which it happens to be, a vessel floating on the surface of the water is impelled by the force of the air, which, moving at a much greater velocity than any current, either in the river or the ocean, has, notwithstanding its much less density, sufficient power to give

motion to the vessel. Sails and rudders then, when applied to balloons, were found useless; the first did not increase the speed of a balloon, the second had no effect in guiding it. Sails were, of course, useless, since there was no wind to fill them—a balloon moving as fast as the wind; and for the same reason, there being no current, the rudder had no action on the direction of the motion.

The more recent attempts made of late years have almost invariably been founded on schemes for propelling balloons, and in a great number of these the employment of the steam-engine is a principal feature. The objections to the employment of this motive power, even if it should be found possible to avail ourselves of the force of steam for this purpose, would probably prove of such force as to prevent its introduction to any extent. It may no doubt be urged that in a medium of so small a density as air, the actual force required to propel a balloon would be very small, and that this being the case, the size and weight of the machinery necessary to impel a balloon need not be very considerable, and that therefore it would be found possible to construct balloons of sufficient size and ascending power to carry the necessary machine. But even were it so, the necessity there would be of either relinquishing the use of the propeller after a very short period, or of descending to obtain supplies of fuel and water, would be found to render its practical application of but little value. If it also be remembered that to work a steam-engine it requires not only an engine and boiler, but a heavy weight of water and fuel, even if the engine work but for a very short time, and also engine-men and stokers to work the machinery and feed the fires, the uselessness of the attempt is so evident as to render numerical calculation unnecessary for exposing its fallacy. The lightest form of marine steam-engine in use weighs about 13 cwt. per horse power, and when to this we add the weight of fuel and water contained in the boiler, and that of the men necessary for attending the machinery, we arrive at a sum total for the weight, whatever horse-power we may assume as necessary, entirely beyond the power of any balloon to support. For though we may imagine a balloon of such vast dimensions as to be able to support such a weight, yet the construction of such a balloon would be difficult, and its inflation almost impossible.

But, hereafter, some means of obtaining motive power may be discovered which will enable us to dispense with the cumbersome appendage of a steam-boiler, and the weight of fuel and water necessary for it. Electro-magnetism may, perchance, stand us here in good stead; but at the present moment the recently-discovered gun-cotton offers, perhaps, the best hopes of success. The

enormous force of this substance, compared with its weight and the space it occupies, the abolition of the boiler and all fuel which it would effect, and the fact of no water either for feed or condensation being required, are advantages which make us look forward to a trial of gun-cotton as offering a prospect of greater success than has hitherto attended attempts at balloon propulsion. Gun-cotton might be tried, probably with some effect, on the recoil principle of the rocket, and the fumific impeller of Mr. Gordon, as well as with machinery similar to the ordinary steam-engine, such as has been recently patented by Mr. Talbot. The force of steam not being in this case applicable as a propelling power, if that of gun-cotton should not be found available, we must seek in another direction for a motive power, which, with a small weight, gives an intense force. The great object of the inventor will evidently be to get rid of a heavy incumbrance, such as a steam-boiler, and to confine his machine within the most narrow limits possible as to space and weight. The use of gun-cotton in lieu of steam would certainly reduce the size and weight of the machinery, as far as we can reasonably hope to reduce it. Our propelling machinery would then, in short, be a steam-engine working without water, without a boiler, and with but a very small weight of fuel; but until this substance has been successfully applied as a motive power, its application to ballooning must, of course, be mere conjecture.

There can be no doubt that if a motive power fit for the purpose could be found, some form of propeller would soon be invented capable of applying this power with good effect in the propulsion of balloons. The numerous experiments which have been made during the last few years with submerged propellers applied to steam-vessels make it certain that a similar form of propeller might be applied to balloons with a fair chance of a successful result, if only a moderate velocity be required. We have ourselves seen a model balloon, furnished with a screw propeller worked by clockwork, perform in a satisfactory manner in a small room, the air being still. The employment of a propelling power applied to the car of a balloon would, however, experience a difficulty of a peculiar nature, which presents itself in all balloon experiments. This is the constant though slow rotation of a balloon round its vertical axis. The use of the guide rope, which we shall presently describe, almost, if not entirely, destroys the tendency to rotation; but one effect of the guide-rope is to retard the motion of the balloon, while the object of the employment of a propelling force is, of course, to increase the velocity of the balloon, so that the contemporaneous employment of a propelling force and the guide-rope is scarcely feasible; but until, by some

alteration in the form of balloons, or by the application of some mechanical contrivance destined to that effect, the tendency of a balloon to rotate round its vertical axis be destroyed, the application of propelling machinery to balloons can be followed but by little or no useful effect.

The want of success attending the early attempts at guiding balloons appears to have deterred adventurers from repeating these experiments, or devising new methods for effecting this object; and since the beginning of the present century nothing of practical utility has been tried. However, Mr. C. Green, whom we have already had occasion to mention, has broached an idea which appears to be in the right direction, and which will possibly, when modified, be found to be feasible. Mr. Green having remarked, during his numerous balloon voyages, that at various heights above the earth he met with currents of air which carried him in a direction different from that in which the wind was blowing at the time of starting, conceived the idea, that if it be possible to keep a balloon at a constant elevation above the surface of the earth, advantage might be taken of this circumstance, for, by increasing or diminishing the altitude of the balloon, a current of air might be found to carry the aeronaut in any direction he might desire. It has indeed been long known that the wind, observed at the surface of the earth, does not blow in the same direction with the currents of air moving at some distance from the earth. This phenomenon occurs not only in our latitudes, but also in the regions of the trade-winds; and several observers, amongst them Sir James Ross, in his recent voyage, have noticed, when in the trades, small clouds moving at a considerable height above the sea, in a direction contrary to that of the trade-winds. It is obvious that, if it be true, that at some height or other above the earth we may find a wind blowing in any given direction, and supposing we can cause the balloon to remain invariably at the same height, we might be enabled to move a balloon in any direction, merely by ascending or descending until a current of air having the required direction is met with.

Various methods of causing the balloon to remain at an invariable height may, doubtless, be supposed; but the one actually in use, namely, that of discharging gas or ballast according as it may be necessary to check a tendency of the balloon to rise or fall, is of very limited application, for the quantity of ballast and gas which can be employed in this manner is very small. The power of varying the elevation, or remaining at the same height, would be greatly extended by the use of condensed or liquified gas; a small receiver, containing liquid coal-gas, might be taken up in the car,

and being connected with the balloon by a tube and stop-cock, the aeronaut would be able, by the simple opening of the stop-cock, to permit the entrance into the balloon of a large quantity of gas. There would undoubtedly be a few practical difficulties in its application, but none such as could not be readily overcome; and the danger attending the use of gas in this form is but slight, liquified gas having been in common use for some years past for lighting apartments and railway carriages in France.

Mr. Green,* however, proposes a method very different from the above. He supposes the aeronaut furnished with a rope of sufficient length to reach from the balloon, when in the desired current of air, to the earth; one portion of the rope resting on and trailing along the surface of the earth or sea, as the case may be, while the other end is attached to the balloon or car. If the balloon, from the effects of the sun's rays on it, rise to a greater elevation, a corresponding length of rope will be raised off the surface of the ground and supported in the air; and in the same way, if the balloon sink, an additional length of rope will be plunged in the water or dragged along the earth. The result will be, that in the one case the same effect will be produced as if an additional quantity of ballast were added to, or a small volume of gas allowed to escape from the balloon; in the other, the effect will be similar to that of the discharge of ballast from the balloon. It is evident that by this contrivance the balloon will remain at nearly the same height from the ground, the effect of any expansion or contraction of the gas created by increase or decrease of the temperature of the surrounding air being counteracted by the alteration in the weight which the balloon has to support, and that without any loss of either ballast or gas. This method, however, could scarcely be practicable, except at sea, on account of the damage and difficulty its employment would occasion by the entanglement of the rope in trees and buildings; but at sea no difficulty arising from these circumstances could be experienced, and the experiment is certainly one well worth a trial. At great elevations above the earth, the weight of the rope would also become so considerable as to require for its support a large portion of the ascending power of any balloon.

One thing is clear, that the friction of the rope on the earth or in the water, would occasion a degree of resistance sufficient to retard in some degree the speed of the balloon; and this would lead us to hope that this plan being adopted, it would be found

* To Mr. Green belongs, we believe, rather the merit of having revived this project than of having invented it. The first mention of such a contrivance is in the '*Aeropaedia*' of Baldwin, and the invention was made by him about the end of the last century.

possible to guide or steer balloons. We have already observed, that to guide or steer balloons, it will be necessary to find out some method of creating a relative velocity between the balloon and the wind which impels it; or, in other words, we must arrange matters so that the balloon move either slower or more rapidly than the wind. Now this is effected by the proposed guide-rope of Mr. Green; and we may observe, that sailors are sometimes compelled to resort to a similar artifice in order to obtain steerage-way on a vessel.

This artifice in navigation is termed "kedging," and is employed when a vessel is floating down a stream or river when there is no wind. Under such circumstances a vessel would be in constant danger of being run on shore, unless steerage-way could be got on the vessel. This is effected in the following manner:—It is well known, that an anchor holds the ground more or less firmly according as its distance from the vessel is greater or less; and when the anchor is immediately under the ship's bows, it has very little or no hold. Now, supposing a vessel be in a tideway with no sails set, to obtain steerage-way, the anchor is allowed to trail along the ground under the bows of the vessel, the cable being hove down until nearly vertical; and the resistance thus opposed to the motion of the vessel through the water is found sufficient to give a relative motion between the vessel and the water sufficiently great to enable the vessel to be steered.

The artifice above briefly described evidently bears a striking resemblance to the guide-rope of Mr. Green, and we think that an attempt at steering balloons, made in conjunction with the use of the guide-rope, would be successful. Of course some practical difficulties would be found to exist, and the form and arrangement of the steering apparatus would be a subject for great consideration. Some difficulty would also be met with from the rotation of the balloon on its vertical axis.

At sea, where this idea holds out great hopes of success, the lower end of the guide-rope should be attached to a small boat, or float, which would increase the resistance, and give additional steerage-way.

The difficulties of steering balloons would then be found, we think, to be far from insuperable. The rotation of a balloon about its vertical axis would likewise be found a considerable obstacle to the use of any propelling power, since the rotatory motion of the balloon would cause the direction of the propelling force to change at each instant. A balloon always rotates in this manner, but its rotation is slow, and the fact is not at once perceptible, and only apparent on regarding fixedly an object, such as a cloud, at some distance from the spectator, when the position

of the observer is soon found to change. It is possible, that were a form other than the spherical one usually adopted given to the balloon, this motion of rotation might be very much diminished, if not altogether avoided.

For a considerable period after the invention of the balloon, hopes were entertained that it would prove a valuable instrument of scientific research, as well as a rapid and useful mode of locomotion. Unfortunately, the scientific value of the invention has proved to be of as little importance as its commercial worth. Notwithstanding the considerable period which has now elapsed since the invention of balloons, and although, in this country, during part of the year, balloon ascents have become of almost daily occurrence, but few scientific facts and results have been furnished by observations made during balloon voyages. In fact, scientific observations have rarely been thought of during balloon expeditions; ascents being commonly made by unscientific adventurers for the sake of gain, and to amuse a gaping crowd, and not with a scientific object. But during each ascent in this country in the course of the last few years, had there been made only a small number of observations, a corresponding observation being always made at the same instant at the surface of the earth, a large mass of facts would have accumulated, from the discussion of which important general principles might have been discovered by analysts.

The science of meteorology especially might receive a great impulse from investigations carried on in balloons, and the law of the decrease of temperature on ascending from the surface of the earth, and the hygrometrical and electrical state of the atmosphere at various heights could be readily determined.

The most important aerial voyages which have been undertaken expressly for scientific purposes, are those by M. Gay-Lussac, on the 23rd of August and the 15th of September, 1804, in the first of which he was accompanied by M. Biot. The principal facts demonstrated by the experiments performed during these two ascents, was the identity of the chemical constitution of the atmosphere at the greatest height above the level of the ocean yet attained by man, with that of the air at the surface of the earth. In the last ascent made by M. Gay-Lussac, in which this distinguished chemist was unaccompanied by any person, part of the apparatus carried up by the aeronaut consisted of two flasks, from which the air had been exhausted till the mercury stood at 1-20th of an inch. These flasks were, of course, furnished with stop-cocks; and upon trial before the voyage took place, it was found that when exhausted to the above extent the vacuum was still preserved, so perfect was the workmanship, after the lapse of

eight days. One of these flasks was filled with air at the height of 21,460 feet, the other at 21,790 above the surface of the earth; and, upon analysis at the Polytechnic School, the proportions of oxygen and nitrogen were found to be exactly the same as at the surface of the earth.

The other principal observations made during these two voyages related to the intensity of the magnetic force at various heights. It was soon found that observations with the dipping needle were impracticable; and recourse was had simply to the method of counting the duration of the vibrations of a needle suspended in the ordinary manner, with its axis in a horizontal position. These observations were attended, however, with considerable difficulty, owing to the slow rotation of the balloon about its vertical axis; and it was only by seizing the period of quiescence between the conclusion of the rotation of the balloon in one direction and the commencement of its rotation in the opposite direction, that the observations could be made in a satisfactory manner. The result of numerous trials, and especially of those made by M. Gay-Lussac in his last voyage, when additional precautions for securing accuracy in the observations were employed, led to the conclusion that the time of vibration of the magnetic needle, at various heights above the earth, is identical with that at the surface of the earth.

As an example of the results arrived at, we may mention, that at an altitude of 9,950 feet, twenty oscillations of the needle were performed in 83 seconds, the time required to make the same number at the surface of the earth having previously been found to be 84.33 seconds. This, however, would give a diminution in the mean time of vibration of only .066 seconds, and the greater number of observations made did not show so great a difference either way.

The great difficulty attending the performance of these experiments, and the small number of observations, not more than six or seven, that it was possible to make at any one time, would of course render the limits of error of observation rather wide; and on the discussion of the whole of the observations made, it was found that the difference in the time of vibration, at various heights, was in reality inappreciable, what difference was found to exist being assigned as error on the part of the observer. It was hence concluded, perhaps rather hastily, that the force of magnetic attraction had not varied or diminished at any height to which the aeronauts had attained. The observations appear to have been made with remarkable care and correctness, and seem in every respect worthy to be relied on; the conclusion, however, deduced from them by MM. Gay-Lussac

and Biot is undoubtedly incorrect. It was not known to these distinguished philosophers, although the fact had been long suspected, that the intensity of the magnetic force increases as the temperature decreases; and it so happens, that in the experiments of these *savans* the diminution of the force of magnetic attraction caused by the elevation of the needle above the earth, was nearly balanced by the increased intensity arising from the diminution of temperature, which was very considerable, at the heights at which their observations were made. It was this circumstance which led them into error, and the experiments are thus in perfect accordance with the present theory of terrestrial magnetism; they, however, offer a degree of interest, which would make it desirable to repeat them whenever an opportunity offers.

The last balloon-expedition of M. Gay-Lussac is likewise remarkable for the determination, by barometrical measurement, of the greatest altitude which has hitherto been measured by the barometer: in fact, the limit reached on this occasion is, probably the highest yet attained by man above the level of the sea. At the moment of starting from the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers at ten o'clock in the morning of the 10th of September, the barometer stood at 30.66 inches, the thermometer indicating 82 Fahrenheit. The extreme point to which the barometer fell appears to have been 12.95 inches, the thermometer at the same time marking 14.9; numbers which give, according to the formula employed, a height of 23,040 feet, or nearly four miles and a half above the level of the ocean.

With respect, however, to the above barometrical observations, it must be remembered that barometrical measurements of heights, always regarded with some degree of doubt, must now, if great accuracy be required, be discarded altogether when made at heights at all approaching the above, where a given weight of atmospheric air was found to occupy nearly double the space which it filled at the surface of the earth. The law of Marriotte, so long held to be one of the fundamental laws of physics, regarded almost as an axiom, and on the truth of which the correctness of the ordinary formulæ for the determination of heights by the barometer reposes, but rendered doubtful, some twenty years back, by the experiments of Despretz, has been recently proved to be altogether incorrect by Regnault, who has confirmed and extended the results of his predecessor.

The law, then, that gases occupy spaces inversely as the pressures, not being the true expression of the expansibility of gases, it follows necessarily that the ordinary formulæ based on this fictitious law, being merely empirical, cannot be expected to give

results of great accuracy when applied to so delicate a question as the measurement of great heights.

Experiments with captive balloons have been in preparation for a considerable time, under the superintendence of a committee composed of several of the most distinguished members of the British Association. These experiments have been undertaken principally with a view to determine the law of the decrease of the temperature of the air at various elevations above the ground, but the apparatus employed can be readily applied to the wet-bulb thermometer, now always used in hygrometrical observations. The balloon used, having but a small weight to carry, is very small, being only eighteen feet in diameter, and twenty-five feet high. An apparatus called a telegraph-thermometer, the use of which is to telegraph to the observer the temperature of the air surrounding the balloon, is attached to the car, and corresponding observations of the temperature are made on the ground, where the observer is placed. The so-called telegraph-thermometer, which we believe is the invention of Professor Wheatstone, is an ingenious mechanical contrivance, of the nature of which the following description will give an idea.

By means of a small clock-movement, a vertical rack is made to ascend and descend regularly in six minutes, three minutes being occupied in the ascent, and three in the descent. To the rack is attached a platinum wire, which moves within the tube of a thermometer. This wire travels in its ascent and descent through a space equal to 28° of the thermometric scale, and may be adjusted so as to pass over any 28° of the range. The balloon is moored to the ground by a single cord, around which are wormed two copper wires carefully covered with silk. The extremity of one of these wires is in connexion with the mercury in the bulb of the thermometer, and that of the other wire is connected with the wire carried by the rack. The two lower extremities of the wires are connected together on the ground, and in the wire whose end is connected with the mercury in the thermometer, a sensible galvanometer is placed, a single small voltaic circuit being introduced in the course of the other wire. Matters being thus arranged, so long as the platinum wire in the tube is not in contact with the mercury the needle of the galvanometer will not be deflected, but it will deviate from its zero point as soon as the contact takes place, and remain deflected until the contact is again broken. The clock beating half-seconds, and the ascent and descent of the rack being uniform, the platinum wire is, of course, carried through the 360th part of its range in each half-second, and a distinct observation is given for each beat of the clock. If, therefore, an observer,

stationed on the ground, count the beats of a pendulum, beating in unison with the balloon clock, and likewise note the instant at which the needle of the galvanometer is deflected, the temperature marked by the thermometer in the car of the balloon may be readily deduced, and even if the rates of the chronometer vary, a correction for this can easily be made.

The practical difficulties attending these experiments have been found to be so great, that although two or three years have elapsed since the appointment of the committee charged with the making of these experiments, no report has yet been laid before the Association.

These difficulties are, however, not altogether insuperable, and it is hoped that they have been by this time surmounted; and when an extended series of observations made in this manner, under satisfactory circumstances, shall have been concluded, results of interest and importance will doubtless be obtained. The heights, however, to which these observations can be extended must of course be limited; and in repeating experiments such as those of M. Gay-Lussac, recourse must be had to a balloon unmoored, floating freely in the atmosphere, and capable of supporting the observer and his instruments. Such experiments are of so costly and hazardous a nature as to deter most private individuals from attempting them; and it is only under the auspices of the government, or such a body as the British Association, that we can hope for a series of balloon experiments, made with the necessary care, and under a sufficiently wide range of circumstances, to ensure the perfect safety of the employment of them in physics.

ART. III.—1. *Prospectus of the Anti-Bribery Society.*

2. *Tracts of the Anti-Bribery Society, No. I.; Illustrations of the General Election of 1847.*
3. *The Law of Elections.* By C. Wordsworth, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. London: 1847.
4. *The Parliamentary Companion for 1847.* By Charles R. Dodd, Esq.
5. *First Report from the Select Committee on Fictitious Votes (Scotland).* 1837.
6. *Report from the Select Committee on Votes of Electors.* 1846.
7. *Report of the Select Committee on Election Proceedings.* 1842.
8. *The "Weekly Times," September to November.*

THE moral power of the associative principle is receiving large practical development in these days. The power of association has been grandly exhibited in the conquests man has

made over the material world. It has reared the splendid harbours in which floats the commerce of the world; it has constructed the iron roads, those peaceful instruments of civilization, which almost annihilate time and space. To the co-operative efforts of British enterprise do we owe these and a hundred other magnificent aids to industrial development and progress. Our century has exhibited great political proofs of the moral might of association in the well-directed agitation of societies. In our own country, and within a generation or two, it put down the accursed traffic in men; it manumitted the slave; it enfranchised millions of our fellow-subjects, the Helots of Ireland; and—latest triumph—it destroyed the monopoly of the bounty of Providence in the unrighteous laws which taxed the poor man's bread to increase the rich man's store. Not more important were these great facts as triumphs of right over wrong, than they are instructive to the weak, the suffering, and the oppressed, in signaling the way to new conquests on the broad battle-field of progression.

But we require no laborious argument to prove a proposition so clearly and practically demonstrated, as that association, developed in the efforts of societies, is the first and the best active instrument of social and political progress. If we carefully examine into the character of our institutions, our free Parliaments, our electoral system, our unfettered liberty of speech, the rapid concentration and force of public opinion, and our well-organised and powerful press; if we resolve these into their separate elements, how weak do they seem for great and good results, how inadequate are they to the genius of the age! Singly weak, united they are strong. Hence the moral greatness and the power of political association. In the agitations of societies are concentrated all the individual virtues of the various elements which compose the free institutions of England, omnipotent for good when rightly directed. To some these remarks may seem the demonstrations of truisms; but they are truths founded on the great principles which form the very basis of society, but truths so simple that they rarely enter into the philosophy of every-day thoughts, though worthy to be inscribed on the hearts of all disciples of progress. In an age characterised by so little of deep thought beneath the surface of principles, men rush too rapidly to conclusions, and discriminate rashly the connexion of cause and effect in political results. Many have thus overlooked the true cause of all the reforms, social, commercial, and political, which have received their consummation within the walls of the legislature. Agitation has been the true artizan of progress. Thoughtful minds conceive, earnest voices inculcate, public opinion is formed, the press reflects, and all, sooner or later, act with an irresistible momentum

on the legislature, till truth and right and justice are consummated in the concession of reform. Agitation then, and, better still, when it is concentrated in the efforts of organized societies, is the main-spring of progress.

A prevailing error of current thought is the over estimate men take of the power and the virtue of Parliaments, and the small reliance they place on themselves. A slight examination into the constitution of our political system is sufficient to demonstrate, practically, the inefficiency of Parliament, singly and unassisted, in the cause of progress. In theory, the legislature is doubtless all-powerful in the cause of right as well as of wrong, because it has the power to make and unmake the laws which regulate society; practically, it has ever been slow and inefficient. Much of this want of initiative power probably arises from that which we have justly been taught to admire as one of the best bulwarks of liberty—government by the popular voice through Parliament. The conventionalisms of habit and feeling arising from the class composition of Parliaments hitherto, and the aristocratic nature of governments, have done the rest. An executive, whose tenure of power depends on the popular will, naturally becomes the organ and reflex of public opinion on the legislature at large. The voice of Parliament has therefore generally been but the echo of the executive. It monopolises the power to initiate good; it debars the efforts and destroys the power of individual exertion. Under a liberal and enlightened extension of the electoral franchise, which should establish intelligence for the most absurd standard of fitness the perversity of human reason ever devised, the fair form of this theory would be developed in all its beauty and its power; and in the hands of rulers selected, not from hereditary or pecuniary considerations, but for mental and moral fitness, the natural errors of popular government would still be obviated, and strength, compactness, and rapidity given to the will of Parliament and the people. Freed from the incubus of a drowsy race of large-acred men and millionaires, and replaced by men of intelligence and moral worth—when the might of the money-bag shall yield to a standard of intellect, then may we expect to see the Parliament of England all-powerful in the initiation of improvement. Does any one suspect that the picture is over coloured?—let him read the debates of the House of Commons any open night of the session. Does an independent member of Parliament bring forward a motion for reform, or ask leave to introduce a measure, with any hope of immediate success? If so sanguine a legislator exists, he is speedily convinced of his error by the supercilious but conclusive answer which some flippant red-tapist of office deigns to offer, or by the unanswerable logic

of a count-out. Beyond the charmed circle of government officials, government aspirants, and the still narrower limits of those who by eminent debating talent can command the attention of Parliament, vain is the attempt for any "private member" to carry a measure more important than a commons-enclosure or a turnpike act. What, then, it may be asked, is the purpose which animates members in making those endless motions and speeches which cram the pages of Hansard? These motions and these speeches are neither without a purpose nor a plan. They are directed, not on the dull drowsy ear of Parliament, but they speak directly to the country in a voice that in due time shall be re-echoed with more potent result in the legislature itself. The power of the individual member of Parliament is not direct; it is merely suggestive of good. It is one of the many fictions attendant on law-making, as well as of law-administration, brought to light in the working of our constitution, and it only goes to add to the abundant proofs of the importance of the associative principle. Parliament, as an active instrument for good, is but a large platform, visible to the whole empire, whence great truths are at times uttered for the encouragement of the people. What a satire on the vaunted intelligence of Parliament—how black the falsehood of its boasted omnipotence!

The narrow limit of the representative system, it must be apparent, even from this hasty surface-examination, is the principal cause of the extreme slowness and inefficiency of Parliament in the work of progress. It follows, then, *ex necessitate rei*, that an extension of these limits is the natural cure; and all classes of liberal thinkers, more or less, concur in this opinion. The question is not one of natural right and justice,—but with some of extent, with a smaller circle—of time. It is not our object to enter into this large question, involving so many considerations of right, justice, and expediency, obscured by the murky clouds of prejudice and fierce passion in which they have been involved by class-legislation and error. If less philosophical in aim, we would essay a more practical and what some might call a more expedient course, and inquire if there is no other mode, no shorter path, by which the intelligence of Parliament may be increased, and its moral power for the initiation of good extended, so as to place within the reach of every member of the legislature, however humble his station or limited his influence, the ability to fulfil his legislative mission. Much earnest and valuable agitation has been lost, and too much passion and needless division of opinion excited, in the many-coloured movements for reform which have sprung up within the last ten years. High and holy aims and noble purposes have doubtless

characterised the efforts of those who have trod the rough path of parliamentary reform. But the most liberal criticism cannot pass uncensured that short-sighted policy which under-estimated the difficulties by which that path was strewn. In the wish to attain their ends, all classes of parliamentary reformers have taken too low an estimate of the obstructive power of Parliament. If Parliament, as at present constituted, is undoubtedly slow and inefficient in the initiation of social good, it must never be forgotten that, even with a limited jurisdiction as an institution *per se*, it is the final tribunal which seals the work of public opinion. There must be enrolled the decrees of the people before they acquire the irresistible value of right and laws. Agitation for reform has hitherto overlooked the difficulty that a large and powerful class-Parliament has always stood forward an interested party in the path of progress. Thought has been too rapid to remove the opposing barriers step by step; in action it sought by one bound to overleap the barrier, and energy and power were prostrate.

It seems strange that men of action should not have devised some safer middle course by which the great objects of popular desire might be consummated in a sounder, because on a steadier and more gradual course. The reaction which succeeds the outrun of prudence has now directed public thought into a smoother channel. The interval has been one of calmer reflection. Men now begin to see that although a slower there is a surer course for attaining a higher standard of Parliamentary intelligence, in the unfailing power of earnest and united agitation acting on the legislature, by attacking the monster corruptions, iniquities, and crimes which deform the representative system of this country. In a word, by agitating for purity of election.

"Auspicium melioris ævi"—an association under the oddly-sounding title of the "Anti-Bribery Society," has been formed, to unite scattered thought, concentrate individual exertion, and once more test the moral power of association. In a terse, vigorous, and eloquent Prospectus, they have compactly and comprehensively enunciated the principles and objects of the movement. This they have practically followed up by a series of illustrations of the recent general election. They have thus judiciously devoted their first labours to the task of opening the eyes of men to the extent and the enormity of the abuses which pervade every portion, material and moral, of the electoral system. Bribery and corruption are two plain, unmistakable words; they, moreover, signify ideas of very broad extent to the minds of most men, but few indeed are prepared to ad-

mit the full extent of the mass of enormity and crime which they cover. The daily contemplation of vice deadens perception of its enormity, habit blunts the mind to the sense of its very existence. The commencement of this new agitation is opportune. We have barely sobered down from the turmoil and excitement of a general election. The subject is fresh; the public mind is open to impressions for good. Recent contests have yielded a plentiful crop of electoral crimes. There are signs of the times which bespeak a willingness to listen to the great claims of Parliamentary fitness. Above all, never was there a time when Englishmen were more inclined to place implicit reliance in the moral power of association. In the late contests, even in the most antiquated realms of electoral helotism, we have heard fewer appeals than usual to the wisdom of our ancestors. Vainly have we searched the broad-sheet chronicles of hustings' oratory for bucolical comments on the unconstitutional character of associations. As vainly have we looked for the olden measure of agricultural wrath against demagogues and their leagues. The stationary men of politics have been infected with the universal spirit of progress; they have at length unwillingly borne their testimony to the might of association; they have enlisted it at least in the cause of retrogression. These are all cheering facts, to soothe the labours of those who seek to advance the cause of progress and the people.

But we have more direct proofs of advance in the results of the late general election. These are proofs, small certainly in extent, but not the less certain, that the people of England are opening their eyes to the inadequacy of parliamentary intelligence. A striking instance of this was very recently afforded by a leading journal, which, throughout its long career of public utility, has most strongly exhibited the inefficiency even of our powerful and well-organized press to initiate progress, as this so-called leading journal has uniformly been a following organ of public opinion. This important member of the newspaper press—the organ of the Plutocracy of the middle class—in the midst of the money crisis, boldly declared that “our commercial and manufacturing interests are not adequately represented in the government, or even in the legislature.” A broader admission was still more recently made by a well-known member of parliament in a popular assembly; and it is most important, as coming from one who has stood high in the Conservative party, when he asserted that every interest was abundantly represented in the House of Commons but the public interest, which was entirely undefended there. The more direct proofs of advance are well set forth in Mr. Dodd's valuable annual, the ‘Parlia-

mentary Companion.' The latest edition contains the details of the late general election, and abundant proof of our assertion. We cannot stay to analyse, but the synthetic statements of Mr. Dodd are sufficient for our purpose, when he mentions that there have been returned a greater number of railway directors, engineers and contractors, barristers, merchants, retail tradesmen, political writers and lecturers, naval and military officers, and a smaller number of persons connected with noble families, and country gentlemen, than on any other occasion since the Reform Bill.

In directing attention to the most efficient mode of raising the standard, it is well that we should examine into the moral atmosphere of the electoral system, and test its impurity; see what safeguards and preventives collective wisdom has devised; and what are the means most ready of access, sanitary and progressive. This is a large territory for exploration, and we can only trace its most prominent features.

It is an abstract truth, established by the gathered wisdom of our laws, propounded by the authority of our greatest constitutional writers, and recognized by the general assent of mankind, that purity of election is essential to the well-being of society. This is a moral problem which requires no demonstration. Assuming it, then, as an axiom of political science, we have to examine into the constitution of our electoral system, and, by the exposure of a monster mass of abuses, to show that under the present state of the electoral constitution and of electoral morality, the true interests of society are not only neglected, but injured, through a debasing code of electoral immorality, which has begotten and which maintains the lowest standard of legislative intelligence.

The terms bribery and corruption convey but a meagre idea of the extent of electoral error. These are the written crimes of the electoral system. These are the errors against which legislative enactments have been reared. It is against these that public virtue, outraged, raises its denunciations; it is on the perpetrators of these social perjuries that the law endeavours to take its vengeance. But we must search in the minor immoralities—the *lex non scripta* of electoral crime, to uproot the upas which is dealing destruction on the best interests of society. On a complete and systematic exposure of these must the moral weight of the crusade against electoral corruption mainly rest. We cannot classify, but we can cull speaking comments from the bulky records before us of bribery, corruption, nomination, intimidation, trickery and chicanery, in their worst and basest forms.

Of the crowning electoral crime, bribery, against which the law

has unsuccessfully opposed its sharpest terrors, the variety and degree and form are quite as varied. We have many rumours and not a few statements from the late elections, which in due time will have the merit of facts substantiated by legal authority.* A few of these may be incidentally alluded to, but we would rather draw our illustrations on the authority of Parliament itself. Of the mass of official documents which illustrate the machinery of bribery, no one equals in value a Parliamentary Blue Book—the report of the Committee of 1842 on election proceedings, generally known by the name of Mr. Roebuck's Committee, and which we may *en passant* remark, contains a large collection of the most graphic scenes the Anti-Bribery Society could possess, from which to draw a systematic exposition of electoral crime and its instruments. This Committee was appointed on the 9th of May, 1842, in consequence of allegations made in the House of Commons, that in the cases of election-petitions presented from the boroughs of Harwich, Nottingham, Lewes, Penryn and Falmouth, Reading and Bridport, corrupt compromises had been entered into for the purpose of avoiding investigation into gross bribery. Into the merits of these cases it is not our intention to inquire; we select a few facts, invaluable as the testimony of men who reaped the fruits or who were the agents of these crimes. “Out of their own mouths shall they be convicted.” Again we must repeat it is not our intention to systematize, but “men who run may read,” so plainly is the moral inscribed. These facts serve a double end, in illustrating the existence of the system, and the inefficiency of the laws to prevent it.

The case of Harwich was a very glaring one. This pure and enlightened constituency consisted of one hundred and twenty-eight persons. Mr. Attwood and Major Beresford, the tory candidates, or rather the former, spent at least £6,300. Of this sum

* During the legal space prescribed by Parliament for petitioning against returns, petitions have been presented against forty-one, made up as follows:—For ENGLISH COUNTIES 4, namely, Essex (North), Gloucester (West), Monmouth, and Staffordshire (North). ENGLISH BOROUGHs 27, viz., Abingdon, Andover, Aylesbury, Bewdley, Bodmin, Bolton, Carlisle in two cases, Cheltenham, Colchester, Derby, Great Marlow, Great Yarmouth, Harwich, Horsham, Hythe, Lancaster, Leicester, Lincoln, Lyme Regis, Maldon, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Nottingham, Stafford, Stockport, Walsall, and Westbury. WELSH BOROUGH 1, viz., the Montgomery district. SCOTTISH COUNTY 1, Peebleshire. IRISH COUNTY 1, viz., Longford; and IRISH BOROUGHs 7, viz., Athlone, Carlow, Drogheda, Dublin, Dundalk, Kinsale and Sligo. Two of these are already decided. In the case of the Montgomery burghs, Mr. Cholmondeley has declined defeuding his seat; and a petition from the borough of Hythe against the return of Mr. Brockman has been withdrawn. It would of course be unjust to assert that bribery has been practised in all these cases. Time must decide.

a large portion was expended, with or without their sanction, in direct bribery. Thirty-three of the bribed shared no less than £3,000 amongst them. The contest cost the two liberal and unsuccessful candidates—Sir Denis Le Marchant £1,500, and Mr. Bagshaw £500, down in cash, with an outstanding claim of from £300 to £400 more. In this small constituency, then, there were expended £8,700, or something not very far from £50 per head. Well may we credit the statement of the committee, "that a large part of the whole constituency were bribed." And now mark how honourable gentlemen, members and candidates of the legislature, compound their crimes. Three petitions having been presented against the return on the ground of bribery, treating, and corruption, a compromise was cutered into between the agents of the sitting members and Sir D. Le Marchant, to the effect that Major Beresford should retire by accepting the Chiltern Hundreds; that Sir Denis should be allowed to stand unopposed by Mr. Attwood and his agent; that Mr. Attwood should pay by way of guarantee for the performance of his portion of the paction, £2,500; and that the petitions against the return of the sitting members should all be immediately withdrawn. The circumstances which induced the sitting members to accede to this compromise, were stated by themselves and agents to have been the belief that the seats of the sitting members could not be held in consequence of bribery by parties who would have been proved to be agents.

In the Nottingham case, Sir John Cam Hobhouse, the present resident of the Board of Control, and Sir George Larpent, beat the late Mr. Walter and Mr. Charlton. The contest cost the successful members £12,000; their opponents from £4,000 to £5,000. The constituency numbered about 4,500. The committee found, that of the first-mentioned sum a very large part was expended in an illegal manner; some in direct bribery; some in treating, and other unlawful proceedings, without the personal cognizance of the candidates. They added, "that it was clear that on the one side and the other the system was the same." After the presentation of petitions against the return, a compromise was attempted, on the terms that one seat should be vacated in favour of Mr. Walter, and that the sitting member should grant a promissory note for £4,000, as a guarantee of good faith. The reasons for this course, as elicited by the committee, were, first, the fear that both sitting members would have been unseated for bribery and treating committed by their agents; and, secondly, the dread of the enormous expense that must necessarily have been incurred, with small hope of success. The strange events in the subsequent electoral scenes at Nottingham are too well known to require any further allusion; but it

may not be uninteresting to notice, as an illustration of the working of the system, some facts disclosed on a trial at the last midland assizes. A person named Brown, a publican of New Barford, kept open house at the election in 1842 for the Conservative interest. A Mr. Sanders, an attorney, asked him to do so at the election which was to take place in 1843. Sanders gave Brown an I O U for £30, agreeing that there should be no reckoning of bills, for fear the candidate should be unseated a second time for treating. Boniface's bill is certainly an electoral curiosity worthy of preservation. There were two accounts. The bill of particulars of the first was as follows:—

285 Glasses of Brandy and Water	...	£7	2	6
156 Glasses of Rum	...	4	3	0
302 Glasses of Gin	...	7	11	0
80 Gallons of Ale	...	6	13	6
Tobacco	...	1	2	6
Refreshments	...	3	8	0
<hr/>				
				£30 0 6

Of the other it was:—

260 Gallons of Ale	...	£20	0	0
Cigars and Tobacco	...	2	5	0
Refreshments	...	7	15	0
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				£30 0 0

For such filthy temptations do thousands of the poorer classes of electors sell their souls.

But to return to the inquiry of Mr. Roebuck's Committee. The next case we find is that of Lewes, with a constituency of about 850. The election cost Messrs. Harford and Elphinston, the successful candidates, £5,000, of which £2,000 were expended by their agents in treating, and from £1,200 to £1,500 in direct bribery. The gross cost to their opponents, Mr. Fitzroy and Lord Cantelupe, as nearly as could be ascertained, was £2,000. Here also an attempt was made to hide the dark doings of the election by a compromise. Reading, with a constituency of 1,050, stands prominently in this bad catalogue. The contest appeared to have cost the sitting members at least £6,000. The cost of the Liberals was £1,600. It was not clearly ascertained how the money was expended, but the parties admitted "that so large a sum could not all have been spent in legal and proper disbursements." As in all the other cases which came before this Committee, there was an attempt at compromise. At Penryn and Falmouth there were four candidates, and both parties expended £4,000 each. One of the principal reasons stated for the com-

promise was the "certainty that extensive and systematic bribery would be proved to the satisfaction of the Committee." At Bridport, with 557 electors, two out of the three candidates expended £5,466. What it cost the third could not be ascertained. "That bribery in this case," to use the words of the Committee, "did take place, all the evidence plainly shows, and that it was extensive and systematic."

We have thus shown, in authenticated cases, specimens of the corrupting influences at work in our electoral system, and of the base and sordid feelings which animate too many of those in whom is reposed the vast responsibility of the exercise of the elective power of this great country. That these are the transactions, the habits, and the feelings of electoral every-day life, we have the best authority in the statements of the agents and the actors in these crimes. Buying and selling are terms as openly recognized in the electoral vocabulary as amongst the cattle-pens of Smithfield. A constituency once told their member that he had sold them; and his retort was, "Well, if I have sold you, did I not buy you?"

"Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum.

Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest."

That such is the morality of honourable members is negatively illustrated in the *naïve* statement of Major Beresford before the Committee in the Harwich compromise case, that "as he had not bought the constituency, he would not sell them." It may seem rash to generalize on a few cases, but any one who has the courage to venture on the store of facts and sentiments from the lips of men who cannot be supposed to be too willing witnesses in their own condemnation, will soon learn the truth in all its naked simplicity. Any one at all conversant with the machinery of electioneering will satisfy the most incredulous that the characteristics of habit and action, conspicuous in the bad cases cited, are but types of the morality which prevails, more or less, in every constituency in England. Bribery and corruption, and jobbing, would almost seem to be considered as part and parcel of the institutions of the country. A curious story was told us by a gentleman who lately visited a small borough in the west, which is honoured with two representatives in the House of Commons. Our friend had occasion to go into the shop of a substantial tradesman of the place, and in the course of conversation he asked, "Well, what kind of election had you this time?" "Oh, very bad indeed, sir," answered the out-spoken trader. "Bad! how was that—you returned your two men?" "Yes, that is quite true; but we failed to get a *good third man*, and without one, elections do *no good* to the town."

We have been sketching events of 1842; let us now gather a few facts, the growth of the past year. As a fitting prologue to the darker scenes of the electoral drama, here is a specimen of the catechetical process to which aspiring legislators are subjected in pure and enlightened constituencies. The following dialogue is given in the "Illustrations of the general election of 1847," on the authority of the leading actor, one of the aspirants for the sweet voices of the electors of Stafford:—

"*Candidate*.—Why, gentlemen, I expected to meet many of my friends here, and to make myself better known to them.

"*First Elector*.—True, sir; and we wish to know something also of you.

"*Second Elector*.—How much do you mean to give?

"*Candidate*.—How much do I mean to give!

"*First Elector (with surprise)*.—Surely, sir, you never expect to get n for Stafford without paying!

"*Candidate*.—Without paying! Why, gentlemen, that is downright bribery. Besides, how could it be done? I should certainly be unseated.

"*First Elector*.—Oh, we manage things here better than that! If the fear of being found out is all that deters you from coming to terms, we'll soon let you know how to get over that.

"*Candidate*.—How am I to get over it?

"*First Elector (in a whisper)*.—There is a particular wall down the way. From this wall we have only to take out a brick. Through this hole you have only to put so many sovereigns into every hand presented there, and we'll manage the rest."

It is satisfactory to hear that the honorable candidate did not play his part in the *Pyramus and Thisbe* fashion, which is attested by the fact that he is not M.P. for Stafford. It is stated, on the authority of a respectable journal, that not only was bribery on a large scale contemplated, but openly practised. "On one of the banners at Stafford appeared the very significant motto of 'Free trade in gold;' and for want of a convenient hole in the wall, a shed was temporarily erected for the purpose of paying the electors as they voted, by one candidate; those who voted for another were paid at the shop of a butcher. Whatever might be the offences of Sudbury in this respect, we conceive that they never exceeded those of Stafford." In the city of London, bribery is stated, and with some show of truth, to have been on a wholesale scale. Days before the election took place it was boldly announced that the "long-shore men" were secured, that the liberals would be returned, and that one of them had estimated his outlay at £25,000. Rumour says the election did cost the individual the sum named, on the lowest calculation, and when it is stated that his share of the *legitimate* expenses of the election ought not to

have exceeded £1,000, how are we to account for the expenditure of the balance? The *Weekly Times* states the following fact, on the authority of a correspondent:—

“It is well known that, at the late election for the county of Middlesex, the Tory candidate was vastly liberal in providing conveyances to the polling-places in all parts of the county; but it is not generally known that he or his committee went a step farther; *e. g.*, an elector, whom I must designate as A. B., though not more than two miles distant from his residence at any time for weeks before and after the election, actually received travelling expenses as if he had journeyed from Edinburgh to vote!”

At the Leicester election certain doubting electors found sovereigns in the bottoms of their cups of coffee. From Cheltenham we have loud rumours of indictment, and all the pains and penalties of the law. At Wallingford, open accusations of bribery have been made against the friends of the unsuccessful candidate. At a dinner recently given to the sitting member, some of the persons to whom bribes were offered were present, and stated these disgraceful facts. Richard Neale, an honest working man, declared that while at labour in the fields, persons came to him and tried to put money into his pocket, but he would not have it, and the money fell to the ground. “It would never,” added the poor man, “have been divulged by me, but some persons that were present gleaning in the field, saw it, and they divulged it.” Mr. Grantley Berkeley openly stated at a meeting in Gloucester, that he had seen everything at the election for the western division of that county that could prove bribery and corruption.

“We have had,” he said, “compliments to the ladies, sovereigns put into the tea instead of sugar, and into the wash-tub instead of soap, and cabbages bought at any price (Cries of ‘Ten pounds! Fifteen pounds!’), and we have had one man coming to the poll and plumping for me, but saying, ‘There are fifteen sovereigns I have received to vote against you.’ To gain the show of hands, it cost the Lord Lieutenant £800, and he lost it by twenty to one. I saw tenants and old servants driven to the polling-booths, as if they were the shambles or the slaughter-house; and many a half-suppressed curse did I hear from the lips of many an old man as he passed up to the place of the murder of his conscience in the vote he was about to give—a curse muttered upon the man who sent him there to vote against me.”

The gloomy aspect of these crimes is occasionally relieved by a glimpse of humour. We are told that at the Preston election, an independent individual, who valued his electoral stake in the country at the sum of ten pounds, refused to go to the poll till he was paid. But for once, the old proverb of the bird in hand was caught tripping; a skilful agent secured the vote, but paid

for it with a note drawn upon the "Bank of Elegance." A writer in the French journal, '*L'Union Monarchique*,' powerfully generalised the iniquities of the late general election.

"How many mysterious interviews are carried on," he remarked, "during the night that precedes the day of polling! There is a traffic in consciences; votes are like things to be disposed of at an auction, and are bought by the highest bidder; the clink of gold is heard; strong drinks flow as plentifully as water; it is one of those hideous nights in which men set a price upon that which is the most precious attribute of nature; in which they coldly chaffer for the price of their abandonment of that which is the greatest privilege a citizen can possess,—that of electing the lawgivers, and nominating the rulers of his country."

This from a Frenchman, a witness of the most corrupt electoral system in the world, is bad indeed. These are but faint illustrations of the common doings at elections. But they speak no common moral. Can we expect to see a high standard of parliamentary intelligence, when such are the means by which no small section of the members of the House of Commons acquire their seats? Vainly have penal enactments been passed against the crime of bribery. Their futility is amply exemplified in the extent—may we not justly say, the universality—of the practice. The difficulty of proof is known to the merest tyro in legal proceedings; and when proof is clear, none but the amplest purse can encounter the enormous expense of a parliamentary committee. This was abundantly proved by the disclosures of Mr. Rochuck's Committee.

The arch instruments of bribery are of course the electioneering agents, whom to describe, it would take a pen capable to dissect and sketch all that is dark and base in human nature. The Blue Book, from which we have already so largely extracted, is full of self-drawn and life-like pictures. To these we must, however, refer the reader. The *Times* has not inaccurately sketched the class in a sentence, when it declared that "a biographical dictionary of the order would afford as many examples of cunning and audacious frauds as any edition of the '*Newgate Calendar*.'" The electioneering agents pocket the pecuniary profits of this shameless system. They are the vendors of seats. Even in small constituencies, where electoral morality has hardly sunk to the level of a bribe, the agent is all-powerful. He has not been inaptly described as "the demon of electoral crime." It is a well-known fact, that there is a fixed tariff of charges. With the more "respectable" class of agents the sum averages from £2,000 to £5,000 if the election is certain, and from £500 to £1,500 if it is a risk. We have a strong testimony to the real

character of these men in the fact, that few respectable attorneys—not by any means an over scrupulous class—will undertake the duties of electioneering agents. There are even fixed rates of so much per head for every voter. A west-end tradesman tells the following anecdote:—He was asked by a friend if he knew a suitable candidate for a seat? On reflection, he thought he knew “the very man.” Unfortunately for himself, this very man had some experience of electioneering tricks. After ascertaining all preliminaries about suitable principles and views, the gentleman asked how much money he would be expected to spend? The reply was—that it had been customary, hitherto, for the candidate to pay a third, and the constituency two-thirds of the legal and proper expenses, but if he chose he might be returned purely and for nothing. “But surely,” said the gentleman to the tradesman, “you will expect a commission for the recommendation.” “I have never thought of such a thing, and have not the least wish or expectation of such a thing, but I will take as much commission as you like.” “But if you will have nothing,” continued the other, “the gentleman who introduces me to the constituency, your friend, will expect something.” “He bid me offer to return you entirely free of expense.” The offer was too good. All could not be right. A panic of suspicion was roused by proceedings so irregular, and unusual, and disinterested, and the gentleman lost a chance of being returned to Parliament purely by rejecting the negotiation in a fit of terror lest he should be ruined by sharpers. The power of these persons was more openly manifested in the case at Maidstone. In 1841, Mr. David Salomons contested this borough unsuccessfully, and paid his expenses. Prior to the late election he offered himself again. But, in 1839, two years before he first stood for Maidstone, a liberal candidate with whom he had no connexion at all, contested the borough, and left a score unpaid. A modest demand was made on Mr. Salomons to settle this bill as a condition of the support of these high-minded electors, and his refusal and retirement were simultaneous.

We find, in the illustrations before us, a curious dialogue which occurred just on the eve of the election. The writer states that he had the authority of one of the persons concerned for reporting a conversation which so graphically shows the stake the electioneering agent holds in the maintenance of the system:—

“Electioneering Agent.”—I am very glad I have met you. If you want to get into Parliament, I have two seats which can be had cheap.

“Disappointed Candidate.”—No, I don’t. I have neither the health nor the wealth for it.

"Electioneering Agent.—Do you know any one who wants a seat, with both health and money?

"Disappointed Candidate.—Yes, I do; I know several, but they do not want to pay much for them.

"Electioneering Agent.—That is what we find. There is a great want of candidates. But my seats are cheap. We will guarantee the return of any man for £3,000 down; and £500 is all we ask if the candidate risks it, and there is no return.

"Disappointed Candidate.—You see there is nothing to fight about, either for party or opinion, just now. As for the honour, that is nothing to those who know who some men are who are in Parliament; and it is a great bore when a man has no object to gain by it.

"Electioneering Agent.—Well, but perhaps you will mention the seats to some of your friends who wish them.

"Disappointed Candidate.—Well, perhaps I will.

"Electioneering Agent.—We shall deal handsomely by you if you do—say a hundred guineas for each candidate.

"Disappointed Candidate.—Thank you."

These electioneering worthies make no concealment of their influence. Here is a proof in an advertisement which appeared in *The Times* of July 1st. We only omit the names.

"TO PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES. Messrs. ——— and Co., of ——— Street, London, have all the machinery requisite to carry out the election of an M.P., including registry, canvassing clerks, &c.; and writers of eminence would be placed at the disposal of the candidates. Borough or county registers expeditiously arranged."

How the talents of the aforesaid eminent writers were to be made available is a problem which must be left to the ingenuity of the reader for solution. Enough has been said to show, that under the present constitution of things the electioneering agents are all-powerful for evil. The only reasonable means of striking at their power is the clearance of the whole system which involves the demand of one farthing for election to the House of Commons.

As we proceed we are almost appalled by the difficulty of compressing within our proper limits even a faint outline of the various forms of electoral iniquity. We cannot pass unnoticed the nomination system, which, though gradually disappearing, as far at least as regards its open operation, nevertheless presents a few very gross cases. The following extracts from the Prospectus of the Anti-Bribery Society give a truthful statement of the case:—

"Various contests have thrown a hideous light upon the nomination abuse: Lord Stanley explained this system in the House of Commons once, when he frankly said that Whig or Tory acres were just Whig or Tory votes in the counties. Let a map be made of the island ac-

according to the estates of the four-and-twenty thousand proprietors who own it, and colour the estates according to the politics of the landlords. You will discover in this way the character of the votes of the tenants. The acres will tell you without asking the men, the tenants, or thinking of them, or acknowledging their existence. They are merely the voting machines of their farms. They are not men, they are tools. The treating and bribery practices make the lowest description of publicans and lawyers powerful in reference to the Legislature.

"The Reform Act increased the squeezibility of the Legislature, but it has, at the same time, increased the evils of bribery, corruption, and intimidation, which under it have assumed worse shapes than ever they did in the days of the boroughmongers. Before the Reform Act, the corrupt were a small class in the small boroughs, generally well off men of the corporation, who managed their corruption through an agent, for a fixed price, according to an ancient, hereditary, systematic, and well-known plan. Now, the corrupt are increased to hundreds, and thousands. They swill in taverns, they march in processions, and sell their souls, and glory in their shame. The rich man who buys a ten-pound house, in a small borough, just buys a ten-pound vote. The system makes a man—an immortal spirit—the degraded mouth-piece or voting machine of a ten-pound house. It is an outrage against man—the image of God—to allow the vote to be a mere political chattel or fixture of a house, a thing which is puffed, bought, and sold by the auctioneer. Yet it is notorious that if the proprietor of the ten-pound houses rats, the tenants change their politics, the men all the while being voting utensils. The system tends to exclude from the Legislature all the men of ability in the country who are not very rich. Every man whose moral feelings revolt against the practices of the lowest class of attorneys, who will not spend many hundreds of pounds in bribing and treating, in debauching the electors into soulless drunkards, is deterred from entering the House of Commons. The attorneys in many large boroughs make sure that scarcely any man shall get in without paying black mail to them. Their traffic in seats is notorious. Cliques do what the boroughmongers did. The House of Commons is thus made a club of rich men by the present system, when it ought to be a workshop for the people."

The counties of Gloucester and Monmouth have had a bad notoriety in the course of the late election, and their cases forcibly confirm the accuracy of the general statement made in the preceding extract.

The creation of fictitious votes is another common form of electoral crime. We use the word in its strongest sense; for it involves the constant practice of the grossest perjury. Those who would study it in all its details must refer to the bulky reports enumerated in the opening of this paper. This is a daily growing evil. It is a system which we would hope has been

adopted without forethought of the deep mire of crime into which are sunk all who take part in it. The working of the system was developed in the course of the last registration for the county of Peebles. Mr. Sheriff Napier had there to investigate the validity of about two hundred county votes. The manner in which these franchises were created gives a curious insight into the art of manufacturing voters. A landed proprietor conveys to the embryo elector enough land to create a vote; no money is paid, but a bill of exchange is given, and the rents continue to be received by the granter of the assignment. An account of these rents is kept by the landlord, and they are credited to the voter; while to his debt is placed the interest on the unpaid bill of exchange. This interest, however, is of course always less than the annual rent received on his account, and the balance goes in liquidation of the principal sum carried by the bill. It is obvious, therefore, that in process of time the amount would be cleared off, the fictitious voter turned into a real one, and get the land for nothing. But to prevent that, when a contest impends, the landlord gets the bill paid—that is to say, the drawer of the bill lends the acceptor the cash to take it up, which he does, giving a second bill as security for the loan. Whereupon the voter boldly presents himself at the polling booth, swears he is in actual possession of the land in respect of which he tenders his vote, and votes accordingly. The election blows over, and when the time has passed for opposing the return of the members thus brought in, the second bill is returned, and the transaction closes. Such was the system disclosed at the Peebles Registration Court, and by which Mr. Forbes Mackenzie, Peel's consistent Lord of the Treasury, was returned by an *ex facie* majority of seventy-seven. By this disclosure no fewer than one hundred and fifty of the two hundred disputed votes were declared bad by the Sheriff, most of them Mr. Mackenzie's supporters. On an appeal to the superior court, however, the sheriffs reversed this decision, thus proclaiming that it is lawful for a man to hold up his right hand and swear, as he shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, that he possesses that which he hath not. Can anything be imagined baser, or more destructive of the morality of society? The result of the Monmouthshire registration, it is said, has disclosed similar facts on a still larger scale. It is satisfactory to hear that the Peebles case is likely to be brought before Parliament this session. The question has been taken up by a most influential body of liberal gentlemen in the Scottish metropolis, who have petitioned against the return of Mr. Mackenzie. This evil prevails to a most formidable extent in Scotland, especially in

the counties of Roxburgh, Selkirk, Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton, and the three Lothians. In the counties more distant from Edinburgh and Glasgow, the evil is stated to be, as yet, almost unknown. If unchecked by Parliament, it will, of course, attack the uninfected districts as the facilities of rapid intercommunication are increased by the opening up of the railways. Few counties, we suspect, either in England or in Scotland, can show an electoral register unstained by these fictitious votes. A person recently stated in our hearing, that he could not, without reference to notes, name all the counties in which he possessed the franchise without the *bond fide* ownership or possession of a single acre.

We could detail fifty well-authenticated cases to illustrate the minor forms of electoral abuses and crime; but we must now hasten to look at the principles on which the Anti-Bribery Society is founded, and the objects on which they propose to exercise their strength. In the Prospectus they say,—

“It must never be forgotten that it is the legal expenses which cause and protect the illegal. The man who comes forward professedly to serve his country gratuitously, is confronted at the first step with a demand for two or three hundred pounds for hustings’ expenses. He is treated as if he sought admission into a fashionable club, and were to receive a great benefit. Some constituencies sell themselves for donations to their charities. Many electors charge candidates with their travelling expenses. Now, we submit that the true theory of the constitution ought to be, that every candidate is seeking, not his own, but the public interest. Candidates ought to be taken at their word, and care taken to keep their conduct close to it. The expenses ought to fall upon the persons who are served gratuitously, and not upon the men who serve gratuitously. To devolve registration expenses upon members is a great meanness. A constituency once told their member that he sold them, and his just retort was, ‘Well, if I have sold you, did I not buy you?’ Corruption amongst the electors naturally begets venality and time-serving among the members.

“There is no solid principle on which we can rest, short of the one embodied in the pledge of the Anti-Bribery Society—election solely on the ground of fitness. The inadequacy of the intelligence in Parliament to the wants of the empire, yearly costs the people a great waste of money, the destruction of many lives, and the continuance of vast social, moral, and spiritual evils. There must be a total suppression of the system which makes election an expense to candidates. No man ought to have to pay a single sixpence for a seat. The qualification ought not to be that a man is willing to spend a few thousands upon a parliamentary speculation of being repaid by place, by family promotions, or by downright jobs. The qualification ought to be, that a man has some beneficent ideas in his head, which he wishes to embody in the laws for the good of the people. Without this qualification no man has a right to a seat. The question ought not to be, Has this man

£300 a-year, or will he spend thousands in bribing and treating?—but has God made this man a lawgiver by the moral and mental gifts with which his soul is endowed? Is there good for the people in this man?"

We think the society have done wisely in coming before the public as a suggestive movement, rather than as one animated with but a single idea of electoral reform. They hint at many large measures for elevating the representative standard, without pledging themselves to any one course or courses. Their idea seems to be, that as the persons engaged in electoral crimes are candidates, agents, and electors, an organized society is necessary to consider, devise, and obtain the enactment of preventives to deter candidates, preventives to deter agents, and preventives to deter electors from being guilty of the crimes which vitiate and destroy the representative system. This is judicious. Any great or effectual preventive of electoral crimes cannot be accomplished by any single class of political partisans. To be powerful, the movement must be backed by the united mass of public opinion. The framers of the association have therefore done wisely in opening its ranks to men of all political opinions. This is no class question, involving the elevation of a class interest. If it wants this impulse it has the nobler power of morality. If it is slow in its progress, its triumph will be founded on a surer basis. The means then of its achievement ought to be purely moral.

In this view of the case we are inclined to pardon the omission of the great question of the ballot. We can thus overlook the neglect of other preventives of corruption; we can forgive the non-mention of Mr. Rowland Hill's scheme of voting, which has been so successfully practised at Adelaide. The movement undoubtedly involves political aims of a very high nature, but before action can be legitimately directed to their attainment, a long interval must elapse. The first effort of the association must be by a long, patient, earnest, and ever watchful agitation to open the eyes of men to the folly and the wickedness of the present system, and the incalculable injury it inflicts on the best interests of society. When a great and irresistible power of public opinion is brought to bear on the question, then is the time for political action. Having convinced the people of England that their well-being depends on the institution of a high standard of representative fitness, then may they crown the efforts of their high and holy purpose, by rearing a safeguard for its maintenance on the ruins of the two great barriers of progress which now hedge the legislature—election expenses, and a property qualification.

On the merits of these two important questions we can now but slightly touch. The argument seems to us to lie in the smallest compass. No claim of natural right or justice, or even of

expediency, can be put forward for the exaction of toll at the gates of Parliament. The highest duty which the commoner of England can pay to his country is the devotion of his talents and his time to its service. Viewed with the unconventional feelings of society, we can conceive no greater devotion than the self sacrifice of a high-minded man to the service of the people. Is it not then unjust, absurd, monstrous, that he should be taxed for the privilege? How loudly have people boasted of the victory of right over monied might in the result of the late Tower Hamlets election! But the boasted triumph has been short-lived, for it now appears, that although the popular candidate—George Thompson—was returned free of personal cost, his election was only secured by an outlay of £1,300, to be borne by his friends. Vain will be all attempts to establish a general system of unpurchased elections, until the legal expenses to which candidates are subjected are entirely abolished. We find, on reference to the able and valuable treatise of Mr. Wordsworth on the law of elections, that these are comparatively trifling. This only strengthens the argument that they should be thrown on the constituencies. It is a trivial matter of detail which any parish vestry could decide. It is very apparent, from the most surface-look into the *morale* of our electoral system, that the legal expenses cover the illegal. To uproot the one effectually, we must first cut down the other.

The maintenance of a property qualification is equally indefensible on any principle of justice, right, or expediency. It has been the mere bulwark of class elevation. It does not insure intelligence, for the inadequacy of Parliamentary intelligence is everywhere apparent. It does not even colour the every-day fallacy of the patriotism of property, for we have bankrupts, spendthrifts, and *blasé* gamblers and speculators in the legislature, men only saved from the disgrace of a prison by the privileges of their position. Is it not notorious that in many cases the qualification is a mere fiction? Have we not had ample proofs of this in the proceedings of our law courts? If, then, the maintenance of a property qualification neither insures intelligence nor patriotism, why should we suffer a money test to exclude men of worth, and talent, and zeal in the cause of the people?

We have dwelt long on electoral crime, and the evils which it inflicts on the vitals of society; but we have only touched the things apparent on the surface of the system. It is only by a long and patient examination that we can discover the full measure of turpitude which lies hid in the depths beneath. We have, however, said enough to rouse the attention of the people to the urgent necessity of action against a system which so deeply wounds their best and dearest interests. We hail the appearance

of this society as a great event in moral action, and cordially do we wish it "God speed." May it yet, by a continuous course of earnest action, gather new laurels for the great instrument of progress. May it, in the noble cause in which it has embarked, earn for the power of the associative principle a grander name in the cause of right, and justice, and truth, than ever yet was achieved by the agitation of societies, even when the God-like triumph of humanity was consummated, and the fetters were broken from the slave. The men who shall rear a standard of parliamentary intelligence adequate to the wants of this great country will well deserve the civic crown.

W. J.

ART. IV.—1. *Illustrations of Instinct, deduced from the Habits of British Animals.* By Jonathan Couch, F.L.S., Member of the Royal Geological Society, and of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, &c. London: John Van Voorst, Paternoster Row. 1847.

2. *On Instinct.* A Lecture delivered before the Dublin Natural History Society, November 11, 1842. By Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. Dublin: M'Glashan. London: Orr and Co. 1847.

AFTER all that has been written by naturalists and philosophers upon the subject of Instinct, Paley's definition of that faculty is perhaps the best in few words that has been given. He says, "An instinct is a propensity prior to experience, and independent of instruction:" and it is a want of attention to this simple proposition that has led to the confounding two perfectly distinct faculties—Instinct and Reason. For while Instinct, in the words of Archbishop Whately, is invariably a blind impulse "towards some end which the agent does not aim at or perceive," Reason, on the other hand, may be said to lead the agent to take certain steps in order to bring about some end which he *does* aim at and perceive.

It is the confusion of ideas above spoken of which has given rise to a denial of the exercise of reason by the inferior animals. Man, claiming for himself the exclusive possession of reason, as raising him high in the scale of being above "the beasts that perish," has been but too ready to refer all their actions to the "blind impulse" by him named *instinct*; but, properly studied, how many animal actions may be discovered, which by no possibility can be referred to "a propensity prior to experience," but which are readily explicable on the ground of their being the

result either of instruction or of reflection! It is undeniable that domestic animals have acquired many habits which, so far from being serviceable in a wild condition, would rather have unfitted their possessors for a life passed in a state of nature; certain of these habits could obviously never have been acquired without tuition, and tuition can never be available without more or less of reason to act upon. It is no answer to this to say that the actions of our domestic animals are perpetuated by transmission from one generation to another; such an objection does not do away with the primary necessity for the possession of a faculty superadded and superior to instinct, on the part of their progenitors, who, by mere instinct, would never have been able to acquire the habits they have transmitted to their offspring. We are happy to find our opinions on this subject supported by no less an authority than Archbishop Whately, who, in an admirable little work to which we shall often have occasion to refer, thus clearly distinguishes between Instinct and Reason as the causes of animal actions.

"When I speak of animal instinct, it should be remembered that I include man. Man possesses instinct, though in a lower degree than most other animals; his inferiority in this being compensated by his superiority in other respects. And again: as man possesses instinct in a lower degree than the brutes, so, in a lower degree than man, brutes—at least the higher brutes—possess reason. As some things felt and done by man are allowed to be instinctive—as hunger and thirst, for instance, are evidently instincts—so many things done by brutes, at least by the higher description of brutes, would be, if done by man, regarded as resulting from the exercise of reason—I mean when the actions of the brute spring, to all appearance, from the same impulse as the rational acts of man.

"In many instances we know this is not the case. A man builds a house from reason—a bird builds a nest from instinct; and no one would say that the bird, in this, acted from reason. But, in other instances, man not only does the same things as the brutes, but does them from the same kind of impulse, which should be called instinctive, whether in man or brute. And again; several things are done by brutes, which are evidently not instinctive, but, to all appearance, no less reasonable than human acts; being not only the same actions, but done from the same impulse. I shall not at present inquire what is called reason, any more than what is denominated instinct. I would only say that several things which are allowed by every one to be acts of reason when done by a man, are done by brutes manifestly under a similar impulse—I mean such things as brutes *learn* to do, either by their own unaided experience, or as taught by man. *Docility* is evidently characteristic of reason. To talk of an elephant, a horse, or a dog, doing by instinct such things as it has been *taught*, would be as absurd as to talk of a child's learning to read and write by instinct.

"But, moreover, brutes are, in many instances, capable of learning even what they have not been taught by man. They have been found able to combine, more or less, the means of accomplishing a certain end, from having learned by experience that such and such means so applied would conduce to it. The higher animals, of course, show more of reason than the lower."—*Lecture*, p. 8.

The distinction between instinct and reason may, we think, be clearly understood, if we agree to range under the former term all those customary habits and actions which are common to all the individuals of a species, and to designate by the latter name all peculiar adaptations to such unaccustomed circumstances and situations as in any way interfere with the usual routine business of animal life. Thus, under ordinary circumstances, the honey-bee will go on, generation after generation, constructing its waxen cells upon the one uniform plan derived from its ancestors, and which, in turn, will be transmitted to its descendants. But should any obstacle interfere with the regular and accustomed mode of working; or should an accident disarrange or damage any portion of the structure already completed: the insect will, in the one case, promptly vary its mode of working so as to accommodate itself to the unwonted obstruction; and in the other will as promptly set about repairing the mischief. The regular routine of comb-making, and other usual avocations pursued by the bee, properly come under the denomination of *instinct*; the unaccustomed efforts to accommodate itself to an unexpected difficulty, to overcome an obstacle, perhaps never before met with, or to repair the effects of an accident for the first time experienced, we should consider as being dictated by *reason*.

Among birds, many beautiful instances are on record of departure from their customary instinct-prompted modes of nidification. Mr. Couch gives the following anecdote of a martin, whose proceeding was certainly the result of the exercise of some faculty of a higher grade than mere instinct.

"An instance is remembered, where, from some such cause of suspicion as to the stability of the edifice, a martin had recourse to the wonderful expedient of working in a straw, as a binding beam, along the curve of the structure! The ends were, it seems, secured without difficulty; but the efforts of the little builder to bend down the arch, formed by the rising of the middle, were in vain; for, whenever the pressure was removed, it persisted in maintaining its elasticity. The baffled bird glanced about, as if in contemplation of the difficulty, and seemed ready to receive any suggestion which might be offered, till, tired of watching the invariable result of so many efforts made in vain, the observer walked on. Returning an hour or two afterwards, the little architect was observed to have resorted to the only plan which

could be effectual: he had left the ends free, which thus projected a little from the mortar, and the structure was complete at last."—p. 216.

In the above case of the martin, the influence of both instinct and reason must be recognised: by the one faculty the bird was prompted to build its nest; by the other it was taught both the necessity of deviating from its usual plan of building, and the only method of subduing a refractory adjunct and rendering it subservient to the purpose for which it was employed.

A similar combination of the influence of instinct and reason is evinced in the proceedings of the bird named in the following extract: likewise from Mr. Couch's volume.

"The nest of the holm thrush (*Turdus viscivorus*) is also sometimes modified according to circumstances, and evidently from a calculation of what the bulk and weight of the expected young ones may require. Its usual site for building is among the firmer branches of a tree, with little regard to concealment; where, trusting to the support afforded by those diverging branches, it does not follow the example of its kindred species in strengthening the edifice with a lining of plaster. On one occasion, however, an otherwise excellent situation in a pear-tree lay under the inconvenience of having too wide a space between two out of the four surrounding props; and this portion of the structure was accordingly the only part that was strengthened by the addition of a firm layer of clay."—p. 219.

Mr. Couch also gives two beautiful examples of the exercise of reason or reflection on the part of the water-ouzel (*Cinclus aquaticus*), a little bird, allied to the thrushes, which builds near rapid streams. We would gladly quote the passage in full, but it would occupy too much space. In both instances the bird constructed her nest near a road, along which there was frequent passing of people.

Among quadrupeds, instances of the exercise of this superior faculty, in addition to the performance of actions from the mere instinctive promptings of animal nature, especially among the domesticated species, so frequently occur, that no one can be at a loss to call to mind many cases in point. The cat furnishes three examples so much to the purpose, that we offer no apology for introducing them. The first is related by Dr. Whately in his lecture, from personal knowledge.

"This cat lived many years in my mother's family, and its feats of sagacity were witnessed by her, my sisters, and myself. It was known, not merely once or twice, but habitually, to ring the parlour bell whenever it wished the door to be opened. Some alarm was excited on the first occasion that it turned bell-ringer. The family had retired to rest, and in the middle of the night the parlour-bell was rung violently: the sleepers were startled from their repose, and proceeded down stairs

with poker and tongs, to interrupt, as they thought, the predatory movement of some burglar. But they were agreeably surprised to discover that the bell had been rung by pussy, who frequently repeated the act whenever she wanted to get out of the parlour."—p. 10.

The second example we quote from Mr. Couch's 'Illustrations.' He says,—

"There was, within my knowledge, in the house of my parentage, a small cupboard, in which were kept milk, butter, and other requisites for the tea-table: and the door was confined with a lock, which, from age, and frequent use, could be easily made to open. To save trouble, the key was always kept in the lock, in which it revolved on a very slight impulse. It was often a subject of remark that the door of this cupboard was found wide open, and the milk or butter greatly diminished, without any imaginable reason, and notwithstanding the persuasion that the door had certainly been regularly locked; but it was accident that led to the detection of the offender. On watching carefully, the cat was seen to seat herself on the table; and by repeated patting on the side of the bow of the key, it was at last made to turn, when a slight pull on the door caused it to move on its hinges. It had proved a fortunate discovery for puss for a long time before she was taken in the fact."—p. 196.

We ourselves once knew a fine cat which was in the habit of lifting the latch of the back-kitchen door of a house in the country, and of pushing open the door, whenever he wished to get in from his rambles in the garden. Jumping up, puss would catch and hang by the bow of the latch with one paw, while with the other he would pull down the lever so as to raise the latch within; and this, perhaps, several times in the course of the day, if the door happened to be shut at the time ingress was required.

It will be readily granted that ringing bells and opening doors form no part of the ordinary avocations of feline life, however convenient such acts may prove to the individuals practising them. These actions cannot therefore be considered as properly coming under the denomination of *instincts*, since they were evidently performed under the impression that certain consequences would follow the adoption of such expedients: the animals were therefore acting rationally, since in all the cases related they were "acting with a view to, and for the sake of, some end" which was perceived by them. On the case first named, Dr. Whately makes the following just observations, which readily apply to all: the dog referred to is described as having performed an action equally indicative of the exercise of reflection.

"Here are two clear cases of acts done by a cat and dog, which, if done by a man, would be called reason. Every one would admit that

the actions were rational—not, to be sure, proceeding from a very high exertion of intellect ; but the dog at least rationally jumped into the stream at a distance higher up from the boat, into which he wished to get, because he found that the stream would thus carry him to it, instead of from it ; and the cat pulled the parlour bell, because she had observed that when it was rung by the family, the servant opened the door. It is quite clear that if such acts were done by man, they would be regarded as an exercise of reason ; and I do not know why, when performed by brutes, evidently by a similar mental process, as far as can be judged, they should not bear the same name. To speak of a cat's having an *instinct* to pull a bell, when desirous of going out at the door, or of an elephant's lifting up a cannon, or beating down a wall, at his driver's command, by instinct, would be to use words at random."—p. 10.

In order therefore to determine whether a given act performed by an animal is the result of instinct or of reason, we shall, for the most part, be able to draw an accurate conclusion if we can learn whether the act in question is one habitually and undeviatingly performed by all the individuals of a species under similar circumstances, or is only induced for the express purpose of overcoming some obstacle, or of obtaining some end desiderated by the individual animal.

Turning now to Mr. Couch's volume, we are compelled to express our regret that an author, who is evidently a most accurate observer, and, we are fully aware, an industrious collector of facts connected with Natural History, should be so incompetent to reason upon the facts observed. His book contains a great number of interesting anecdotes, but strung together without method, and interspersed with observations which have often little or no bearing upon the facts they are intended to explain. As a sequel to Priscilla Wakefield's '*Instinct Displayed*,' the book is a good book enough, and full of pleasant reading withal, as the extracts already given will have shown ; but as a work, one object of which is "to point out the path by which a better knowledge may be acquired of the intellectual existence" of animals, it is a complete failure.

In the chapter on "Instinct, and the mode of studying it," with which the volume opens, Mr. Couch goes into some elaborate arguments, the object of which would appear to be to prove that instinct is a faculty not enjoyed by the lower animals in common with those of a higher organization. We have read this chapter with great attention, but must confess ourselves utterly unable to discover at what step in the ascending scale of animal organization Mr. Couch would place the first appearance of instinct. That he does not recognise its existence up to a certain point is evident from the following passage with which the chapter commences.

"To acquire an accurate idea of the intrinsic nature of the faculty termed Instinct, it will be requisite, first, to notice the conditions of living existence below it [?] in the scale of nature; in order that, by tracing the successive manifestations of the increasing faculties, we may understand the precise station which this faculty occupies in the ascending scale, and the means through which its operations are developed."—p. 1.

This "ascending scale" has proved to our author a veritable *sliding* scale, and one upon which, had he been wise, he would never have ventured his reputation. His flounderings, in the unlucky attempt to trace the progress of sensibility and organization from monad up to man, irresistibly remind us of the upward flight of a certain personage through chaos, as described by Milton; with this difference, however, that the one eventually succeeds in extricating himself, while Mr. Couch's futile attempts to feel his way only make "confusion worse confounded." He, for example, commences his inquiry with the study of "the structure and functions of those creatures which possess the simplest organization, and which are consequently lowest in the order of existence;" and he goes on to say:—

"It cannot be affirmed of these, that they have any actions, in the usual sense of that word; and their functions are the simplest results of the composition or structure of their tissue, quickened into independent existence by the endowment of life; by which we mean that ultimate principle that to a living entity is what gravity is to a dead mass, but whose real nature has eluded the researches of the inquirer in both cases. The whole duty of the existence of these creatures appears to be

———to draw nutrition, propagate, and rot;"

and the only faculty with which they seem to be endued for this purpose, is what Bichat has denominated *organic* sensibility, and Dr. Fletcher, irritation."—p. 2.

We omit all the author's elaborate *reasonings* upon endosmose and the other functions of the simple tissue composing the animals forming this *first* step, and proceed a few pages onward, where we find it stated that—

"The next ascending step in the scale of existence is, when *organic* sensibility, or, as it may be more properly termed, irritability, is added to the former condition."—p. 7.

Turning back to p. 2, we find that "the former condition" here alluded to, is already stated to be characterized by the presence of *organic* sensibility or irritation—another name for irritability; so that the second step cannot be said to have made any great advance upon the first, except in having received a double measure of the same quality. This looks a little like

confusion of ideas; but at p. 17, we meet with what has the appearance of being a flat contradiction. There, Mr. Couch says:—

“There are no living beings in which this faculty of irritability or excitability exists alone; but there are families in which no other addition besides this is made to the principle that first came under our consideration.”

Be it remembered, that animals occupying the first step of the “ascending scale” of being, are, at p. 2, said to be actuated by “*organic sensibility*” or irritation alone; that to this sensibility, in the second step, is added more “*organic sensibility*” or irritability, and nothing else, at p. 7; and now, at p. 17, we are told that “there are no living beings in which this faculty of irritability or excitability exists alone.” Truly, if it were Mr. Couch’s object to mystify his subject and his readers at the same time, we must confess that he has succeeded to admiration. The more especially as, at p. 172, we find the following passage, which completely contradicts what has been said in the introductory chapter in reference to the performance of certain conditions of animal life, by some power little removed from a mere mechanical action of the lowest organized tissues:—

“Among the lowest, in point of excellency, of the emanations of instinct, is the sensation of hunger, and the craving for food—an impulse common to all sensitive creatures, whereby they are instigated to the exertion of a variety of faculties, which partake alike of the nature of instinct and reflection.

“And the mode of securing this object is in each race and species skilfully varied to suit the necessity of their case. If the proceeding be less elaborate in the more limited intellect, it is not the less appropriate to the nature of the creature to be supplied.”

That this really is universally applicable, as Mr. Couch observes, “to *all* sensitive creatures,” high and low, is indisputable; and the remark, we apprehend, also applies to all other instinctive actions, without exception.

But, leaving this *lucid* introductory chapter and its contradictions, we will endeavour to discover if there be any and what step in the scale of organized being, where the presence of instinct, as the term ought to be understood, is not displayed by the actions of animals. In this inquiry we will reverse the plan pursued by Mr. Couch, and commence with animals (excluding man) usually considered to stand highest in the scale of organization; and omitting all disquisitions upon the nature and functions of tissues and organs, we shall confine ourselves to the plan of adducing a few examples of actions performed by certain members of each family in succession.

No one will venture to deny, that either mammals or birds, the two highest sub-kingdoms of the Vertebrata, are actuated by the faculty termed instinct, in the performance of all the important functions of life. Mammals, by instinct, allay their feelings of hunger and thirst, and continue their kind; and some, as the beaver, almost approach the boundaries of reason by the skill displayed in constructing a habitation. Birds instinctively provide the "procreant cradle" for their expected offspring, and in many cases actually collect for their young certain descriptions of food which the parent birds are not in the habit of partaking of, and which, when they have no families to provide for, and are catering for themselves, they would pass by unheeded. Passing on to reptiles, no more striking instance of their being actuated by instinct need be adduced than that of the young boa constrictor mentioned by Mr. Couch. This animal, although six feet long, and with a capacity of jaws and throat sufficient to allow of its swallowing a much larger prey, went through the preliminary process of crushing a *pigeon* in its folds before sucking it in. "The interposed portion of this proceeding," says Mr. Couch, "appeared to be entirely unnecessary, so far as concerned its capacity of swallowing this prey; but it *seemed to be instinctively unavoidable*; and the age of the creature was decisive to show that it could never have previously had an opportunity of practising it on any animal that by its bulk could have rendered so complex an operation necessary." Here then we have a clear case of the impulse of "a propensity prior to experience."

From the nature of the medium inhabited by fishes, it is more than probable that numerous manifestations of instinct among them escape our observation. Their migrations are, however, well known to be undertaken in obedience to an instinctive impulse compelling them to seek proper localities for the deposition of their ova. Under the influence of this impulse, many fishes, as the salmon, frequently overcome the most formidable obstacles; but it has been reserved for naturalists of the present day to confirm a still more wonderful display of instinct in these animals, with which the ancients appear to have been acquainted, though treated as fabulous by their successors. We allude to the construction of a nest by certain species of fish for the reception of their ova, a fact which has been observed and verified by Mr. Couch himself; the following accounts we give from his book.

"It is the opinion of naturalists, that however powerfully the feeling of love to their offspring, and the mixture of reason with instinct in the development of it, is diffused among animals of the land, nothing of the kind exists among fishes; and that the utmost extent

of the care bestowed by them in increasing and multiplying their kind consists, as in the familiar instance of the salmon, in covering over the spawn at the bottom of the river, in a furrow of the soil which itself has made ; or in depositing it in some situation which shall expose it to the influences of light and air.

"The ancient naturalists, Oppian and Aristotle, were, however, of a different opinion ; and the latter, more particularly, asserts, probably on the authority of fishermen, that some fishes are in the habit of forming nests, in which they deposit and watch over their spawn. But this supposition of the father of systematic Natural History has been slighted as without foundation, by more modern naturalists ; and it is only recently that a claim has been re-advanced in favour of this instinct in fishes. It is not a little extraordinary that the species for which this claim has been made are those with which we might have been most familiarly acquainted, and our ignorance of their habits, therefore, can only have proceeded from inattention.

"The first minutely-recorded observation of this habit is found in a little magazine, 'The Youth's Instructor,' for the year 1834 ; and though the writer is clearly unacquainted with Natural History as a science, his observations bear much of the character of truth, and may be easily either corroborated or set aside as untrue by those who are more favourably placed for observation. 'The prickle-fish :—in a large dock for shipping on the river Thames, thousands of these fish were bred some years ago ; and I have often amused myself for hours by observing them. While multitudes have been enjoying themselves near the shore, in the warm sunshine, others have been busily engaged in making their nests, if a nest it may be called. It consisted of the very minutest pieces of straw, or sticks, the exact colour of the ground at the bottom of the water, on which it was laid : so that it was next to an impossibility for any one to discover the nest, unless they saw the fish at work, or observed the eggs. The nest is something larger than a shilling, and has a top or cover, with a hole in the centre, about the size of a very small nut, in which are deposited the eggs, or spawn. This opening is frequently concealed by drawing small fragments over it ; but this is not always the case. Many times have I taken up the nest, and thrown the eggs to the multitude around, which they instantly devoured with the greatest voracity. These eggs are about the size of poppy seeds, and of a bright yellow colour ; but I have at times seen them almost black, which I suppose is an indication that they are approaching to life. In making the nest, I observed that the fish used an unusual degree of force when conveying the material to its destination. When the fish was about an inch from the nest, it suddenly darted at the spot, and left the tiny fragment in its place ; after which it would be engaged for half a minute in adjusting it. The nest, when taken up, did not separate, but hung together, like a piece of wood.'—p. 249.

The following most interesting account of the nidification of fishes originally appeared as a communication to the Royal Insti-

tution of Cornwall, from the pen of the author's son, Mr. R. Q. Couch, and was subsequently republished in the 'Zoologist.' As the author himself has verified the greater part of his son's observations, their accuracy may be depended on.

"During the summers of 1842 and 1843, while searching for the naked mollusks of the county, I occasionally discovered portions of sea-weed and the common coralline (*Corallina officinalis*) hanging from the rocks in pear-shaped masses, variously intermingled with each other. On one occasion, having observed that the mass was very curiously bound together by a slender silken-looking thread, it was torn open, and the centre was found to be occupied by a mass of transparent amber-coloured ova, each being about the tenth of an inch in diameter. Though examined on the spot with a lens nothing could be discovered to indicate their character: they were, however, kept in a basin, and daily supplied with sea-water, and eventually proved to be the young of some fish. The nest varies a great deal in size, but rarely exceeds six inches in length or four inches in breadth; it is pear-shaped, and composed of sea-weed, or the common coralline, as they hang suspended from the rock. They are brought together, without being detached from their places of growth, by a delicate opaque white thread. This thread is highly elastic, and very much resembles silk both in appearance and texture; this is brought round the plants and tightly binds them together, plant after plant, till the ova, which are deposited early, are completely hidden from view. This silk-like thread is passed in all directions through and around the mass in a very complicated manner. At first the thread is semi-fluid, but by exposure it solidifies, and hence contracts and binds the substances forming the nest so closely together that it is able to withstand the violence of the sea, and may be thrown carelessly about without derangement. In the centre are deposited the ova, very similar to the masses of frog-spawn in ditches.'

"Some of these nests are formed in pools, and are consequently always in water; others are frequently to be found between tide-marks, in situations where they hang dry for several hours in the day; but whether in the water, or liable to hang dry, they are always watched by the adult animal. On one occasion I repeatedly visited one every day for three weeks, and invariably found it guarded. On several occasions I laid the eggs bare, by removing a portion of the nest, but, when this was discovered, great exertions were instantly made to re-cover them. By the mouth of the fish the edges of the opening were again drawn together, and other portions torn from their attachments, and brought over the orifice, till the ova were again hid from view. And as great force was sometimes necessary to effect this, the fish would thrust its snout into the nest as far as the eyes, and then jerk backwards till the object was effected. While thus engaged it would suffer itself to be taken in the hand, but repelled any attack made on the nest, and quitted not its post so long as I remained; and to those nests that were left dry between tide-marks,

the guardian fish always returned with the returning tide, nor did they quit their post to any great distance, till again carried away by the receding tide."—p. 254.

The same gentleman states that he has observed another kind of nest which showed "considerably less skill in the fabrication, but more perseverance and continued energy. These were formed of the common coralline, forced into a cavity or crevice of a rock: but as the coralline used in the construction of these last-described nests is sometimes not to be found within one or two hundred feet, it must be gradually gathered and brought from a distance; and as the quantity is large it shows an intelligence and perseverance truly wonderful."

After these interesting particulars of the existence of such a habit in a class of animals where least it could have been suspected to exist, it is almost unnecessary to adduce any further proofs of the presence of the particular faculty we claim for them, especially as Mr. Couch himself admits an "instinctive care of their progeny in fishes." We may, however, be permitted to mention the peculiar means of defence provided in the electric eel and the torpedo, as well as the armature of spines furnished with the same object to many other fishes.

"The torpedo (*T. nobiliana* and its congeners), conscious of being without the spines which constitute the means of defence of most of the natural family to which it belongs, when only just excluded from the egg, displays the will to exert the same [electric] power; and none of the creatures furnished with it are known to resort to any other. It is a curious circumstance, that several species of fishes which possess a formidable arrangement of spines, are yet furnished with them in such situations, and with the points so directed, as to appear the least likely to be effective against an adversary; and yet, when brought into operation, some sudden motion shows how well acquainted they are with the uses of which they are susceptible. This is well exemplified in the spines, in many instances curiously incurvated or notched, of sharks and ray-fishes: in some of which these organs are so arranged as if to render them incapable of inflicting an injury; and yet, by some peculiarity of action, these fishes are formidable enemies to those who venture to attack them. Sticklebacks (*Gasterosteus*) also, and probably the Scad (*Caranx trachurus*), employ their spines, and even their lateral plates, in lacerating such of the scaly tribe as seek to injure them."—p. 73.

We have frequently observed the same means of defence resorted to by the fresh-water perch, which, lying temptingly near the surface of the water, as if to invite attention, will erect the spiny rays of its dorsal fin, and severely lacerate the hand of any one incautiously attempting to seize it.

We now enter upon the consideration of a new order of beings,

retaining no trace of the vertebral column characteristic of the four great groups we have just been speaking of, and which, instead of possessing an internal framework of bones on which their bodies are modelled, are cased in a horny or membranous suit of armour, which serves as the external support for their muscles, as well as a protection to the internal tissues and organs. Insects furnish some of the most striking instances of instinct that can be found in the whole animal kingdom; though Mr. Couch somewhat unaccountably dismisses them by merely quoting a few descriptions of extraordinary migrations of what he terms "a class of animals, in which the modes of proceeding, and the motives which lead to them, are so obscure as to preclude any attempt at explanation." Many of the proceedings and motives of insects are doubtless obscure; but far more are so clearly expressed that "he who runs may read." Some insects, for example, under the impulse of providing for that offspring which the parents are never to behold, after constructing a suitable habitation in which to deposit their eggs, with an admirable instinct are actually at great pains to furnish the larder with such food as the young one will stand in need of on its exclusion from the egg, and so placed as to be readily accessible the moment it is required. Nor is the nature of this food less a proof of instinct than the fact of its being stored up: in some cases it is of a vegetable nature; in others, a living caterpillar, belonging to some other species, is seized by the parent insect, rendered insensible, but not killed (which would defeat the object), by a puncture from the sting of its captor, and conveyed to the nest wherein the egg is to be deposited. Every one has observed the caterpillar of the common cabbage butterfly apparently brooding upon a heap of yellow eggs. This affords a beautiful illustration of instinct on the part of a small black fly which deposits its eggs within the body of the living caterpillar. The young grubs, when evolved from the egg, feed upon the internal tissues of their victim, instinctively avoiding, however, to attack any vital part, since the premature death of the caterpillar would ensure their own destruction. At length the time approaches for the parasites to take upon themselves a new condition of insect life, namely, that which immediately precedes their perfect winged condition; at the same period, the caterpillar infested by them instinctively seeks out some spot wherein it also may pass through the corresponding state of inactivity, preliminary to its appearance as a winged denizen of the air. No sooner, however, has it attached itself, than the grubs contained in its body make their exit through the skin; each spins its own little cocoon of yellow silk, wherein to await its final change. These cocoons are collected

together beneath the body of the caterpillar, which, being now in too exhausted a condition to pass into the chrysalis state, speedily dies, while, after a short period, the parasites break from their cocoons and become perfect insects, in their turn seeking for new victims.

Whoever has paid attention to the manners of insects, will be at no loss to understand many of their "modes of proceeding" or "the motives which lead to them." The intention of the silken cord by which the caterpillar of many butterflies secures itself to a perpendicular wall previously to becoming a chrysalis, cannot be misunderstood. Nor can we fail to understand the intention of the coat of armour formed around itself of small stones, shells, or bits of stick, by the larva of the *Phryganea*; the use of the paper manufactured by the wasp; of the waxen cells and store of honey provided by the bee; of the covering of down stripped from its own body by the female of the gipsy moth, with which its mass of eggs is protected from the severity of winter; these are all equally easy of comprehension: and no one at all acquainted with these interesting creatures and their habits will venture to deny them the possession of instinct, nor, in some cases, of a certain amount of reason either. For, as Mr. Couch, in the main accurately observes, though with a slight confusion of terms at the outset,

"The simplest instinct will vary its proceedings according to circumstances; and the smallest glimmering of reason will direct it to modify these proceedings according to situation, and as they may best lead to the desired result. In many creatures of the land this variation is of common occurrence, and is not only directed according to a change of circumstances, but sometimes seems to be under no better influence than caprice. The daubers, a genus of North American wasps, to save themselves the labour of building a cell, have been known to make use of a small bottle, closing the orifice with clay; and the mason bees (*Osmia*), which usually deposit their eggs in holes dug by themselves in walls or sand-banks, will embrace the opportunity of saving themselves labour, by employing for the same purpose the empty shell of a snail."—p. 258.

The next grand group in a descending order, comprises the molluscous and the vermiform animals, under the general name of mollusks. Here we lose both the internal bony skeleton of the vertebrated animals, and the external crustaceous covering of the *Articulata*, the typical members of the group being pre-eminently soft-bodied; whence the name. Among the higher orders of this group we find the cuttle-fish, the *Argonauta* or paper nautilus, and the pearly nautilus, each of which presents us with an instance of instinct acting for the preservation or the convenience of the animal.

From a very early period, naturalists have been aware of the power exercised by the cuttle-fish, when in danger, of expelling a black fluid, in sufficient quantity, when mingled with the surrounding water, to hide the animal from its pursuers. This fluid is secreted by a singular organ connected with the intestine: the animal is, moreover, furnished with parrot-like jaws, put in motion by powerful muscles, well-developed salivary glands, several stomachs, and a large liver; all indicating not only that the instinctive feeling of hunger is habitually experienced, but that the means of allaying that feeling are amply provided; while the apparatus connected with the secretion and expulsion of the inky fluid is expressly formed to enable an otherwise defenceless animal to exercise its instinctive demand for self-preservation in the manner most consistent with its mode of life and organization.

The interesting poetical fiction connected with the argonaut or paper nautilus, wherein it is represented as sailing on the surface of the sea, its fragile shell forming the hull of its vessel, the two expanded membranous arms being erected and acting as sails, while the six tapering arms were used as oars, has, for ages, rendered that animal an object of interest; and notwithstanding that these particulars have been proved fictitious, recent researches into its true history have shown the mollusk to be no less deserving consideration from its every-day actions, than from the exploded functions poetically ascribed to it. From the excessive thinness of the beautiful shell, to which, by the way, the animal has no muscular attachment, and its extreme fragility, it is constantly liable to fracture by being tossed about at the mercy of the waves. When this happens, and it is no unusual occurrence, the animal instinctively repairs the fracture by a new deposition of shelly matter to the broken portion, by means of the membranous mantle. This circumstance, observed in a number of argonauts kept in confinement in an open cage sunk in the sea in the Bay of Messina, by Madame Power, removed the doubts of naturalists as to the animal being really the architect of its own habitation; since the regular increase in the size of the shell to correspond with the growth of the animal was witnessed, as well as the power of repairing the shell when broken either intentionally or accidentally.

The shell of the Argonauta contains but one spiral cavity, into which the animal can wholly withdraw itself. When by the growth of its body the animal finds its habitation too small for it, like other mollusks it has the power of increasing its dimensions by successive additions of shelly matter to the outer edge. In an allied member of this family, however, the enlargement of the shell is effected by a much more elaborate process. Externally,

the shell of the pearly nautilus has nothing more remarkable in its appearance than that of the common garden snail; but a longitudinal section shows it to be internally divided into a number of chambers by transverse partitions of shelly matter, the outer chamber being the largest; and this contains the body of the animal, the remainder being unoccupied. The animal maintains a connexion with all the chambers by means of a membranous tube, called a siphuncle, which passes down through a perforation near the centre of each partition. When it becomes necessary to enlarge the shell to accommodate it to the growth of the animal, the latter not only adds fresh layers of shelly matter to the outer edge, so as to enlarge the chamber in which it resides, but at the same time constructs a new partition across the inner part, below its body, so as to form an additional chamber. So that the number of chambers in the shell of the pearly nautilus varies according to the age of the individual.

This habit of forming chambers in the shelly covering of the mollusks, is not confined to the higher members of the family; but is also practised, though from a different cause, by some of the more simply organized individuals. In the case of the water-clam (*Spondylus varius*), a bivalve nearly allied to the common oyster, and which, like the oyster, is attached by the outer surface of the lower valve of its shell to some extraneous body, when the animal happens to be developed beneath the overhanging ledge of a coral reef, or in a situation where, having no power of locomotion, it would run the risk of being overgrown by the coral, it resorts to the expedient of carrying forward its dwelling-chamber by a series of new formations of shelly matter, so as always to keep its respiratory and nutritive apparatus on a level with the surrounding zoophytes. A longitudinal section of these shells exhibits sometimes as many as fourteen such chambers, separated from each other by stout and regularly-formed partitions. The common oyster, when, from a deficiency of food, its body has shrunk so as no longer to fill the interior of the shell, will form a new layer of nacre, and thus adapt the cavity to its changed condition by adding a chamber in the rear of its diminished body.

In the next grand group of animated nature, the Radiata, we reach the lowest types of organization, among which, if at any part of the scale of being, we should be most warranted in looking for evidences of the entire absence of animal instinct. A few examples of actions evidently performed under the impulse of that innate sensation, which, independently of instruction, insures both the preservation of the individual and the continuance of the species, will however demonstrate that in its proper sense,

these lowly beings, equally with man, are subject to the promptings of instinct.

Beginning with the order Echinodermata, or those radiated animals whose integument is covered with spines or prickles, we find among them the star-fishes (*Asteriadæ*), whose beauty and symmetry, as Professor Forbes well observes, have "attracted the attention of such observers of nature as dwelt by the sea-side from a very early period." These members of the Echinodermata are adduced by Mr. Couch, as examples exhibiting the earliest manifestations of a true nervous system; and these animals, he continues, "though seemingly very inert, and destitute of intelligence, display some sagacity in the discovery and choice of food, as well as in the manner of seeking it; and are liable to variations of habit in the different seasons of the year." At the extremity of each ray in the true star-fishes is a small red point, connected with the nervous cord of the ray, and protected by a circle of spines, capable of being expanded or closed at the will of the animal; these points are believed to be organs of vision, which belief is strengthened by its being observed that the star-fishes take cognizance of food placed at a short distance from them. In their movements from place to place they seem to avoid obstacles lying in their path; and from all observation they doubtless perform various actions under the influence of the instinctive impulse.

Among the Echinodermata, progression is effected by means of suckers and spines; the star-fishes or *Asteriadæ* employ the former exclusively; the sea-urchins, or *Echinidæ*, progress by means of the joint action of their suckers and spines. Professor Forbes observes, that "many sea-urchins, such as live on hard surfaces, moor themselves also by means of the suckers, and thus adhere very firmly to the rocks," and continues:—

"There can be no doubt that in all the Echinoderms provided with these suckers, they serve not merely for progression; the lower we descend in the scale of animal nature (and equally in the vegetable kingdom), the more functions do we find performed by one organ. But observe a living star-fish, or a living *Holothuria*, and see what effective organs of progression these soft, flexible, weak-looking tubes are. I have seen an *Echinus miliaris*, a *Spatangus purpureus*, and an *Amphidotus roseus*, all walk along the bottom and up the sides of a dish of salt water by means of their inferior tentacula; and the first mentioned anchored itself by extending and bending its superior suckers, so as to reach the bottom of the dish."—'History of British Starfishes,' p. 144.

The passage above quoted will show by what means the

common sea-urchin, or sea-egg (*Echinus sphaera*), is enabled to perform a not unusual feat, related by Mr. Couch, who says that this animal, "though apparently destitute of every sense or possibility of regarding external objects by sight or hearing, will travel up the rods of a crab-pot, enter the opening, descend within, mount again to the bait, and select the particular one that pleases it best;" this is almost an act of reason.

Among the Crustacea, there is a family of crabs, named Paguridæ, or hermit-crabs, which, instead of being entirely cased in armour, as are the other members of the class, have merely the claws enclosed in the usual calcareous envelope, the thorax being less firm, and the abdomen quite naked. Many of these crabs defend their soft tails by taking up their abode in empty univalve shells, to the interior of which they attach themselves by a sucker placed at the extremity of the tail, and only quit their habitation when the increase in size of their own bodies renders it necessary to look out for a new domicile. Among the Radiata is a species of very simple organization, which resorts to a similar expedient for the protection of its soft body, with an additional display of ingenuity not evinced by the crab. Professor Forbes thus describes the habit of this creature, which he has named the Shell-bearing Sipunculus (*Sipunculus Bernhardus*):—

"The species [of the genus *Sipunculus*] bury in sand, or in the crevices of rocks, or, as is the custom of the curious animal before us, adopt the shells of dead univalve Testacea for a house and home, after the manner of the hermit-crab. The *Sipunculus* would appear, however, to be of a less changeable disposition of mind and body than its crustacean analogue, and when once securely housed in a shell, to make that its permanent habitation. Whether the egg is originally deposited in the future habitation of the animal, by some wonderful instinct, or is only developed when lodged by the waters in such a locality, or whether the parent *Sipunculus* bequeathes the chosen lodging of its caudal termination to its eldest born, and so on from generation to generation, a veritable *entailed* property, we know not at present; but the inquiry is a most interesting one, and well worth the attention of the experimental zoologist. The *Sipunculus* is not, however, content with the habitation built for it by its molluscan predecessor; it exercises its own architectural ingenuity, and secures the entrance of its shell by a plaster-work of sand, leaving a round hole in the centre sufficiently large to admit of the protrusion of its trunk, which it sends out to a great length, and moves about in all directions with great facility."—'British Star-fishes,' p. 252.

Professor Forbes figures one of these animals, which had taken up its quarters in an empty periwinkle-shell. Nothing, we think, can more clearly demonstrate the presence of an instinctive impulse towards self-preservation in this lowly animal

than the proceedings above detailed. Allow that the *Pagurus* is impelled by instinct to choose an empty shell for the protection of its tender abdomen, and the same motive must be granted to actuate the *Sipunculus* in performing a similar action for a like purpose. Nor in either case can we see any other motive than that which directs the beaver in the construction of the habitation which is to serve as a shelter for himself and his progeny.

The labours of the coral-polypes afford very striking examples of the exercise of instinct, while they exhibit the wonderful results of the combined efforts of numerous minute animals, which, individually, are comparatively powerless, and their organization very simple. In the formation of the immense coral reefs and islands, the natural instinct of these little animals leads them to build with the greatest rapidity to the windward, or most exposed side of their edifice, leaving the side least exposed to the action of the waves to be last completed. Their labours are also instinctively confined to low-water-mark, below which they do not build. Mr. Darwin has recorded in his journal much valuable information respecting the little architects and their wonderful structures.

Even among the Infusoria, the thoughtful observer must recognize the influence of instinct when he views their varied movements and the elaborate apparatus with which many of these minute creatures are provided for the purpose of securing their food. In the words of Dr. Mantell,

“No organs of progressive motion, similar to those of beasts, birds, or fishes, are observable in these beings; yet they traverse the water with rapidity, without the aid of limbs or fins; and though many species are destitute of eyes, yet all possess an accurate perception of the presence of other bodies, and pursue and capture their prey with unerring purpose.”

As has already been explained in this Review,* these various motions are performed by means of minute hair-like filaments, termed *cilia*, which cover and fringe the bodies of the Infusoria; and we quote an accurate and spirited description of their movements from Dr. Carpenter's ‘Zoology.’

“These movements are extremely various in their character in different species; and when a number of dissimilar forms are assembled in one drop of water, the spectacle is most entertaining. Some propel themselves directly forwards, with a velocity which appears (when thus highly magnified) like that of an arrow, so that the eye can scarcely follow their movement; whilst others drag their bodies slowly along, like the leech. Some make a fixed point of some portion of the body, and revolve around it with great rapidity; whilst others scarcely present any appearance of animal motion. Some move

* No. 90, October, 1846. “The Microscope and its Revelations.”

forwards by an uniform series of gentle undulations or vibrations; whilst others seem to perform consecutive leaps, of no small extent compared with the size of their bodies. In short, there is no kind of movement which is not practised by these animalcules. They have evidently the power of steering clear of obstacles in their course, and of avoiding each other when swimming in close proximity. By what kind of sensibility the wonderful precision and accuracy of their movements is guided, is yet very doubtful."

The mode in which these cilia subserve the purpose of procuring food may best be understood by studying the habits of the common wheel animalcule (*Rotifer vulgaris*), which, from its activity, and the variety of its movements, is one of the most interesting of microscopic objects. This species, at its anterior extremity, is furnished with two sets of cilia, disposed in circles, forming what are termed the *wheels*; these are capable of being folded up and retracted within the body of the creature. When desirous of procuring food, the *Rotifer* fixes itself by the extremity of its telescope-like tail, and protrudes the cilia from the opposite extremity; by the vibration of the cilia, which is continued or suspended at the will of the animal, the appearance of a perfect rotation is produced, which has the effect of creating rapid currents in the surrounding fluid. A sort of whirlpool is caused by each wheel, and this brings towards the mouth minute animalcules and other bodies floating in its neighbourhood, many of which are drawn into the gullet, while others are rejected and carried off by a return current. This proceeding has been likened by Spallanzani to that of a whale, which, having driven a shoal of herrings into a bay, by repeated blows of his tail produces a whirlpool of considerable extent and rapidity of motion, whereby the herrings are projected into the mouth of their pursuer. If this proceeding on the part of the whale be the result of instinct, so must it also be considered when practised by the animalcule; the object being the same, and the means resorted to for securing it similar.

It would seem that both this beautiful creature and its near ally, *Hydatina senta*, together with some at least of the polypes, enjoy a considerable power of selection in regard to their food. A species of the latter family, *Bowerbankia densa*, about half an inch in length when fully expanded, is so transparent, that the whole of its structure and the actions of its organs may be seen through its integuments. Like the two *Infusoria*, the polyp attaches itself by its lower extremity, and protrudes its tentacula, which, like the cilia of the former, are ranged round its mouth, and seem to be completely under the control of the individual; these, when put in motion, produce a current of water, which

brings the various substances floating in it to the entrance of the mouth. As in the Infusoria, some of these matters are received into the gizzard, while others are rejected; the gizzard, as in them, is furnished with teeth, which triturate the food before it passes into the stomach: all these actions present a curious analogy between animals belonging to two classes of different degrees of organization; and it is probable, that but for the extreme minuteness of many of the other Infusoria, numerous other actions would be observed, which in combination with those already recorded, would remove all doubt as to their being as certainly under the influence of instinct as animals of a much higher grade.

The lowest position in the scale of animated beings seems to be occupied by organisms which many naturalists have been rather inclined to place with plants; among these, the most conspicuous are the sponges and their allies. When studied in a living state, a constant and rapid circulation of water through their tissue is almost the only action by which the existence of life in these simple beings is manifested. The water enters by the smaller orifices, traverses the smaller cavities of the spongy structure, and is eventually expelled by the larger orifices or vents. "This stream," says Dr. Carpenter, "is made apparent by the movement of the minute particles contained in it, and by the disturbance of those which may be floating in the surrounding fluid;" and he continues:—"It is impossible to assign a cause for this movement; no cilia have been discovered in any part of the adult animal; and the tissues are altogether possessed of so little contractility, that it is difficult to suppose the fluid propelled through the tubes by any mechanical influence on their part." As this circulation of fluid ceases when the sponge is dead, we are inclined to view it as the instinctive means, the blind impulse, whereby the nutrition and growth of the organism are insured. From the water thus continually passing through its tissue, the sponge secretes its own peculiar organic texture, as well as the spicula of earthy matter, as carbonate of lime and silex, disposed among its tissues. But the passage of the water is of quite a different character from the ascent and descent of the sap in plants; since, in the latter, the fluid absorbed by the spongioles of the roots becomes gradually elaborated by the vital action of the plant into the various substances requisite for its nutrition and increase, all that escapes passing off by perspiration from the leaves; while the sponge would appear merely to select certain substances from the water in its passage, the greater portion being rejected, and expelled by the large orifices; the action being somewhat analogous to the entering and returning

currents in the Infusoria, with this difference, that in the latter the cilia are obviously the motive organs.

Other organisms of a still more doubtful description than the sponges are placed in this division of the animal kingdom by some naturalists, though it seems now to be the prevalent disposition to consider them as of vegetable nature. Such are many of those beings long known as Confervas, and other plants of a very low organization. The chemical constituents of these, the lowest members of the two kingdoms, are so nearly the same, that it is only by the detection of a small quantity of starch in some of them that they can be recognized as plants; and even among these, the action of one of the most powerful animal instincts has been observed: for in several of those now looked upon as plants, a kind of conjugation has been witnessed, leading to the production of a new individual, by which the race is continued; and animal motions are by no means of unfrequent occurrence. So that, even in these doubtful beings, instinct evidently holds its sway, directing them to the attainment of certain ends absolutely necessary to their well-being.

In conclusion, we would briefly state our conviction, founded upon observation of the infinitely varied habits of animals, that every integral portion of the animal kingdom, from the highest to the lowest, has, according to its requirements, been furnished by its beneficent Creator with such a measure of an innate impulsive power as is sufficient to ensure the due performance of such actions as are necessary for the preservation of its own individual existence and the continuance of its kind. That these *instincts*, strictly so called—these impulses wholly unconnected with anything rational in the agent—are more and more curiously developed the lower we go in the animal creation. That in addition to what we strictly term *instinct*, animals are endowed with so much of a still higher faculty termed *reason*, as will direct them so to modify their instinctive impulses as to adapt their ordinary habits and actions to extraordinary circumstances. And as a general summary, we may adopt the words of the Archbishop:—

“To sum up, then, what has been hitherto said. It appears that there are certain kinds of intellectual power—of what, in man, at least, is always called reason—common, to a certain extent, to man with the higher brutes. And again, that there are certain powers wholly confined to man—especially all those concerned in what is properly called reasoning—all employment of language as an instrument of thought; and it appears that instinct, again, is to a certain extent common to man with brutes, though far less in amount, and less perfect in man; and more and more developed in other animals the lower we descend in the scale.

"An Instinct is, as has been said before, a *blind* tendency to some mode of action, independent of any consideration on the part of the agent of the end to which the action leads. Hunger and thirst are no less an instinct in the adult than the desire of the new-born babe to suck, although it has no idea that milk is in the breast, or that it is nutritious. When, on the other hand, a man builds a house in order to have shelter from the weather, and a comfortable place to pursue his trade, or reside in, the act is not called instinct; while that term does apply to birds building a nest; because man has not any blind desire to build the house. The rudest savage always contemplates, in forming the hut, the very object of providing a safeguard against the weather, and perhaps against wild beasts and other enemies. But, supposing man had the instinct of the bird; supposing a man who had never seen a house, or thought of protecting himself, had a tendency to construct something analogous to a nest; or, again, supposing a bird was so endowed with reason as to build a nest *with a view* to lay eggs therein, and sit on them, with a design and in order to perpetuate its species: in the former case, man would be a builder from instinct; and in the latter, the bird would be a builder from reason."—p. 20.

ART. V.—1. *Abstract of the Answers and Returns made to the Census Commissioners, 1841. Presented to Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.*

2. *An Analysis of the Occupations of the People, compiled from the Census of 1841, and other Official Sources.* William Frederick Spackman. London: Richardson, Cornhill. Ollivier, Pall Mall. 1847.

AMONGST the mass of *Blue Books* presented to Parliament on subjects of national interest, the Occupation Abstract of 1841 stands out prominently, as exhibiting in its details and arrangement high statistical talent, and in its facts, the result of a by-gone policy, and the rule of future statesmanship. Unlike many other Parliamentary documents, its scope is not a section of the people, or the operation of special circumstances on a class, but the entire nation, industrially considered. The Abstract is, in fact, an enumeration of that busy portion of the body politic, which feeds, clothes, shelters, amuses, and instructs all the rest; showing the relative numbers engaged in each of these needful operations, and with a little stretch of the imagination, picturing the vast throng in so many groups of workers, standing in strong individual relief, and characterised by every variety of form and mode in the application of human energies (physical and mental) to the supply of social wants. The curious observer may find ample gratification in the variety and occa-

sional singularity of the details; the economist, materials for broad generalization; and the statesman and financier, data for calculating the capability of taxation, and the pecuniary power for national purposes, whether of internal improvement, or of external defence and aggression. Few public documents have received at the time of publication a larger share of notice from the newspaper and periodical press. Without further adverting to the character of this notice, we may remark, that on all hands the relative proportions of the classes respectively engaged in "Agriculture," and in "Trade, Manufactures, and Commerce," excited observations of surprise. It was known that the ratio of increase in the population was greatest in the manufacturing districts; but few were prepared to find that the number of persons of all ages, either directly or collaterally employed in trade and manufactures, was so great. Still no one ventured to dispute the figures—that, indeed, could hardly be done—or the classification. The latter was a "moot point," and, as we shall have occasion to show, a vulnerable one; but it was not skillfully seized upon and used, as we confess it might have been, by an ingenious and zealous partizan of the previously current theory of agricultural supremacy in the scale of natural production. We may no longer use this language. The Census Commissioners have found a questioner, and their Abstract an analyst. Mr. Spackman, well known as the author of an annual publication on the 'Statistics of the British Empire,' has published 'An Analysis of the Occupations of the People,' in which he has classified the various groups of producers according to a theory of his own; the result of his classification being this—that "the land (that is, the agriculture) of the kingdom gives employment to $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions of able-bodied persons, and as dependent on them $18\frac{3}{4}$ millions more, making a total of 22 millions in all. Further," says Mr. Spackman, "it pays three-fourths of the entire taxation of the country—it feeds and supports the poor—maintains the Church—is the great bulwark of the throne—and in it are embodied all the elements of national strength, wealth, and prosperity." Mr. Spackman ridicules the idea that the "steam engine and the spinning frame have been the moving power of our fleets and armies, and the chief cause of a long-continued agricultural prosperity." It was only an idle boast in Arkwright to say, that "give him these, and he would pay the taxation of the country;" and "a mere figure of speech, when statesmen traced the wealth which subsidised Europe against Napoleon to the cotton factories of Lancashire." We may not follow Mr. Spackman through pages of similar declamation; we should be too strongly tempted to treat him after his own fashion of dealing with the subject. We therefore

at once proceed to define the principles of classification and appropriation which he has applied to his 'Analysis of the Occupation Abstract.'

It will be in the recollection of our readers, that the Census Commissioners adopted a three-fold classification of the entire body of producers. 1. Those directly engaged in agriculture. 2. Those engaged in trade, manufactures, and commerce. 3. Labourers (not—agricultural). The numbers returned under these heads were respectively—3,110,376; 1,499,278; 761,868; or as representing, in centesimal proportion to the entire population—16·9; 7·7; and 4·2. Mr. Spackman entirely repudiates this classification. He throws out of the first class, "merchants, brokers' agents, wholesale and retail dealers, and all persons engaged in trade or in handicraft, as masters and workmen." He considers all these classes as *dependent* on the agricultural and the manufacturing classes (properly so called), in the ratio of their respective numbers. Adhering to this principle, Mr. Spackman takes the returns for the counties of Great Britain and Ireland *seriatim*; and having ascertained the total number of persons (of both sexes and all ages) respectively engaged in agriculture and *manufactures*, he divides the entire remaining portion of the population of each county betwixt those numbers, in the ratio which they bear to each other. He finds that in the county of Bedford the agriculturists and manufacturers are respectively 14,933 and 5,828, and "all other classes," 87,175; he therefore apportion 62,703 of the last-named section to agriculture, and 24,472 to manufactures; and the classification for the entire population then stands as follows:—

Engaged in agriculture . . .	14,933	
Dependent on ditto . . .	62,703	
	<hr/>	Total . 77,636
Engaged in manufactures . . .	5,828	
Dependent on ditto . . .	24,472	
	<hr/>	" . 30,300
		<hr/>
Total population		<u>107,936</u>

It is necessary here to state, that "all other classes," in our author's enumeration, includes retail tradesmen—handcraftsmen, whether masters or workmen—"labourers"—military and naval—professional and other educated persons—parochial town and church officers—domestic servants—persons returned as independent—alms people—paupers, lunatics, &c.—and "the residue," consisting of the wives, children, and others dependent on *all* classes. The result of this method is, as respects England, the following:—

Engaged in agriculture	. 1,157,816	
Dependent on ditto	. 8,154,495	
	<hr/>	Total . 9,312,311
Engaged in manufactures	. 943,998	
Dependent on ditto	. 4,738,829	
	<hr/>	" . 5,682,827
Travelling on the night of the Census	. .	5,016
	<hr/>	Total . 15,000,154
		<hr/>

The whole kingdom he divides thus:—*

Agriculture—engaged in and dependent on	. 18,734,468
Manufactures ditto ditto	. 8,091,621
	<hr/>
	26,826,089
Persons travelling on the night of the Census	5,016
	<hr/>
Total population	. 26,831,105
	<hr/>

We may frankly state at once that, *in the main*, Mr. Spackman has enumerated pretty correctly the persons engaged in manufactures (properly so called); though we could challenge a considerable proportion of the classes, enumerated in pages 155 to 160 of the Appendix, as being engaged in trade and commerce, as more properly belonging to the head "manufactures." We are content to leave them where Mr. Spackman has placed them; his classification is abundantly vulnerable, without flying at such "small game."

Now we beg special attention to the fact, that Mr. Spackman reckons the respective units of the *gross numbers* engaged in agriculture and in manufactures respectively, *as equal quantities or values in the scale of production*. All his conclusions as to the supremacy of agriculture, in relation to the national wealth and the annual national income, are based on this principle. We shall show that this principle is essentially false; and further, that if it were true, the appropriation of *all other* classes to agriculture and manufactures, in the ratio of their respective numbers, is most absurd and inaccurate.

The principle is false in two distinct senses. 1. It is false, as it assumes equal productive power in *all* the units of manufactures and agriculture. 2. It is false, as it assumes that each unit has dependent on it an equal proportion of "all the other classes." We will again cite the enumeration of the county of Bedford to illustrate our position. We give the totals, and the age and sex of those engaged in manufactures and agriculture, and *all other classes*.

* Page 152, Appendix.

Engaged in	MALES.		FEMALES.		Total.
	20 Years of age and upwards.	Under 20 Years of age.	20 Years of Age and upwards.	Under 20 Years of Age.	
Agriculture .	12,855	1,884	182	12	14,933
Manufactures .	711	116	3,478	1,523	5,828
All other classes	12,678	23,955	26,101	24,441	87,175
Total population					107,936

We must observe,—that of the “other classes,”—no less than 67,638 consists of the “residue;” that is, the wives and children of the producing classes. These are divided, “*pro rata*,” amongst the totals of manufactures and agriculture. Now, it is at once obvious, that as the class of agriculture includes 12,855 males above 20 years of age, whilst that of the manufactures has only 711, the proportion of the residue, dependent on the respective totals—of 14,933 and 5,828—is greatly different from that assumed by Mr. Spackman, namely, the simple ratio of the totals. It is abundantly evident, that in making 24,472 persons dependent on a total engaged in manufactures of 5,828, embracing only 711 male heads of families, and 1,523 females under 20 years of age, a gross blunder is committed. And the blunder is repeated throughout the entire analysis, vitiating and rendering utterly valueless the elaborate classification and appropriation based upon it. As a rule it may be assumed, that the proportion of the “residue” of each county dependent on the respective classes of manufactures and agriculture, will be that of the males above 20 years of age in each class. But this rule even cannot be applied universally; it must be modified by the peculiar industrial circumstances of each county. Thus, in Lancashire and the West Riding of York, where the amount of employment for females above and under 20 years of age is in a very high ratio to the totals of females in those counties, it is abundantly clear that a much smaller proportion of the residue must be appropriated to manufactures than Mr. Spackman assigns. No fixed rule can, in fact, be applied to all the counties; and the rule which our author *has* applied, is pre-eminently absurd and faulty. It is not less absurd and faulty as applied to the *productive power* of each class. The ‘Occupations Abstract’ makes no distinctions betwixt masters and workmen, capitalists and operatives. This defect (an unavoidable one, perhaps) renders the mere ratio of numbers engaged in manufactures, to those engaged in agriculture,—in which latter class the landowners have no place,—entirely worthless as a *measure of productive power*. It is palpably absurd, and even ridiculous, to count the Irish agricultural labourer under 20 years of age, earning his miserable pittance of threepence or fourpence per day, as an equal producer with the millionaire of Lombard

Street, or the factory owner of Manchester; and it is only in a less degree absurd to count the entire body of agricultural labourers as individually equal in productive power to the artisans of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Yet this is what Mr. Spackman actually does: *he counts noses simply*, no matter to what physiognomy, aristocratic or plebeian, millocrat or handicraft, they may belong!

It would be a waste of words to make the matter plainer. Mr. Spackman's two principles of classification and dependence are alike faulty and absurd, and all he has based on them falls to the ground.

We pass on to state, then, that in his appropriation of "*all other classes*," *pro rata* to the totals of agriculture and manufactures, he has committed several gross errors; in fact, we charge him with purloining or kidnapping large sections of classes from Manufacture, to swell out the number of his favourite and idol, Agriculture! We must premise, however, before we proceed to our proof, that, agreeing in the main with the classification of the Census Commissioners, we cannot but think the third division, "*labourers*," is very unscientific. The total is 761,868 persons, and it includes, in addition to "*labourers*," specifically so called, 193,876 miners, 18,148 quarriers, 51,289 laundry-keepers, &c., 27,552 porters, messengers, &c., 19,345 charwomen, 13,255 nurses, and 14,469 coachmen, &c. Now, we confess we see no difficulty in appropriating laundry-keepers, nurses, and charwomen to the class of servants; the first and last sections are simply out-door servants, as contradistinguished from domestic servants, and nurses are only a higher class of servants; miners, we consider, belong to the class manufactures, just as much as workers in blast furnaces and in forges; porters, messengers, coachmen, &c., may with propriety be carried to the same class; as, on minute examination, we find they vastly preponderate in the manufacturing towns. The class *labourers*, embracing 386,157 persons, requires a more careful appropriation. It is at once obvious that they are a perfectly distinct class from the *agricultural labourers*, properly so called. We have no doubt that the whole are either connected with the various handicraft trades, or the staple manufactures of the kingdom; and our opinion rests on the palpable fact, that the mass of these producers are found in the manufacturing counties, and *principally* in the large towns of those counties. We have been at the pains to ascertain the number of *labourers* in all the counties of England, and to divide them into sections, in order to ascertain the ratio of labourers to the total population of each section. Our division and the result are as follows:—

	Labourers.	Ratio to Population.
Metropolitan Counties, Middlesex and Surrey	114,319	5.3
Mining do. Cornwall, Durham, Monmouth	74,693	9.3
Manufacturing do. Chester, Lancashire, Warwick, Stafford, and W. R. of York	178,025	4.3
Eight Mixed Counties (manufacturing and agricultural) viz., Berks, Derby, Devon, Gloucester, Northumberland, Nottingham, Hertford, and Leicester...	83,947	3.7
Twenty-two remaining Counties (agricultural chiefly)	169,458	3.0

From this analysis, it appears that the manufacturing districts give employment to 50 per cent. more *labourers* (properly so called) than the agricultural counties; and this fact clearly proves the inaccuracy of Mr. Spackman's appropriation of the class, *pro rata* to the respective numbers of producers, manufacturing and agricultural, in each county. In fact, the great bulk of the entire class (numbering 761,868 persons, and designated by the Census Commissioners—labourers) are, strictly speaking, engaged in manufactures; and we consider that the foregoing analysis, coupled with the fact that *miners* alone are near 200,000 in number, justifies us in transferring 2-3rds of the whole to manufactures. The appropriation of the remainder to the respective totals of agriculture and manufactures, *pro rata*, we should consider correct. To show the gross absurdity and inaccuracy of the method followed by Mr. Spackman, we may instance the following counties, which, it will be seen, are, to a large extent, mining counties. We state the total of agricultural labourers, and of other labourers, including miners, porters, coachmen, &c., and the proportions of the latter class, carried to the heads agriculture, by Mr. Spackman, as dependent upon it for employment:—

	Agricultural Labourers.	Other Labourers, including Miners.	Proportions dependent on Agriculture.
Chester	18,455	14,544	3-10ths
Cornwall	18,003	30,325	5-6ths
Derby	11,776	15,477	2-5ths
Durham	10,089	27,580	4-7ths
Monmouth	5,853	16,788	5-8ths
Northumberland	13,659	15,615	5-7ths
Stafford	21,568	34,917	4-11ths
Total	99,403	155,246	

Now, it demands only the most superficial knowledge of the industrial economy of these counties to detect the gross inaccuracy of the appropriation in the last column. The productions of these counties are, to a large extent, exported; and the producers, so far, neither depend on home agriculture nor on home manufactures. This is especially the case as to Cornwall, Durham, and Stafford—the tin, copper, coals, and iron of which constitute an important element of our foreign trade. Besides, the productions of our mines, whether coal or metal ores, are far more largely consumed by the manufacturing than the agricultural population, being, in fact, a part of the raw materials, so to speak, of our staple trades. Glaring as is the absurdity of Mr. Spackman's principle of appropriation in the above instances, we can place it in a stronger light still. In his analysis of the county of Cornwall, he classes the workmen engaged in the manufactures of tin and copper under the head Manufactures; but the *tin and copper miners* he ranks amongst "*all other classes*;" and divides these, *pro rata*, betwixt the manufacturing and agricultural classes. Will it be credited that the collected number returned as engaged in the copper and tin manufacture by Mr. Spackman is only 1,519; whilst 23,617 copper and tin miners are treated as dependent on the 26,862 persons engaged in agriculture, in the ratio of 5-6ths!

Our charges of the *purlaining*, or undue appropriation of the manufacturing classes, to swell the agricultural, are not yet exhausted. The Irish Census Commission returns, under the heads Spinners and Weavers (branch not specified), no less than 425,827 persons, and ranks them as belonging to the manufacturing classes. Mr. Spackman (page 152, Appendix) uncere- moniously hands over the entire number to agriculture; coolly remarking, that these persons, "after the fashion of Eng- land in the olden time, carry on spinning and weaving in private houses, for the consumption of the particular individual or family, and *that* the 425,827 do, in truth, belong to the agricul- tural interest, and are supported by it." Before Mr. Spackman adopted this summary process, it would have been as well if he had analysed the separate provinces of Ireland, to ascertain whether any difference in the ratio of spinners and weavers to the entire population afforded an explanation of the fact. What Mr. Spackman did not do we have done, and here is the result.

Provinces.	Spinners and Weavers. Branch, not specified.	Rates to population in centesimal parts.
Munster	106,168	4.4
Leinster	66,493	3.3
Connaught	122,998	8.6
Ulster	358,666	15.0

This table irresistibly points to a conclusion the very opposite of that stated by Mr. Spackman. If these spinners and weavers were simply employed in turning the bit of flax grown by the small farmer, or the fleece of his few sheep, into the rude fabrics which clothe himself and his family, the ratios of the respective provinces would bear some tolerable equality: but we see that Ulster has five times as many of this class as Leinster; nearly four times as many as Munster; and nearly twice as many as Connaught; and Ulster, it is well known, is the seat of the linen trade. We know enough of the industrial economy of Ulster to say, that two-thirds of the 358,666 spinners and weavers of that province are as closely connected with the linen trade as the factory workers of Castlewellan and Belfast; and the appropriation of the entire mass to agriculture, displays at once the author's ignorance of Ireland, and the blinding influence of a foregone conclusion, as to the superior national importance of agriculture.

We must briefly notice one more instance of incorrect appropriation. Finding, according to his own fashion of calculation, that the ratio of the agriculturists to the manufacturers, *in the whole kingdom, irrespective of the metropolis*, is as two to one, Mr. Spackman divides the entire population of Middlesex in that ratio, giving 1,006,692 to agriculture, and 503,345 to manufactures. We have neither space nor inclination to show, as we were prepared to do, by an elaborate analysis of the population of Middlesex, that even on his own showing he is in error, more than 100,000, in his appropriation of numbers to agriculture. But we must let that pass: we have a much stronger point to adduce. In the agricultural population, forming two-thirds of the entire population of the three kingdoms, *irrespective of the metropolis*, we find the following enumerated (p. 144, Appendix) as resident in

IRELAND.

	MALES.		FEMALES.		Total.
	15 years of age and upwards.	Under 15 years of age.	15 years of age and upwards.	Under 15 yrs. of age.	
Farmers and graziers	453,096	168	18,126	8	471,398
Agricultural labourers	1,127,484	102,739	108,173	18,481	1,356,877
Gardeners, &c.....	7,378	31	12	...	7,421
Others	7,162	2,034	14	23	9,233
	1,595,120	104,972	126,325	18,512	1,844,929
Total, Great Britain and Ireland	2,810,384	308,173	192,654	32,996	3,344,207

We would direct especial attention to the circumstance, that the Irish section of the class of agricultural producers is more than one half of the whole, and yet knowing, as Mr. Spackman must, that Ireland pays only one-eleventh of the national taxes,

and has a rental, in proportion to its surface, little more than one-half that of England; and knowing, also, that nine-tenths of its miserable peasantry (farmers and labourers alike) consume no colonial or foreign produce, he assigns a larger proportion of the nobility, gentry, and professional classes of the West End, and of the foreign merchants, bankers, &c. of the city, to this miserable class, *as dependent upon it for employment and support*, than to the comparatively rich and comfortable farmers and agricultural labourers of Great Britain! Such is the lame and impotent conclusion of his principle of apportioning "all other classes" *pro rata* to the respective numbers, directly engaged in agriculture and manufactures.

We have said sufficient, we think, to establish the following conclusions:—

1. That Mr. Spackman's principle of appropriating "all other classes" in the ratio of the respective numbers directly engaged in agriculture and manufactures, is false; 1st. As it assumes the perfect equality of productive power, in the units of each class; and, 2nd. As it overlooks the important fact, that the proportion of the "residue," dependent on those two classes, will not be in the ratio of numbers, *but mainly in the ratio of the adults only of each class*.

2. That in appropriating, on this principle, the class "Labourers" (so designated by the Census Commissioners), Mr. Spackman has abstracted from the manufacturing class at least one-half of the entire number, or upwards of 380,000 persons.

3. That in the same manner he has abstracted from the manufacturing class in Ireland at least 250,000 spinners and weavers, and transferred them to the agricultural class.

4. That, in appropriating a larger proportion of the metropolitan classes to the miserable agricultural population of Ireland, as dependent on them, than to the agricultural population of Great Britain, he has disregarded the plainest public proofs of the vast inferiority of the former class in the scale of production; and has, in fact, *simply counted numbers, in utter disregard of comparative productive power*.

5. That as a corollary from the whole, the numbers assigned to agriculture and manufactures respectively, are ridiculously wide of the truth; and the conclusion drawn from that appropriation, viz., that agricultural production preponderates in the ratio of numbers, is untrue; and that it would be so, even if the numbers were correct, because the productive power of the classes compared is vastly discrepant.

We have no hesitation in setting aside Mr. Spackman's analysis as a laborious distortion of facts, and a most deceptive

exposition of the relative productive values of manufactures and agriculture. Nor do we accept the 'Abstract' of the Census Commissioners as a clear and exact exposition either of the proportions of the manufacturing and agricultural population, or of the subdivision of employment into which the former class resolves itself. Mr. Spackman, somewhere in his work, states that his is the *first* systematic analysis of the 'Occupations Abstract.' We must undeceive him! We have before us, in print, such an analysis, so far as relates to Great Britain, published in 1843, and which cost the author many weeks of toil. We shall give a brief digest of it, and offer a few observations which it obviously suggests.

OCCUPATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

	MALES.		FEMALES.		TOTAL.
	20 Years of Age and upwards.	Under 20 Years of Age.	20 Years of Age and upwards.	Under 20 Years of Age.	
Textile Manufactures	375,706	117,055	217,117	138,137	848,015
Mining	139,289	48,454	3,102	3,031	193,876
Metals, Manufacts. of	25,842	7,395	695	549	34,481
Ditto, do. in the	80,421	20,055	5,518	2,729	108,723
Miscellaneous Manuf.	293,292	50,533	32,737	14,299	390,861
Distribution of Manufactures & Foreign Produce	355,902	62,736	68,346	6,912	493,896
Distribution of Agricultural Produce ..	142,676	15,880	14,719	630	173,905
Handicraft, chiefly connected with the building and furnishing of houses	496,120	74,119	4,423	511	575,173
Handicraft connected with the fabrication of apparel	278,136	47,380	139,050	34,310	498,876
Transit	213,434	30,781	1,583	66	245,864
Labourers (not agricultural)	356,701	42,754	12,684	2,179	414,318
Fishermen.	21,733	2,206			23,939
Total manufactures, trade, & commerce	2,779,252	519,348	499,974	203,353	4,001,927
Agriculture	1,219,552	203,095	66,684	14,497	1,503,828
Professions	110,199	5,822	34,056	2,004	152,081
Servants	159,093	91,961	643,076	348,634	1,242,764
Military and Naval..	159,134	10,372	..	..	169,506
Government (Civil Service)	16,049	270	625	15	16,959
Parochial and other Offices	23,900	494	1,959	17	26,370
Independent persons	132,118	5,689	357,516	16,117	511,440
Alms people, &c. ..	53,710	25,141	63,057	22,978	164,886
Prisoners, Lunatics, &c.	31,693	4,562	19,218	1,424	56,897
Residue	276,526	3,434,456	3,594,366	3,692,517	10,997,865
Total	4,961,226	4,301,210	5,280,531	4,301,556	18,844,523

This Analysis—which we venture to think is a more scientific one than Mr. Spackman's, and gives a far more distinct conception of the relative importance of the several classes of producers—shows that the manufacturing classes (comprised under the five first heads) are more numerous than the agricultural, the total of the former being 1,575,906, and of the latter, 1,503,828; and if the distributors be added, the disproportion is still greater in favour of manufactures, the totals being respectively, 2,069,802 and 1,677,733.

But if to the former number be added such a portion of "labourers" as may fairly be considered as exclusively engaged in manufactures, and such a portion of the shipping trade (included under the head "Transit"*) as is employed in the conveyance of the raw materials of our staple trade to this country, and the transmission of our fabrics to foreign countries, manufactures would present a still higher proportion in the scale of production; but the mere numbers do not, either as to manufactures or agriculture, convey a correct idea of their proportionate importance. As we have already observed, it is not numbers, but productive power, that is the measure in this view of the subject; and we have no hesitation in asserting, that setting aside the profits of capital in the one case, and the rent of land in the other, the productive power of the remaining portions of the two classes, as indicated by the ratio of wages, is at least as 7 to 5, the former figure representing manufactures. We say this advisedly (we are speaking of Great Britain only), and we are strongly of opinion that the profits of the capitalists are not much, if at all, below the rental of land. We shall, however, give our estimate of both in the sequel. At present we have in view the rectification of some gross mistakes and misstatements of Mr. Spackman's, as preparatory to a clear conception of that estimate.

Mr. Spackman has obviously entered upon the examination and analysis of the 'Occupations' Abstract,* with the intention

* The Census Commissioners have, inadvertently we presume, classed seamen engaged in the merchant service, under the head "Naval and Military." These clearly belong to trade and commerce. The number so classed is 45,915. They have also placed under the same head pilot seamen, 2,157; fishermen, 23,939; and boat and bargemen, 40,276. We have ranged all these, except fishermen, under the head "Transit." Fishermen we make a distinct class. Besides the seamen "on shore," it appears by a note on page 293 of the 'Occupations' Abstract, that there were at sea, 138,156 merchant seamen, which number ought to be added to the class "Transit," and also to the population of the kingdom. Mr. Spackman places all the above under the head "all other classes," and divides them "*pro rata*" betwixt the agricultural and manufacturing population.

of making it subserve the same end which he seems to have set before him in his former work; namely, the depreciation of manufactures and the exaltation of agriculture, considered in relation to the national wealth and power. We must, however, frankly acknowledge the greater modesty of the more recent publication. In the former, the annual produce of agriculture was stated at 280 millions; in the latter, it is reduced to 250 millions. We will endeavour to show that even the latter estimate is 50 millions in excess. Mr. Spackman's mode of calculation is this: he first estimates the quantity of land under particular modes of grain culture, and then the annual acreable produce and its value. Hay, garden, and green crops, he estimates at 30 millions per annum; the cattle, sheep, horses, pigs, and poultry, annually brought to market, he calculates on various data; all of which are more or less vague and indefinite. The whole calculation will be found at pp. 42 to 44, and, we venture to think, will suggest to all exact statisticians what it suggested to us, namely, how easy it is to believe anything which supports a foregone and cherished conclusion. Now we will suggest a very different process of calculation, and one which the 'Occupations' Abstract of 1841 for the first time gives us the means of carrying out. We must premise, that the total value of the produce of a particular class is simply the aggregate of wages and profits, if a manufacturing class; or, if an agricultural, of rent and direct taxes charged on the produce, in addition to wages and profits. It is a radical error to include the value of the foreign raw material in estimating the annual value of our manufactures. That method is perfectly correct, if what is sought be the annual value of a particular manufacture; but if the result desiderated, be the value annually produced by the application of British capital and labour, the raw material must be thrown out of the calculation. *Virtually*, the raw material annually imported is paid for by an equivalent value in manufactured goods, and the *residue* is the annual value of the British manufacture. We need not elaborate so self-evident a proposition. Now, applying this principle to agriculture, we arrive at the following estimate of the annual produce:—

Rent, as per Mr. Villiers' Return, 1843	£ 58,753,615
Direct and local taxation	13,881,911
Farmer's profit, 12½ per Cent., on a capital of £292,736,570	36,592,070
Wages of 2,565,744 labourers	45,355,116
Carried forward	£154,582,712

Brought forward	£154,582,712
Proportionate wages of handicrafts, miners, &c. &c. employed in fabricating agricultural implements, &c. &c.	15,000,000
	£169,582,712
Profit of distributors of agricultural produce 20 per Ct.	33,916,544
Total	£ 203,499,256

We must offer a few words of explanation on this estimate. The accuracy of rent and taxes, we presume, cannot be questioned. Farmers' profits *we* have calculated on the supposition that £7 10s. per acre for England and Scotland, £5 per acre for Wales, and £4 10s. per acre for Ireland, is sufficient for farmers' capital. Mr. Spackman, indeed, *assumes* 500 millions (in his synoptical table) as farmers' capital employed in the cultivation of the ground and invested in stock. We have no demur in rejecting this calculation as a mere fable; it gives nearly £12 per acre, alike to Great Britain and Ireland, on farmers' capital; a sum *double that of the annual produce of the land*, even on Mr. Spackman's own showing; and more by £4 10s. per acre than is required to conduct a farm in Scotland, where all the best and most costly mechanical appliances exist. For this assertion, we have the authority of the author of 'British Husbandry,' and we refer Mr. Spackman to the same, vol. i. pp. 47, 48. Fifteen millions per annum we consider a large sum to furnish the comparatively simple implements of agriculture, inclusive of carts, horse-gearing, &c., &c. Wages we have calculated in the following scale, taking Mr. Spackman's own enumeration of each class:—

Male adults, Great Britain	10s. per week.
" Ireland	5s. "
Males under 20 years of age, Great Britain	5s. "
" " Ireland	2s. 6d. "
Female adults, Great Britain	5s. "
" Ireland	2s. 6d. "
" under 20 years of age, Great Britain	2s. 6d. "
" " Ireland	1s. 3d. "

Gardeners, &c., we have calculated at 20s. per week for adults, and 10s. for non-adults. The per centage allowed as profits of distribution, we consider very ample, and, in fact, *excessive*; as it is palpable that the interval betwixt the sale of produce by the farmer and its consumption is exceedingly short, and demands only a small capital in the hands of the retailers. The aggregate sum, we feel the strongest persuasion, errs on the side of excess; but we are content to take it as it stands, and to show its relative

proportion to *our* estimate of the annual value of the national manufactures, trade, and commerce. We must, however, exclude Ireland from both calculations. The 'Abstract of Occupations' for that country is constructed on a totally different principle to that adopted by the compiler of the one for Great Britain. The condition too, of the people of Ireland, agricultural and manufacturing, differs so essentially from that of the people of Great Britain, that it seems only to perplex a simple question, and to damnify any general conclusion, to include them in the estimate. Including Ireland, then, we estimate the annual produce of the manufactures, trade, and commerce of Great Britain thus:—

Income of 1,857,447 male adults, at 17s. 6d. per week	..	£84,518,388
" 571,705 " 15s. "	..	22,296,495
" 448,419 " 10s. "	..	11,658,894
" 72,395 males under 20 } 7s. 6d. "	..	1,411,701
years of age		
" 498,508 female adults } 6s. "	..	7,776,724
" 203,353 females under } 4s. "	..	2,114,870
20 years of age		
		£129,777,072
Less, employed in fabricating agricultural implements, &c.		15,000,000
		£114,777,072
Profit of capital employed in Manufactures, and in the distribution of the same, including salaries of assistants in retail business, &c., 25 per cent.	.. ..	28,694,267
Rental of Mines, Quarries, Iron Works, Warehouses, Mills, &c.		20,000,000
		£163,471,339

We must observe, that the total number of workmen and women included in our calculation is 3,651,927; and, as the total engaged in manufactures, trade, and commerce, is, according to our table (p. 384), 4,001,927, there remains 350,000, which we consider may represent the entire body of capitalists, from the mill-owner and banker down to the smallest retail dealer, *inclusive* of their clerks and assistants. Of course, as we apportion £17,000,000 of the wages of the 3,651,927 operatives to agriculture, we virtually transfer a portion of those operatives to agriculture, in the same ratio to 3,651,927, that £17,000,000 bears to £129,777,072. We are fully sensible of the difficulty of arriving at any satisfactory estimate of the profits of capital; but seeing that the returns under the Income Tax indicate, as the total profits and salaries derived from trade in Great Britain, a sum betwixt £40,000,000 and £50,000,000, we feel certain that we have understated the annual produce of manufactures, trade, and commerce, not less than £10,000,000 or £15,000,000. Taking the calculation as it stands, and excluding Ireland from

our calculation of the produce of agriculture, the respective totals will stand thus:—

ANNUAL PRODUCE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Agriculture	£167,278,933
Manufactures, trade, and commerce	163,471,339
Total	<u>£330,750,272</u>

Our estimate, under the second head, does not greatly differ from Mr. Spackman's. We leave him to apportion to agriculture, *as dependent upon it*, just as much of the £163,471,339 as he thinks fairly represents the proportion of handicrafts engaged in building and furnishing houses, or in fabricating boots and shoes, coats and gowns; also the proportion of the class "Transit," exclusively employed in ministering to the consumption of foreign and colonial produce by the agricultural classes. We are not greatly concerned if he should show that 20 or 30 millions has to be taken from the latter class and added to the former. It is of far more importance accurately to know the total annual productiveness of the national industry, than the relative productiveness of agriculture and of manufactures. But we must remind Mr. Spackman that in assuming these values as representing the relative annual income of the two classes, he commits a gross and palpable error. Has Mr. Spackman any idea how much of the land of Great Britain is directly connected with its manufactures, and how much is *directly* owned by its trading classes, to say nothing of that insignificant portion which is mortgaged to the monied interest? The total, we apprehend, would startle him. But we do not wish to follow him into the region of conjecture; we prefer hard facts, and we have some to adduce, which will at least convince Mr. Spackman, that whatever may now *be*, or *may have been*, the superiority of agriculture, the relative progress of manufactures, since 1801, bids fair to place it far a-head, ere another cycle of 40 years shall have elapsed.

The several 'Reports of the Census Commissioners,' collated with the 'Property Tax Return,' the 'Report of the Poor Law Commissioners,' and Mr. Villiers' 'Return of Rental in 1843,' furnish materials of incalculable value to the economist and the statesman. Mr. Spackman had access to all of them, and, in fact, has used them all; but his feeling of partizanship, and his rabid dislike to Free Trade and its advocates, has so blinded his judgment, that he has failed to gather from them some of the most important conclusions which they irresistibly demonstrate. We shall endeavour to supply the omission; and if in so doing

we should wound Mr. Spackman's partialities, or prove his disingenuousness, he must excuse us. We cannot suppress the truth because he, perchance, may be offended by it.

The 'Return' to Mr. Villiers' motion, already alluded to, exhibited the following as the proportion of the various kinds of real property charged to the Income Tax in 1843:—

	In Centesimal Parts.
Land	48.0
Dwelling houses	40.4
Tithes	2.0
Mines	2.1
Canals	1.4
Railways	2.7
Other property	1.9
Manors, fines, and quarries	1.5
	<hr/> 100.0 <hr/>

The 'Ninth Report of the Poor Law Commissioners' corroborates this statement. In that Report (page 8), it is shown that the proportion of the several kinds of real property, charged to the poor rates in England and Wales, was as follows:—

	Centesimal Parts.
Landed property	52.0
Dwelling houses	37.0
All other property	11.0
	<hr/> 100.0 <hr/>

The one Return, embracing all Great Britain, and the other England and Wales only, and being founded on distinct data—we consider the near approximation speaks strongly for the accuracy of the general conclusions of both. Now, Mr. Spackman had Mr. Villiers' 'Return,' and yet he could discover no better indication of the comparative rental of land and other real property than the 'Property Tax Returns' of 1815, which give these results:—

	Centesimal Parts.
Lands	68.8
Dwelling houses	26.1
Mills, factories, &c.	3.7
Manorial profits	1.4
	<hr/> 100.0 <hr/>

But Mr. Spackman was absorbed at the time in the magnifi-

cent idea of the land representing a fee-simple of 1,500 millions; and he could not see so small an item in the fee-simple of mills and factories, or even of dwelling houses, in the full blaze of that one great fact; and the more especially, as in his mind **THE LAND** is always associated with the ideas of the Church, the Peerage, and the Throne!

The prominent fact, established by Mr. Villiers' 'Return' (which exhibits the rental of 1815 in juxta position with that of 1843), is the vast increase of *all rents* during the interval of 28 years, and the comparatively more rapid increase in the rental of *other property*, as distinct from lands. But still more important conclusions are latent in this document, compared with the population returns from 1801 to 1841, which we shall now develop; and we commend them to the especial attention of those who still regard all the measures recently passed by the legislature, in order to give full scope to the manufacturing energies of the nation, as so many acts of deliberate suicide to the national weal.

Referring to the division of the counties of England, at page 380, we have constructed on the same principle the following table:—

COUNTIES.	Population.		Increase. 1801 to 1841.	Per Cent. Increase	Rental of Real Property charged to the Income Tax.		Increase. 1815 to 1843.	Per Cent. Increase
	1801.	1841.			1815.	1843.		
23 Agricultural	3,583,667	5,635,403	2,051,736	57	23,265,453	33,095,173	9,830,718	42
8 Mixed Agricultural & Manufacturing	1,399,276	2,271,469	882,193	63	8,351,664	11,762,353	3,410,689	41
8 Mining	391,212	799,918	408,706	103	2,002,516	3,563,256	1,560,740	80
2 Metropolitan	1,067,172	2,159,314	1,072,142	99	7,174,710	13,975,065	6,800,295	94
5 Manufacturing.....	1,677,167	4,189,034	2,511,867	120	8,950,276	18,082,297	9,132,021	102
	8,331,434	14,995,138	6,663,704	80	49,744,621	80,519,681	30,774,463	62

It appears from this table, that the 3 mining and 5 manufacturing counties, having a population in 1801 of 2,271,319, increased by no less than 2,657,633, or nearly 120 per cent. in 40 years; whilst 23 agricultural counties, with a population of 3,583,667 in 1801, only increased 2,051,756, or 57 per cent. It also appears, that the former counties, having only a rental of £10,952,792 in 1815, had increased it to £21,685,553 in 1841, or nearly 100 per cent., whilst the latter counties had only increased 42 per cent. Can any statement more emphatically condemn the policy which sought to cripple the manufactures of the nation, and, so doing, to narrow the outlets for that surplus agricultural population, which, it is notorious, has, during the last forty years, been thrown off the land, and found employment in the manufacturing districts? Is it not something like suicide to the agricultural classes themselves, seeing that the number of agricultural labourers was stationary betwixt 1831 and 1841, to

place any, even the least barrier, to the exercise of our skill and enterprise as manufacturers and traders? In what other direction is the tide of population to go? Gorged as are the manufacturing districts with Irish emigrants and their progeny of two or three generations past,—they yet absorb an immense mass of the population born in the purely agricultural counties of England. It is demonstrable, taking the average rate of progress in the population throughout England, that since 1801, the mining and manufacturing counties have absorbed 1,100,000 persons, born in the rural districts. What would have been the condition of the agricultural population, and what the pressure of poor-rates on rents, but for this absorption?

As an index of the proportionate rates of increase in wealth, the preceding table is most instructive, and we commend it to Mr. Spackman's deliberate consideration; and especially when he is in the mood to predict the destruction of the national greatness, wealth, and glory, as the inevitable consequence of further progress in the direction of manufactures. We shall only give one more table founded on the same documents, and we do it partly to show, that where manufactures prevail the rent of land is highest,—a consolatory fact, which we cannot, without unkindness, withhold or suppress.

Counties.	Proportionate population.	Proportionate Rental. Land.	Proportionate Rental. Dwelling Houses.	Proportionate total rental. (cultivated surface)	Rent of land, per acre.
23 Agricultural	37.6 ...	57.9 ...	25.2 ...	41.1 ...	} 26s. 6d.
8 Mixed	... 15.2 ...	... 18.5 ...	... 10.6 ...	... 14.6 ...	
3 Mining	... 5.3 ...	... 4.2 ...	... 2.4 ...	... 4.5 ...	
2 Metropolitan	14.4 ...	... 2.2 ...	... 32.6 ...	... 17.3 ...	30s. 0d.
5 Manufacturing	27.5 ...	... 17.2 ...	... 29.2 ...	... 22.5 ...	33s. 9d.
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

The high proportionate rental of dwelling-houses in the five manufacturing counties will not escape observation. The rapid growth of this kind of real property has already been shown in noticing the altered proportions of the rental of land and the rental of dwelling-houses, as stated by the Poor Law Commissioners, but a general statement does not convey so vivid an idea of the magnitude and importance of this class of property as an individual case. The house rental of Lancashire is £4,777,536; being one-eighth of the entire rental of dwelling-houses in England and Wales. It is equal to the aggregate rental of *land only* in the nine counties of Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Hertford, Huntingdon, Sussex, Oxford and Rutland. It is also equal to the aggregate rental of the *land only*, in the counties of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Northampton. The rental of Liver-

pool and Manchester combined is 3,000,000; *more* than the entire rental of any county in England, except the West Riding of York; the four next highest counties being—

			Rental.
Lincolnshire	...	...	£2,868,338
Kent	...	...	2,907,605
Surrey	...	...	2,939,067
Somerset	...	...	2,991,746

If, as Mr. Spackman asserts, it be true that the manufacturing classes never yet paid 1-4th of the annual taxation of the nation, we think that assertion is in a very fair way of becoming true only in a past sense, provided the manufacturing classes should continue to increase until 1880 as they have done since 1800. But Mr. Spackman holds a theory, which, *if true*, renders such a consummation of our manufacturing progress impossible. He says (page 3) "*that the increase in the production of manufactured goods and the employment of the population proceed in the inverse ratio to each other.*" And he is so fully convinced of the truth of this axiom, that he repeats it with emphasis in two other parts of his work. The fallacy is the old fallacy against machinery;—the distinction betwixt the effect of machinery, in *diminishing the quantity of labour* required to produce a given quantity of goods, and its effect on the *whole amount of employment* is lost sight of. The logic of the objection is this—"A certain machine enables one man to make as much cotton cloth as seven men could make before the machine was invented; *therefore*, six men are displaced and thrown out of employment by the machine." The conclusion overlooks the fact that seven times as many goods will be sold, if price is reduced, as it ultimately is, *pro rata*, to the diminishing quantity of labour required to produce a given commodity. But we have not space, nor is it our intention, to meet Mr. Spackman's theory, argumentatively. We shall meet it practically, by referring him to the fact of an increase in the population of Lancashire in the forty years, from 1801 to 1841, of 147 per cent., and in the five manufacturing counties named in the preceding tables, of 120 per cent.; whilst the average increase of England and Wales was only 80 per cent.; and of twenty-three purely agricultural counties, only 57 per cent.! Now, in no other county has machinery been so extensively applied, or so rapidly; and yet, in no one has the increase of population been so great! We suppose the masses congregate where there is the least employment for them! Gravely speaking, it must be so, if Mr. Spackman's theory be true. But probably Mr. Spackman thinks that his theory is only now coming into operation. We

are sorry to disturb his repose in such a belief, but a recent parliamentary document shows conclusively, that the tide of population is still flowing in the direction of manufactures. A paper (No. 294) of the present Session, compared with a similar document for the year 1839, shows the following results. Both papers are returns of the number of persons engaged in the cotton, woollen, worsted, flax, and silk factories, in the United Kingdom, in the years of their respective dates—that is, in 1839 and in 1847.

			Total 1839.		Total 1847.		Per Centage Increase.
Ireland ...	...	...	14,863	...	22,591	...	52
Scotland ...	...	...	59,314	...	67,243	...	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
England ...	...	...	349,294	...	455,042	...	30 $\frac{1}{2}$
			<hr/> 423,471			<hr/> 544,876	<hr/> 28 $\frac{1}{2}$

The relative ratios of increase in the five branches of factory labour are as follow :—

Cotton	...	...	22 per cent.
Woollen	...	...	34 „
Worsted	...	...	65 „
Silk	...	...	70 „
Flax	...	...	3 „

The comparative slowness of the increase in the cotton and flax trades is partly accounted for by the extreme depression of those trades at the time the last return was called for, namely, in February last; when, owing to the high price of the raw material, vast numbers of hands were out of employment. But, taken as it appears, does Mr. Spackman think that the number of agricultural labourers will show a similar increase at the next census? We will venture to predict that it will not show 5 per cent. ! In one word, all the documents consulted and analyzed by Mr. Spackman point to these broad conclusions, that the population of this country is day by day becoming increasingly dependent on the staple manufactures of the nation for employment and subsistence, and that the values of the agricultural and the manufacturing productive powers of the nation are rapidly altering in relation to each other; that of agriculture being in the descending ratio of the scale.

It is deeply to be regretted that public writers should come to the examination of such a subject with foregone conclusions, or blind prejudices, or a heated spirit of partizanship. We cannot exonerate Mr. Spackman from the charge of being, in a great degree, under these influences. It would be a deep *mortification* to undeceive him as to his estimate of the transcendent importance

and value of agriculture. It is not an opinion only with *him—it is a passion*. Nor is he free from the charge of unjustly and ungenerously disparaging the manufacturing skill of his countrymen, as will be seen by the following statement, quoted from page 53 of his work :

“ Possessing, therefore, no natural advantages over other countries, and subject to the competition of other nations equally ingenious, industrious, and persevering as ourselves, *and from many of whom we have borrowed the most important discoveries in the mechanical arts*, we must trace the rise, the progress, and the present importance of the manufacturing interest to other causes than that of *any inherent principles of originality or stability of its own*.”

Now, in our humble opinion, the steam-engine alone, were it our one only achievement in mechanical skill, would place us at the head of nations in the scale of mechanical inventions. But let that pass. Did we borrow the spinning-frame, the jenny, the mule, the fly-shuttle, or the power-loom from other countries? Perhaps it is an error in our recollection that Arkwright, and Hargreaves, and Crompton, and Kaye and Cartwright, were born in Great Britain. Or perhaps we must place the biographies which tell us of their patient trials and their final success in the same category with the adventures of Munchausen and Gulliver! Seriously: such sweeping assertions as the one quoted from our author reflect credit neither on his judgment nor his candour. Truc, France *has* given us the Jacquard-loom,—her artists *excel* in design, and her chemists in colour;—but what if Arkwright, Watt, and their compeers had not provided the mechanical agents which multiply almost *ad infinitum* the products of the spindle and the loom? We might have had as beautiful fabrics as we have now, but where would have been their cheapness and abundance? We leave our readers to decide with whom the palm of mechanical skill rests; and as to energy, perseverance, and enterprise, *we* have no occasion to say a word. A commerce which whitens with its sails every sea, and brings to our shores the products of every clime, *will* speak for these qualities as pre-eminent in the national character, until a more magnificent exhibition of commercial power and greatness shall be exhibited by some other people!

In conclusion, we think we shall not be too bold when we say, that the reasoning we have applied to the examination of Mr. Spackman's principles of classification and appropriation have demonstrated the fallaciousness of both. The methods of analysis and classification which we have adopted we leave an impartial public to decide about; but we are forward to state our belief, that the facts we have stated, showing the relative pro-

gress of agriculture and of manufactures since 1801, unanswerably establish the wisdom and patriotism of the men who have released trade from its fetters, and given full scope to those branches of the national industry, on which, it is quite evident, the future subsistence, the social order, and the mental and moral elevation of the masses of the population must depend.

* * The numbers given by Mr. Spackman, at p. 152, Appendix (p. 377), as engaged in manufactures and agriculture respectively, differ from those given in p. 140, in consequence of his transferring 425,021 Spinners and Weavers from the former class to the latter.

ART. VI.—*The Dispatches and Letters of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson; with Notes.* By Sir Harris Nicholas, G.C.M.G. London: Colburn.

THE favour with which memoirs, lives, and anecdotes of our naval worthies have been received of late years; the success which has attended the publication of those of Lords Rodney, Howe, St. Vincent, Collingwood, and others; mark the sense entertained by the country of the merits of those veterans who have faced the battle and the breeze for the honor of her flag, for the defence of her liberty and existence. The naval profession, always one of singular self-denial, coolness, and energy, leaving out of the question the daring deeds accomplished by it within the last sixty years, must still continue to command our involuntary respect and approbation, even though this country be as actively and frequently engaged in war for the future as in times past. The maintenance of discipline and hardihood in the necessary struggles with the elements call out the skill and resources of the officers and seamen; their cultivation is as important as an ingredient in our national character, as a component part of our commercial prosperity, as they have been in our contests with the enemy, and our resistance to his plans of invasion.

The army has had its full share of biographical attention, and it is not surprising that the systematic publication of the Despatches of Marlborough and Wellington should have led to a general wish on the part of the naval service that the career of its greatest ornament should be as fully illustrated for the benefit of the profession and the country. Fortunately this duty has fallen to the lot of one qualified to discharge it with judgment and fidelity. The letters which the industry of Sir Harris Nicolas has given to the world have the advantage of making the hero his own biographer, the good taste of the editor being displayed by the

introduction only of such few short notices as are absolutely necessary to enable the reader to understand the circumstances to which they refer, while in his foot notes he has accumulated much lucid information respecting the lives and performances of Lord Nelson's correspondents. Of course, in so numerous a list, filling seven thick volumes, there must be many having no attraction for the ordinary reader, beyond their general effect in serving to illustrate the mind and disposition, from an early period of life, of one whose after career was destined to be unrivalled in his calling. We see him throughout ever natural and generous, impulsive yet prudent, cool and discerning in his early youth, with all his daring extricating himself from dangers and difficulties with a presence of mind and energy of action that never deserted him. The same spirit of enterprize which led him to volunteer the boarding the prize when first lieutenant of the *Lowestoffe* in 1777, anno æt. 19, shines in the boarding and carrying two Spanish sail of the line, one *after and from* the other at St. Vincent; in the conflict off Cadiz between his boat's crew and the Spanish launch; in his eager pursuit of the French fleet before the Nile, and in his memorable chase of them to the West Indies and back; breaks out in the voice of the commander-in-chief in the last hour of his life in the *Victory*.

It is from the date of his appointment to the *Agamemnon*, a fast and handy sixty-four, in 1793, that his correspondence assumes a vivid interest. The ship formed a part of the squadron which enforced the surrender of Toulon in that year; and Lord Hood appears to have soon discovered Nelson's merit: still more so after the 8th November, when, having only 345 men at quarters, the *Agamemnon* engaged three French 44-gun frigates, a sloop and a brig, for four hours, so successfully that it was with difficulty the *Melpomene* (one of the French frigates) effected her escape. His exertions at the sieges of Bastia and Calvi are not unknown; but we see from the daily correspondence when on shore there, now published, how entirely he was the soul of the attack and the cause of its success. Yet Lord Hood, his *friend*, with a strange indifference, barely mentions his name, save with a dozen other officers, and wholly omits any allusion to the loss of his eye; nay, it will scarcely be believed that in order to obtain a slight compensation for this, he should have been obliged to obtain the certificates of three naval surgeons in order to remedy the consequences of Lord Hood's omission of his name from the list of the wounded.

In March, 1795, occurred the actions under Admiral Hotham with the Toulon fleet, in which again the *Agamemnon* bore so gallant a part.

"Fortune in this late affair," writes Nelson to his brother, "has favoured me in a most extraordinary manner, by giving me an opportunity which seldom offers of being the only line-of-battle-ship who got singly into action, on the 13th, when I had the honour of engaging the *Ca Ira*, absolutely large enough to take the *Agamemnon* in her hold. I never saw such a ship before . . . I cannot account for what I saw; whole broadsides, within half-pistol shot, missing my little ship, whilst ours were in the fullest effect. The French captain has paid me the highest compliments—much more flattering than those of my own fleet, as they must have been true. We killed on board the *Ca Ira*, on the 13th, 110, while only 7 were slightly wounded on board the *Agamemnon*. On the 14th, although one of the van-ships, and in close action on one side and distant action on the other, for upwards of three hours, yet our neighbours suffered most exceedingly, while we, comparatively, suffered nothing. We had only six men slightly wounded . . . Had our good admiral followed the blow, we should probably have done more; but the risk was thought too great."

A few days after, in a letter to his wife, he writes:—

"Sure I am, had I commanded our fleet on the 14th, that either the whole of the French fleet could have graced our triumph, or I should have been in a confounded scrape."

On the 13th of July, another indecisive action was fought:—

"Rowley and myself were just again getting into close action when the admiral made our signals to call us off . . . In the morning, I was certain of taking their whole fleet, latterly of six sail. I will say that no ships could behave better than ours, none worse than the French . . . *Agamemnon*, with her usual good luck, has none killed, and only one badly wounded."—*To Captain Locker, Lieut.-Governor-General, &c.*

To his brother, he speaks of the "miserable action" of the 13th.

"To say how much we wanted Lord Hood at that time is to say, will you have all the French fleet or no action? for the scrambling, distant fire was a farce . . . But Hotham has no head for enterprise, perfectly satisfied that each month passes without any losses on our side. I almost, I assure you, wish myself an admiral, with the command of a fleet. Probably, when I grow older,* I shall not feel all that alacrity and anxiety about the service which I do at present."

In Sir John Jarvis's action off St. Vincent, on Valentine's day, 1797, Nelson, who had then his broad pendant in the Captain, 74, distinguished himself as usual; out of the four sail of the line that graced the victory, two fell by his own personal prowess,

* He was then 36; assuredly, there was no diminution of the alacrity and vigour, as he apprehended, in the ensuing ten years—all his life embraced.

being boarded by himself, one after the other, after a severe cannonading.

"You will easily believe," writes his friend, Sir Gilbert Elliot, lately viceroy of Corsica, who had beheld the whole of the battle from the *Lively* frigate, "the joy with which I witnessed your glory yesterday. To have had any share in it is honour enough for one man's life; but to have been foremost on such a day could fall to your share alone! Nothing in the world was ever more noble than the transaction of the 'Captain,' from beginning to end; and the glorious group of your ship and her two prizes, fast in your gripe, was never surpassed, and I dare say never will. . . . I was in hopes you were unhurt, by seeing you on board the *Minerva*, and hearing the cheers you were saluted with." . . .

It is not a little curious, that in his public dispatch, Sir John Jarvis, partly influenced, it is said, by the jealousy of Sir R. Calder, captain of the fleet, omitted all mention of Commodore Nelson, to whom he owed half of his victory. This was a little corrected in a private letter from the Admiral to Lord Spencer, then first Lord, but which was not printed. The English fleet *knew better*, and awarded honour where it was due. "The Victory," says Nelson, in his 'Few Remarks relating to myself in the Captain, in which my pendant was flying on the most glorious Valentine's day, 1797,' "saluted us with three cheers, as did every other ship in the fleet;" showing clearly the uncontrolled and unsuggested conviction on the minds of the scamen, whatever may have been the jealousy of some of the superior officers.

His affectionate wife, on hearing of his honours and safety, though proud of his great exploits, writes with characteristic tenderness, on the 20th of March. "I do sincerely hope, my dear husband, that all these wonderful and desperate actions, such as boarding ships, you will leave to others. With the protection of a Supreme Being, you have acquired a character or name which all hands agree cannot be greater." Again, in another letter—"Indeed I do beg that you will never board again; *leave it for Captains.*" How little she knew her lord. In a letter to his brother, speaking of Collingwood and Trowbridge, he says:—

"We are the only three ships who made great exertions on that glorious day; the others did their duty, and some not exactly to my satisfaction. We ought to have had the *Santissima Trinidad* and the *Sobrerano*, 74. They belonged to us by conquest, and only wanted some good fellow to get alongside them, and they were ours An anecdote in the action is honourable to the Admiral, Trowbridge, and myself. Calder said: 'Sir, the Captain and Colloden are sepa-

rated from the fleet—shall we recall them?—Admiral : ‘I will not have them recalled ; I put my faith in those ships ;—it is a disgrace that they are not supported and that they are separated.’”

In the following year, 1798, he was appointed to command the Mediterranean squadron, still under the orders of Lord St. Vincent. Our Government at home were anxious to carry on the war with vigour ; but such was the mismanagement and incompetence of those then at the head of affairs, that Nelson was despatched to hunt out the Toulon expedition without an adequate number of frigates, and only one brig, and she not a fast sailer. Sent in pursuit of the most enterprising general, the best appointed fleet and army France had yet possessed, with nothing but his own sagacity to guide him ; after sweeping the Levant, Egypt, and the coast of Greece, in vain, a first time, the fleet, having victualled and watered in Sicily, was again steered for Egypt in its ceaseless pursuit ; and here, on the 1st of August, to the relief of Nelson’s mind, the enemy’s fleet was at last discovered ; and the result is well known.

Here is a letter written in the thick of the battle, probably by the light of the flames of l’Orient :—

“Audacious, 1st August, 1798.—Sir, I have the satisfaction to tell you the French ship *Le Conquérant* has struck to the Audacious, and I have her in possession. The slaughter on board her is *dreadful*, her captain is dying. We have but one killed, but a great many wounded. Our fore and main masts are wounded, but I hope not very bad. They tell me the foremast is the worst. I give you joy. This is a glorious victory. I am, with the utmost respect, yours, in haste, D. GOULD.”

One from Captain Barry, of the flag-ship, to Captain Miller, of the *Theseus*, next morning :—

“Vanguard, 2nd August.—My dear Miller,—There is but one heart and one soul in this glorious victory : your very handsome conduct we saw and felt ; the admiral is conscious of your doing right, and leaves it to you to order. He congratulates and thanks you—hopes your wounds are of no consequence, as you say : Sir Horatio I believe to be out of danger, though his wound is in the head, and he has been sick. Send a letter or a word to me for your wife, as I may be off soon. God bless you, my dear friend. Ever yours most truly, ED. BARRY.”

Captain Barry was to go home with the news of the victory.

Lord Nelson writes to him in London, on the 10th of December, 1798 :—

“I am so much rejoiced at your safety, after all your perils, that I do not at the moment consider your great sufferings. I trust that the King will confer on you the same honours as if you had not been in

the *Leander*: indeed, your sufferings in her entitle you to more honours. Her defence was glorious, and does Thompson and you the highest credit. I have just got 159 of the *Leander's* from Corfu. I rejoice that we are now brother-freemen of London, as we have before been in serving our country. I shall never forget your support of my mind on the 1st of August. We are all united in our squadron: not a growler amongst us Galwey gave me the sword, which I presented to Prince Leopold; but I have the one which you brought me down the cockpit,* which you shall have. Best regards to, I hope, Lady Barry."

No wonder, then, that Barry regarded him as the *evocatus Crastinus* did his chief, as told in the beautiful little episode which precedes the account of the battle of Pharsalia in the *Commentaries* of the victor.†

There are many curious documents relative to the battle. Here is one from Lord Howe:—

"Sir,—Though conscious how many letters of congratulation you are likely to receive by the same conveyance on the subject of your despatches by Captain Capel, I trust you will forgive the trouble of my compliments on this singular occasion, not less memorable for the *skill* than for the cool judgment testified under the considerable disadvantages, in the superior force and situation of the enemy, which you had to surmount. I am, with great esteem, sir, your most obedient servant, HOWE."

The aged peer's acquaintance with Lord Nelson was but slight, his congratulations, though somewhat stiff, were cordial. The honour of such a man's opinion, justly looked up to from his gallantry, success, and experience as the head of the naval profession, so spontaneously proffered, deeply affected Nelson.

"It was only this moment," he replies to him on the 8th January, 1799, "that I had the invaluable approbation of the great, the immortal Earl Howe, an honor the most flattering that a sea officer could receive, as it comes from the first and greatest sea officer the world has ever produced. I had the happiness to command a band of brothers; therefore night was to my advantage Had it pleased God that I had not been wounded and stone-blind, there cannot be a doubt but that every ship would have been in our possession. But here let it not be supposed that any officer is to blame. No: on my honor, I am satisfied that each did his very best. I never before, my lord, detailed this action to any one; but I should have thought it

* During the battle of the Nile, Lieut. (afterwards Rear Admiral) Galwey was first of the *Vanguard*.

† "Erat Crastinus evocatus in exercitu Cæsaris, qui superiore anno apud eum primum pilum in legione X duxerat, vir singulari virtute. Ille, signo dato, 'Sequimini me,' inquit, 'manipulares mei qui fuistis;' simul respiciens Cæsarem, 'Faciam,' inquit, 'hodie, Imperator, ut aut vivo mihi aut mortuo, gratias agas.'"

wrong to have kept it from one who is our great master in naval tactics and bravery."

Those who seconded him in his deeds of glory, high or low, he never forgot. A few months after, Captain Louis, of the *Minotaur*, which ship had been the *Vanguard's* second a-head in the battle, applies to him, not very regularly, for a remission of a court-martial on a sailor:—"Sir," says Lord Nelson in reply, "I can never forget your noble and effectual support to my flag on the most glorious 1st of August, and in remembrance of the gallant conduct of the *Minotaur's* ship's company, in *obedience to your orders*, I do so." And the stern and happy compliment conveyed to all parties in this public letter, intended for the admonition of the crew, is still further enhanced by Lord Nelson's private note to Louis of the same date:—"Believe me I shall never forget your support. A friend in need is a friend indeed."

To Captain Foley, one of "the brethren of the Nile," and in whose ship his flag was flying in the battle of Copenhagen, condoling with him on the loss of his brother:—"In whatever situation I may be, I should be most ungrateful could I for a moment forget your public support of me in the day of battle." Then a touching instance of his anxiety about "poor dear Miller's* monument."

"I have told Davison that whatever is wanted to make up the sum I shall pay. I thought of Lord St. Vincent and myself paying £50 each, and about £12 from each of the captains who served with him in the actions of St. Vincent and the Nile: for if we desire too much it will not do. The spirit of liberality seems to be declining; but when I forget an old and dear friend, may I cease to be your affectionate NELSON and B. (*In a letter to Sir Thomas Trowbridge, 17th February, 1802.*)"

To Sir Alexander Ball, of the *Alexander*, 74, then blockading Malta:—

"None shall interfere with you, and if it is in my power you shall be elected a chevalier of the order. No one ever deserved honours more than you, and I feel what you will suffer in having this child of your own taken out of your hands.† . . . All in this house (Palermo) join in kindest regards with your obliged and affectionate NELSON."

Of Trowbridge, who was of all his adherents and friends the most devoted and beloved; whose success in enforcing the reduction, at the head of a brigade of seamen, of St. Elmo and Capua,

* R. W. Miller, who commanded the *Captain*, 74, at St. Vincent, and the *Theseus*, 74, at the Nile. He was blown up by the accidental explosion of some shells in the latter ship, at Acre, in 1799.

† The Emperor of Russia had just accepted the sovereignty of the Order.

is so well known; he writes to Lord Spencer that, "though the ability and resources of my brave friend Trowbridge are well known yet he has raised his great character even higher than it was before, and it is my earnest request that His Majesty may be graciously pleased to bestow some mark of the Royal favour on Captain Trowbridge, which will give real happiness to your lordship's most obedient servant, NELSON." And in private, he tells Lord Spencer, "it would be supposing you, my dear Lord, ignorant of his merit were I to say more than that he is a first-rate general."

He lived with his officers almost as an elder brother, and we cannot wonder at the feelings of attachment and devotion he inspired, at the enthusiasm with which they followed him, literally through fire and water, and their readiness to do so again.

We were naturally anxious to examine what light these papers would throw on the conduct of Nelson during the much-canvassed transactions in the Bay of Naples in the summer of 1799, the only unfortunate portion of an arduous professional career. In this part of his task (as indeed throughout) the editor has used extraordinary diligence. He has inserted, as he tells us in the preface to the third volume, *every* other document, in addition to all Lord Nelson's letters, that he could find, and he has withheld nothing that could in any way throw light upon those affairs. And we are bound to say that, after closely perusing them, the great stain upon his memory—the accusation of treachery and murder—has been effectually removed. The points on which he has been most fiercely attacked are the violation of the capitulation signed by Ruffo, Captain Foote, the Turks and Russians, with the republicans, and the subsequent trial and execution of Caraccioli.

But with regard to the first. It is absolutely clear, from the papers, that Cardinal Ruffo, a chief of the royalist forces, had no authority to treat; neither had Captain Foote of the Sea-horse [who by-the-by seems to have had a misgiving of his own powers, since he signed under protest], any such power from his superior officer. At the same time Nelson had been invested by the sovereign with most extraordinary powers over his continental dominions. Sir H. Nicolas publishes for the first time a letter from the King of Naples to the English Admiral of the 10th of June, 1799, that is, on the sailing of the fleet from Palermo to Naples, certainly indicating the most unreserved confidence and authority. "Trusting" as he tells him "his son to his friendly assistance, and requesting that he will always act *principally*, as his forces are the true means and support on which he rests his future

hopes, as they have hitherto been of his safety ;” further, “ that he sends a *copy of the instructions* he gives to the superior generals.” What is equally clear from the documents in the appendix is, that Ruffo treated with the Neapolitan republicans *contrary* to orders—that he was reprimanded by the King for having done so—that Lord Nelson annulled the capitulation immediately on his arrival in the Foudroyant with the fleet in the Bay of Naples. So hopeless, however, were the republicans of making escape or defence, that they came out of the castles Nuovo and dell’ Uovo with a full knowledge that the capitulation had been disallowed, an intimation indeed which was officially made to them. Neither the English fleet nor the Neapolitan royalists availed themselves of any advantages abandoned by the republicans—matters remained exactly in *statu quo ante*—that *status* being an impossibility of further resistance. The custom of war certainly seems to warrant the course so far pursued by Nelson. Sir Harris quotes passages from Vattel, Martius and Klüber in support of his view, besides adducing the following facts:— 1st. In November, 1813, Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr capitulated with 25,000 men in Dresden, on condition of the men going to France and not serving for six months, to General Klenau—disallowed by Swartzenberg, general-in-chief of the allies, “ because General Klenau was not authorized to grant conditions so unfavourable to the cause of the allies.”* 2d. Rapp’s surrender at Dantzic in the same month on the same terms, and which was equally annulled by the Emperor Alexander. Neither the Emperor nor Swartzenberg were censured for their share in these acts; we cannot but think, therefore, that Sir H. Nicolas is justified in insisting that our admiral was free from all blame in his disallowance of a treaty improperly entered into by unqualified persons—nay, that the Russians and Turks, equally parties to it, must have felt so too, since they did not think proper to remonstrate with either the King or Nelson.

Next comes the trial of Caraccioli. He was not in either of the castles, as some have formerly asserted, and could not, therefore, have been protected by the capitulation, even if that had been valid—he was arrested some days after in the mountains, in disguise, and brought on board the Foudroyant. A trial was ordered by Lord Nelson in his capacity of Commander-in-chief of the

* St. Cyr had actually come forth—it was offered to him to be reinstated in Dresden with all his ammunition and provisions—but he, seeing the hopelessness of escape, as did the Neapolitan liberals, declined the offer, and remained prisoner of war.

Sicilian marine—and a court-martial, composed of Sicilian officers, but sitting on board the *Foudroyant*, condemned him, we cannot say unjustly; the sentence being executed the same evening on board the Neapolitan frigate *Minerve*.

There can be no doubt that Nelson's conduct on the occasion in question was harsh and ungenerous to an old brother in arms (Caraccioli had commanded the *Tancredi*, 74, in Hotham's action four years before, in which both he and Nelson had borne part); wanting in feeling, but to graver reproach it does not seem liable. It has, however, been said that Lord Nelson had no authority to order the Sicilian Commodore for trial; that Count Thurn, the Commodore, was Caraccioli's enemy; that there was undue haste in the execution of the sentence. The great and unlimited power granted to Lord Nelson by the King, and exercised by him in the presence of the minister, afford strong presumptive proof that his proceedings were in due form, and that he had the legal and official right, as Commander-in-chief of the Sicilian navy, of ordering a court-martial on a deserter from it. The next charge is that Count Thurn was Caraccioli's enemy; that Caraccioli, in command of the republican gun-boats, had actually fired into Thurn's ship, the *Minerve*, a few weeks before; that this should have disqualified him from sitting as a judge. Sir Harris thinks the charge of personal enmity is unsupported; and though he regrets the fact of the trial having taken place on board an English man-of-war, he is inclined to think that its fairness was guaranteed by that fact, as it was at any rate a court open to the attendance and observation of the English officers of the ship and squadron. We much doubt whether any court-martial in any other country could possibly have acquitted an officer charged with having made war against his sovereign; and however much prejudice may be allowed to have entered into the feelings of the Sicilian officers who had remained on the Bourbon side, and who sat at his trial, we do not understand that they necessarily are to be more reproached with this tendency than our own officers who sat on the trials of the mutineers at the Nore and Portsmouth a year before. There may be party feelings sometimes manifested at courts-martial—our readers may have heard that such were supposed to exist at the trials of Palliser and Keppel, after the action with the French fleet in the American war; nay that these feelings were not quite extinct during the two slight encounters, when Lord Howe was manœuvring with the Channel fleet previous to his decisive battle on the 1st of June. Unless, therefore, a court-martial had been convoked of officers *not* in actual service (an unprecedented measure), it was impossible but that a disposition highly unfavourable to Caraccioli must have

pervaded the breasts of his judges. The prisoner himself does not seem to have relied upon any capitulation.

"It is perfectly incredible," says the editor, "that if Caraccioli thought himself entitled to the benefit of the capitulation he should not have referred to it. Is it likely that a man, on trial for his life before a military tribunal, would have confined his defence to such doubtful grounds as his having been forced into the crime of commanding a flotilla against his sovereign's ships, when he could have said 'guilty or not guilty, my safety is guaranteed by a capitulation executed only one week ago.'"

Short time was allowed between the sentence and execution—at the haste of which we must again express our regret. But it was no part of Lord Nelson's principle to temporize with mutiny or desertion. Two years before, on the occasion of the trial of the mutineers of the *St. George*, 74, off Cadiz, on the 8th of July, 1797, Lord St. Vincent writes to Lord Nelson that had they been convicted they would suffer on the same evening. As the trial was not over till past sunset, the sentence could not be carried into effect till next morning, when the admiral wrote to Nelson—"the sentence must be carried into effect to-morrow morning, although it is *Sunday*, and you will take care to have the boats of the detached squadron up in time:" to which Nelson replied, "entirely approving of the commander-in-chief's decision." It must be added, that however we may sympathize with the efforts of the liberal party throughout the Italian peninsula in their first movement against despotism, the performances of the chief agents, whether French or Italian, as soon as they began to exert their new-born authority, were little less tyrannical and far more rapacious than that of the absolutism they replaced. Not many months before this had been strongly brought home to Nelson's mind by the receipt of a letter from Captain Barry, who, while carrying home his despatches, had been taken after the desperate conflict between the *Leander* of 50 guns and the *Généreux* of 80. The English officers and crew had been stripped of everything by the infamous French crew, Mons. Lejoille, the captain, coolly replying to their remonstrances, "*Je suis fâché; mais le fait est que les Français ne sont bons qu'au pillage.*" In fact, his horror of insubordination (without his being the least of a martinet) had always shown itself. "I have just heard," writes he at an earlier date, "that the crew of my neighbour" (a French frigate he had been watching at Leghorn) "deposed their captain, made the lieutenant of marines captain of the ship, the sergeant lieutenant, and their former captain sergeant of marines.—What a state!" It is further shown too, in his order of the 2nd of August, thanking the squadron for their

behaviour in the battle; "It must strike forcibly every British seaman how superior their conduct is, when in *discipline* and *good order*, to the riotous behaviour of lawless Frenchmen."

Nelson's conduct in the Bay of Naples, then, mistaken though it might have been, was the natural result of principle, deeply implanted in his mind, exemplified throughout his life on all occasions, part and parcel of the loyalty and faith that distinguished his character, and was not insinuated by caprice or other sinister influence. We entirely agree with Sir H. Nicolas's sentiment.

"There is, however, a generous feeling in Englishmen, that their officers and ships shall not be concerned in any way with the punishment of foreigners; and as this was entirely a Sicilian transaction, it may be wished that the scene had begun as it ended, in a Sicilian vessel, or on the Sicilian territories."

Mr. Barrow, in his life of Sir Sidney Smith, has thought fit, not in the best taste, to take Lord Nelson to task for his not having placed implicit faith in the prudence and discretion of Sir Sidney. The English Admiralty had sent him out to be nominally under the orders of Lord St. Vincent and Lord Nelson, but, in reality, intending him to co-operate with his brother Spencer, then minister at Constantinople, and with a great chance, had he had to do with less resolute officers, of his being independent of both the admirals. This they very properly both resented. Lord Nelson was perfectly right in desiring a distinction to be drawn between the acts of a naval captain under his orders, and what he might think proper to do as a joint plenipotentiary with his brother.

"Therefore, I must direct you, whenever you have ministerial affairs to communicate, that it is done jointly with your respectable brother, and not mix naval business with the other; for what may be very proper language for a representative of majesty, may be very subversive of the discipline of respect from the different ranks in our service. A representative may dictate to an admiral; a captain of a man-of-war would be censured for the same thing; therefore, you will see the propriety of my steering clear between the two situations."—*'Letter to Sir Sidney Smith from Lord Nelson,'* 8th March, 1799.

Lord St. Vincent was quite as peremptory with Sir Sidney as Lord Nelson. It must be added, that no one did more ample justice to the merits of the gallant defender of Acre than Nelson.

A noble contempt of money seems to have prominently distinguished him through life in every circumstance. These letters teem with instances of his generosity to the various members of his family, who, though he had no children of his own, drew largely on his liberality. To his sister, writing from the Mediterranean, he says, "The French, having no trade in the Mediter-

anean, but very little has been done in the prize way; indeed, I am afraid my penchant lays another way; I never did, or could, turn my thoughts to money-making." And in August, 1801, he tells Lord St. Vincent, he hopes to get rid at a proper time of his present command (the flotilla), "in which I am sure of diminishing my little fortune, which at this moment does reach £10,000, and never had I an idea of gaining money by accepting it." To his agent, Davison, 14th of September, 1801, he says, "The Baltic expedition cost me full £2,000. Since I left London it has cost me (for Nelson cannot be like others) nearly £1,000 in six weeks. If I am continued here ruin to my finances must be the consequence, for everybody knows that Nelson is amazingly rich." Yet all this time so untiring was his vigilance in watching the French armament, that he seldom was on shore, constantly knocking about in frigates, cutters, and even boats; and to Captain Sutton, once his flag-captain, but then of the *Amphion*, in which he had agreed to share prize money with Captain Hardy, he writes, "For your's, and for Hardy's sake, I wish you had been more fortunate; for my own, if you can destroy privateers and ships of war, I care not for prizes."

But other officers were not so disinterested, and they met with kindred spirits at the Admiralty. Thus Sir John Orde received a separate and most lucrative command off Cadiz, where, if there were not fleets to fight, there were traders to confiscate.

"You would hardly have thought," writes Nelson to Davison (29th of December, 1804), "that any man could have been sent to take the chance of a few pounds' prize money from me in return for all my hard service. At this moment I am as poor as when I left Portsmouth, but my spirit is above riches, and nothing can shake my firm resolution to do my duty to my country. . . . God knows, in my own person I spend as little money as any man; *but you know I love to give away.*"

Prize money was not what made Lord Nelson feel sore, for he tells Lord Melville, then First Lord of the Admiralty, that the officer commanding at Gibraltar ought to be under the orders of the admiral commanding the Mediterranean fleet; for, if independent, "he takes all the stores he chooses for the service of his fleet, he thereby places the fleet in the Gulf of Lyons in the greatest distress for many of the articles." About the same time, writing to Mr. Elliott, our minister at Naples, he says,—

"No desire of wealth could influence my conduct, for I had nothing to take worth twopence. Sir John Orde was sent, as if it was a Spanish war, to take the money. . . . I suppose he was fearful of that responsibility which I am ever ready to take upon me, and now he is to wallow in wealth while I am a beggar. . . . I receive the kindest

letters from Lord Melville, but they think the French fleet is prize enough for me. I am much pleased to hear the Queen takes such a spirited part for the defence of Naples; but I would not have her majesty depressed by hearing the French fleet are at sea; for if they never come out how can she enjoy the spectacle of a battle in the Bay of Naples? She may rely on it, that nothing shall be wanting on my part to make it superior to the Nile and could anything add to my exertions against the enemy, it would be the knowledge that I am fighting for the existence of the monarchy of my benefactors. But let who will command this fleet, they cannot go wrong; only get close enough."

The public certainly never have been able to understand the sparing amount of reward, whether of honour or emolument, bestowed on the conqueror of the Nile. For the less successful and important actions of St. Vincent and Camperdown, the commanders had been rewarded each with a higher grade in the peerage and a larger pension than his own. After decreeing £3,000 a-year to Jarvis and Duncan, £2,000 was thought enough for Nelson. The inevitable expenses, the representation belonging to a great name and achievements, seem hardly to have been taken into account by the obscure civilians of the Admiralty, who settled these affairs, undisturbed by the din of war, in a safety purchased by the valour of brave but poor men, whose exertions brought them into debt. Even now the pension of Mr. Croker, the well-known secretary to the Admiralty, nearly approaches that which England, in days of unexampled profusion, considered sufficient for the winner of one of the most brilliant naval battles that her history records. Enough, however, of this. There was in Nelson a generosity and refinement proper to the days of ancient chivalry; it was the spirit of the knight-errant, which, instead of bestriding a courser, dismounted and fought on foot, and trod the quarter-decks of the *Agamemnon* and the *Captain*, the *Vanguard* and the *Victory*. Those, indeed, who look upon the portraits, for the most part indifferent ones, of this celebrated man, some of which fitly adorn the ante-chambers of our kings,—see the frail, wan, and wasted form, mutilated with wounds; yet, in the pale, melancholy features, which Vandyke would have loved to paint, in the silent eloquence of the blue, thoughtful eye, may be discovered the traces of that indomitable spirit which actuated the leader, and was successfully infused by him into his followers. In looking at the likeness, in recalling the many-recorded traits of his gentle, yet enthusiastic nature, his warm, religious emotions, his ardent personal enterprise, we fancy we can comprehend the confidence and attachment he inspired among those who served under him. Inferior to Lord Howe in long experience of naval affairs and knowledge of the world;

to Lord St. Vincent in political sagacity; to Collingwood, perhaps, in some points of mere seamanship; he was greater than them all in the readiness with which he summoned all his resources about him at the critical moment, the quickness of his decisions, and the fire and energy with which he carried them into effect; and the perseverance with which, in spite of bodily weakness, he bore up without flinching against adverse elements, defective equipment, deficiency of information as to the place of the enemy. And as he grew older, his health feebler, we are the more struck at the indomitable spirit manifested by the correspondence now published. During his long and tiresome observation of the Toulon fleet in the Mediterranean, in 1803, 1804, and 1805, nothing would make him give in, or lose a chance of meeting them. We find him providing a supply of spare top-masts and topsail yards, so as not to be forced to that "out-of-the-way place, Malta;" fearing to lose the chance of a meeting. "I always thought it useless as a place to get refreshments from for a fleet off Toulon, and now I know it."—*Letter to Mr. Addington, 27th of September, 1803.*

A little later in the season he writes to Sir A. Ball, that he had had some thoughts of sending his second in command, Sir Richard Bickerton, to Malta, to look out a place for a naval hospital:—

"But I believe, from appearances, the French fleet are so near putting to sea, that it would be cruel in me to send so excellent an officer and friend away at a time when we may expect so glorious a harvest. Report says the French admiral is Dérès, as he fought the Guillaume Tell so well. If he is a fighting man, so much the better. I hope he will not run away; we may want heels to catch him; that is the only fear I have."

The winter, however, was doing its work on the blockading squadron in spite of all precautions; and in December he writes word to Davison:—

"My crazy fleet is getting into a very indifferent state, and others will soon follow. The finest ships in the service will soon be destroyed. I know well enough that if I was to go into Malta, I should save the ships during this bad season, but if I am to watch the French I must be at sea, and if at sea, must have bad weather; and if the ships are not fit to stand bad weather, they are useless. I do not say much, but I do not believe Lord St. Vincent would have kept the sea with such ships. But my time of service is nearly over. A natural anxiety of course must attend my station; but, my dear friend, my eye-sight fails me most dreadfully; I firmly believe in a few years I shall be stone-blind. It is this only, of all my maladies, that makes me unhappy; but God's will be done. If I am successful against the French, I shall ask

my retreat; and if I am not, I hope I shall never live to see it, for no personal exertion on my part shall be spared."

Two days later he writes Lord St. Vincent, that—

"If the fleet are to be at Malta, they had better be at Spithead, for any watching of the enemy. You may rely that all that can be done by ships and men shall be done; while it pleases God to give me strength and health all will do well, and when that fails, I shall give up the cudgels to some stouter man; but I hope to live till the battle is over."

In fact, with one of a less ardent temperament, the unremitting observation of a large French force in Toulon, with ten or twelve ill-found sail of the line, through two severe winters, would not have been attempted. The enemy, besides those opportunities for exercise and manœuvring which his proximity denied; besides adding Sardinia and Sicily to their dominions, and destroying our carrying trade in the Mediterranean; might with practice and experience have reduced considerably the disproportion between the naval character of the two countries, as had been the case under the Bailli de Suffrein, in the East Indies, twenty years before. But it was only at Trafalgar that the fruit of these severe exertions was finally reaped.

They actually did venture out at last, in January, 1805, when a false alarm carried him, with all the force he could muster, again to Egypt, despatching frigates to search Elba, Sardinia, Corsica, and Candia for news of them; and here we have a characteristic note to Mr. Briggs, our consul at Alexandria:—

"4th February.—If the enemy is not there, I shall not remain one moment on the coast. You will, therefore, by the return of the boat, give me all the information you have."

And again, apparently off Alexandria:—

"I beg the boat may not be detained. . . . The officer is ordered *not to wait more than thirty minutes*, for you will readily believe my anxiety to find out the enemy's fleet."

No disposition to linger about the scenes of his former glory. It was only on his arrival off Malta, February 22nd, that he heard the French fleet had put back to Toulon—stopped but two or three days—did not go in, notwithstanding his intimacy with Ball, who governed it—off again for Sardinia, whence he continued to watch. Then followed their eventual coming forth in April, 1805—their extraordinary flight across the Atlantic—his memorable chase of them, in M. Thiers' words: "*L'amiral Français était cependant poursuivi sans cesse par l'image de Nelson, qu'il croyait toujours voir sur ses traces.*" The French historian cannot withhold his admiration for the promptitude and daring of the English chief:—

"What activity! what an energy! what an admirable use of his time! It is a fresh proof that in war, and in a naval war more than any other, the quality of the force is far more important than its number. Nelson, with eleven sail of the line, was full of confidence on those seas where Villeneuve trembled with twenty, which were manned nevertheless by heroic sailors."

As we approach the brilliant close of Nelson's life, the documents collected by Sir H. Nicolas increase in interest. Only a week before the battle of Trafalgar the fleet was joined by his old ship, the *Agamemnon*, 64, commanded by one of his most devoted adherents. As soon as her number was made out and reported to him, "Here comes Barry, now we shall have a battle!" was Nelson's joyous exclamation, from a sort of involuntary association of the name of that distinguished officer with the many general actions in which he had borne part. Not the least instructive portion of Sir Harris's task has been the annexation to the work of the logs of the various ships, previous to and during the battle. In this respect naval actions present a remarkable distinction from contests on shore. The accounts of both are no doubt liable to errors and inaccuracy, but in the sea-fight there is this difference, that every ship notes down at the time, with great care, both a statement of her own performance, of the attempts and bearing of the enemy, and also of the most remarkable incidents or acts of other ships in the fleet. We have thus a true and invaluable piece of real contemporary history, from the Saturday, when the Franco-Spanish fleet came out of Cadiz, until Monday evening, when the action closed. First, the notice that the enemy were getting under weigh—then, that they were all out—fleet pointing to the Straits—the anxiety to keep them in view, without discouraging them so much as to drive them back—during the intervening Sabbath, with its divine service never more beautiful, and seldom so imposing as when performed on the deck of a man-of-war on the bosom of the ocean—the litany, with its "*From battle, murder, and sudden death deliver us*"—while the combined fleet, which every officer and man was doing his utmost to come up with, was in sight, on the one side;—on the other the twelfth article of war, "*Whosoever shall not do his utmost to take and destroy every ship which it shall be his duty to engage, &c., shall suffer death.*"* Strange contrast, for which we are indebted to our church and state connexions!

On the morning of the 21st, his double day of death and vic-

* A salvo may be thought to have been provided for tender consciences by the XXXVIIth article (of religion, not of war), which recites, that it shall be lawful for Christian men to serve in the wars, at the commandment of the magistrate.

tory (and which, with a pardonable and almost Roman superstition was kept holy in his family,* as the kalends of July, the anniversary of the Metaurus, might have been in the Claudian house), between sunrise and noon, after the ominous roll of the drums beating to quarters on board the different ships, little occurs to break the silence in which they continued for hours to bear down—a silence big with the fate of three nations; but there were occasional indications of an anxiety to close, for fear the enemy might again escape. “At 8.40, admiral made the signal for all the larboard division to make more sail;” “at 9.5, Victory’s signal for the Mars to lead the lee division;” “at 9.20, Royal Sovereign to Belleisle to make more sail;” “at 11.30, Africa make all sail, with safety to the masts.” Then the mysterious flags ran up to the masthead of the Victory, watched, no doubt, in deep suspense by the enemy, now within gun-shot, and near enough to hear the talismanic cheers wafted over the swell to leeward. “Victory made the general signal, ‘*England expects every man to do his duty,*’” says the log of the Polyphemus; “*which being told to the ship’s company, was answered with three cheers, and returned by the Dreadnought on our starboard beam.*” So writes, amid the fell preparations for battle, the officer of the watch of the former ship, some weather-beaten, daring lieutenant, utterly regardless of all fine effect, only bent on the due execution of the stern duty in hand. After the battle of Marathon, each of the victorious chiefs, first reciting his own performance, gave the next most honourable mention to the conduct of Miltiades; we have a similar unconscious testimony in these documents to the valour of the second in command, Lord Collingwood. “At 11.40,” says the Victory’s log, “Royal Sovereign commenced firing at the enemy;” Dreadnought—“Royal Sovereign broke the enemy’s line near the centre;” Swiftsure—“Royal Sovereign brought the enemy to action.” In short, more than twenty sail of the line confer this undying tribute of respect upon the ship which bore Lord Collingwood’s flag.

These auto-nautic records are touching from their plainness and simplicity, and not less so from some slight peculiarities of grammar and style, indicating that the hands of the brave writers were more familiar with the cutlass and the speaking trumpet than the pen. Though the English fleet was racing into action with every rag of canvas set, studding-sails out on both sides, all sail carried for the most part until they actually got alongside, there was a coolness in all this eagerness.

“At noon, the Dreadnought hailed us, and requested we would

* Since his uncle Suckling’s action in the Dreadnought.

permit him to pass, as it was his wish to get alongside a Spanish three-decker which was a little on our (Polyphemus') starboard bow:"—and the fourth-rate yaws obligingly to let the ninety-eight have her way.

M. Thiers describes the Franco-Spanish fleet as not having been able properly to re-form their line after wearing to the northward in the morning. Many of them, he says, fell away to leeward, and were unable to fetch up into their places, and yet it did not appear prudent for the rest of the fleet to correct the irregularity by bearing up (*laisser arriver*). After the battle had commenced, Villeneuve was in vain multiplying his signals to individual ships from the Bucentaur, the light airs and heavy swell rendering it difficult for them to obey him. The Argonaut, in particular, has been most severely blamed for making no effort to get into the place of honour.

The Victory's log says, at 4.15, "The Spanish rear-admiral, to windward, struck to some of our ships which had tacked after them. Observed one of the enemy's ships blow up; 14 of do. standing towards Cadiz; 3 sail of do. standing to the southward. Partial firing continued until 4.30, when a victory having been reported to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Nelson, K.B., and Commander-in-Chief, he died of his wound."—Fitting announcement!—An end doubtless such as the hero would have chosen, and one wholly becoming his exploits and career; that fate, in short, which the poet regretted had not befallen the great Roman:—

"Quid illo cive tulisset

Natura in terris, quid Roma beatius unquam,

Si circumducto captivorum agmine et omni

Bellorum pompâ, animam exhalâset opimam."

The French historian we have before alluded to, thus sums up his account:—

"Such was this fatal battle of Trafalgar. Inexperienced seamen, allies still more so, a feeble discipline, neglected materials, everywhere precipitation with its consequences, a commander-in-chief too keenly alive to all his disadvantages, conceiving the most sinister presentiments, carrying them with him into every sea, marring under their influence the great projects of his sovereign,—that sovereign irritated, not making sufficient allowance for material obstacles, driving to desperation, by the bitterness of his reproaches, an admiral who should be pitied rather than blamed,—this admiral fighting from the impulse of despair one-half of the fleet paralyzed by ignorance and the elements, the other half fighting with the utmost fury: on one side cool and skilful bravery, on the other heroic inexperience, sublime deaths, a frightful carnage, an unheard-of destruction,—after the ravages of men, those of the tempest, the abyss swallowing

up the trophies of the conqueror, and at last the triumphant chief buried under his triumph, the conquered one contemplating suicide as the only refuge from his grief:—such, we repeat, was this fatal battle of Trafalgar, with its causes, results, and tragic aspects."

No one could have been better qualified for the work which he has thus brought to a successful conclusion, than Sir Harris Nicolas. Formerly a naval officer, he has brought to the execution of the task all the professional experience of former years, united to the industry and discernment of his later forensic studies; and while the letters of the great admiral form the continuous text, they have been judiciously interspersed with notes, and the whole arrangement is so clear as to make the general and unprofessional reader surmount the special difficulties and peculiarities of maritime etymology. The letters themselves, it is but fair to say, must not be judged by ordinary rules—they are those of a man to whom, during the last eight years of his life, the operation of writing, from the loss of his right arm and eye, was always laborious, often painful, and where correction, consequently, and polish, except in papers of importance, were out of the question. They are, then, for the most part but little more than rough draughts; yet we are struck with the pithy terseness of the language, its ease and playfulness, and freedom from any of the nautical expressions which might have been occasionally expected in one who had been so constantly at sea: for after the breaking out of the war in 1793 he scarcely ever was on shore for above a few weeks at one time, that we can discover. From some peculiarities the style is not exempt, but we do not know that the downright Saxon is not preferable to the elegant Latinities of Johnson and Parr.

We must add one word in justice to the learned editor's own claims to favor. Besides being the author of several erudite and laborious works illustrative of our early English genealogical histories, Sir Harris was a few years ago employed under the Record Commission. This commission was sadly ineffective; Sir Harris published a pamphlet, pointing out how it might be rendered really useful and creditable. The commission was abolished very much owing to the honest exposure of its uselessness by one whose pecuniary interests, had he listened to such a suggestion, would have induced him to be silent.

When we consider that the value of this publication to the naval service of the country—its real nucleus of strength—corresponds to that which the military arm received at the hands of Colonel Gurwood, by the printing of the Duke of Wellington's Despatches, we are powerfully struck with the contrast of the rewards that have attended the respective editors. Colonel

Gurwood was made Lieutenant-Governor of the Tower; he received a pension (was this for literary merit?) of £200 per annum, and after his death his widow receives one of £50. Sir Harris has had an infinitely more difficult task,—to hunt up, collect, and arrange the documents so widely scattered, nearly forty years after the death of the hero; and the traces even of which had in many instances to be sought out and discovered.

We are no advocates for pensions in general, and we think that literary pensions too often hold an awkward medium between recognition of merit and relief of poverty; we should prefer to see the Government evince its sense of the value of Sir Harris Nicolas' performance by conferring upon him some appointment connected with the preservation of the historical records of the country, for which his studies and attainments so eminently fit him, and to which meed of approbation at the hands of his countrymen his successful endeavours to preserve and illustrate these memorials of her naval greatness do most justly entitle him.

ART. VII.—*Railway Help in Railway Need.* By Plugson of Undershot.

A GREAT man—Ralph Waldo Emerson—speaking of England, says, “Hail, mother of nations! mother of heroes, all hail! Still equal to the time, with a strength still equal to the hour.”

“Time and the hour run through the roughest day.”

Firmly we look into eyes of thine, brave Emerson—firmly we grip thy hand, and say Amen, to thy appeal. The blood of the Saxo-Celt is up and stirring, his brain is working, his brow knits, his eye kindles, heart resolves and hand executes. What shall stop him in his career of eternal progress, marked out for him from the time of creation? Not loss of property, though sunk in the depths of ocean. Still less, the fabulous loss of property involved in changes of ownership. Nothing can stop his career, save loss of Moral Worth, that magic talisman without which acuteness of intellect is a mere snare to its possessor. As the joint blood of Celts and Saxons generated Englishmen, so from the combination of acute intellect and moral worth, is produced the growth of the large wisdom, which, even while going forth as a conqueror, remains as a legislator; and which, whether in Asia or America, in Hindostan, or Mexico, is ever working for the civilization of mankind—roughly, rudely, it may be—apparently unjustly at times, but, tested by its results, ever truly. Celtic

France, Celtic Ireland, Celtic Spain, may be stagnant in progress or violent in explosion; but Celtic elasticity, guided by Saxon gravity, realizing the two great principles that rule the universe, never yet failed in achieving beneficent power and masterdom over circumstance. Welcome to our shores art thou, brave Brother Jonathan, representative of our Transatlantic race, and speaking their speech in our ears; precious as was Jonathan of old to the son of Jesse, in his sore straits and trials. Nothing shalt thou hear of us unworthy of our past deeds; never will we flag in the onward career of progress, till the universal earth shall be knit up into a bond of union, and the grand scheme of creation shall bear fruit in universal love. "The hope and elasticity of mankind" shall continue to exist here, even as they shall "beyond the ranges of the Alleghanies."

In the practical means of working out these ends, next to the printing-press, comes the Railway, the grand fuser of mind with mind. To say that railways are stopped, is but another phrase for saying that civilization is at a stand-still. But in this we do not believe. We believe that sometimes progress gets into the wrong track, and finds itself baffled; but it is not long at fault. It "tries back," till the true path be attained, and then it dashes forwards again with added impulse, that more than compensates for lost time.

We believe this has been the case with railways. They were commenced, were prosperous, and multiplied. They have been wanted faster than they could be supplied, and large demands created high prices, with an indisposition to improve quality or economise production. From a combination of circumstances, the prices of all commodities have fallen, and amongst other things, the progress of railways has been checked. "We do not make improvements till profits get wire-drawn."

In examining into the mode of constructing railways in England, we find that they are a costly tool of manufacturing industry, not set about with philosophic discrimination as to the fitting means to ends. They are the expensive linking machine of thickly-peopled districts, and not the every-day appliances they might be. They are the work of giants for the use of giants, while it has been wholly overlooked that dwarfs also want them suited to their capacities. We in England have also our "Far West" to civilize—in Ireland, in which work railways are a *sine qua non* instrument; but slow indeed must be the progress, if they are to be achieved only at the cost at present ruling the market. What are the elements of this cost, throwing aside the plundering scramble of Parliamentary expenses? Not land, for in proportion to the value of the land must be the numbers of the travelling com-

munity. Money may be invested in stations; but that's not it. The solution of the problem is to be found in the largely prevalent fallacy, that "weight is synonymous with speed;" in other words, that the heavier the locomotive, the greater will be the speed attained.

This fallacy, this demonstrable fallacy, has been a fruitful source of wasted capital in outlay, and an enormous increase of working expenses. When the Liverpool and Manchester directors first advertised for competing engines, one of the stipulations, if we remember rightly, was that they should not exceed six tons. We believe that there are engines now extant, in which only a portion of the weight, borne on a pair of driving wheels, varies from ten tons to twenty. We remember an experimental engine, in which the object sought was to multiply the speed by toothed wheels, and the reason of its failure was stated to be, that it weighed forty tons. Yet, if we be rightly informed, the next monster engines will exceed that weight. Under these circumstances, it is no marvel that the rails, originally intended for light engines, should crush and be no more rails, the more especially as, with very few exceptions, rails are laid on railways on a principle fatal to their durability. There is a sound and a movement, well known to all passengers by railway, which occur at intervals of every fifteen feet. They are caused by the joints of the rails, which at these fixtures possess less than one-fourth the strength of the intermediate portions. The two ends of the rails are abutted together in a cast-iron chair or shoe, which rests on a cross sleeper of timber. To keep these two rails in a straight line together, a wood wedge, measuring about 10 inches long by 2½ wide, and 2 inches in thickness, is driven between the two rail-ends and the chair on the outer side; and this piece of match-wood has to sustain the whole side lurch of an engine twenty tons in weight, frequently at a speed of forty to fifty miles per hour. While the engine is passing over the intermediate parts of the rails, the cross sleepers help to support each other; but when passing over the joint, the whole weight of the driving or other wheel, presses on the single cross sleeper. It yields under the blow, and the points of the rails give downwards with it. After the passage of the train, the sleeper rises, and a hollow is left below it. Water gets in, another engine follows, and the joints get more and more out of order; a side lurch from a heavy engine, at one of these loose joints, enables the wheel to mount the rail, and this is the frequent cause of accidents, sometimes fatal.

That this glaring evil should have been suffered to exist so long, is an apt illustration of the proverb—"What is everybody's

business is nobody's business." When a smith or engineer constructs a piece of machinery, his great care is, where holes occur in the metal, to add on the outside of the hole as much or more than the quantity of metal taken from the interior of the hole. When nature originally designed a man's leg, she placed a great deal more bony material round his joints than at the intermediate parts. When these examples shall be imitated in the joints of railways, making the rail a continuous bearing throughout by additional material at the joints, passengers will cease to count the intervals, and accidents will become less frequent.

If this, amongst other points, be attended to, and speed be lessened, the present rails may yet endure some time under their loads. If the imperfect structure, high speeds, and great weights continue simultaneously, it needs no prophet to tell us that the whole lines of England will shortly require re-laying, and with metals verging on 156 pounds to the yard.

But we have yet to discuss the question whether or not great weights are essential to high speeds. It is indeed alleged that without great weights engines at high speeds would fly off the rails. If this argument has any weight at all, it sets out with admitting the principle that high speeds can be attained without weight. But as to the flying off. If the arguers mean anything, it is that the elastic force of the steam would overcome the gravity so far as to rise upwards, in other words, *to fly*. But they know better than this. They merely mean, that owing to the bad construction of the machine, owing to its imperfect elasticity, and the improper position of the centre of gravity, it is very apt to get off the rails, unless it be sufficiently heavy to press the rails at all points to a plane parallel to the tread of the wheels. Not having the art to construct an elastic machine fitted to equalize itself to an uneven road, they endeavour to make the machine a rail-roller. Were the machine of sufficient length, and bearing on a sufficient number of points, with the centre of gravity in the right position, this plan might answer; but were a machine constructed with all these conditions, and perfect elasticity to boot, the light machine would be even safer on the rails than the heavy one.

Throughout nature we find that the proportionally lightest animals are the swiftest; and their speed is attained by the elasticity of their muscles. The Arab horse, the tiger, the deer, the greyhound, are of this structure. The elephant, hippopotamus, and Flanders horse are slow moving. The former and the latter, when applied to draught purposes, chiefly avail themselves of their gravity, which the elasticity of their muscles is available to put in action. Elasticity is the agent of nature for all purposes of speed. Gravity in rapid motion is only an agent of destruction.

To urge a Flanders horse to speed were a process simply ludicrous. To see an enormous engine at high speed would not be less so, were it not for the risk, and the destruction consequent thereon.

The possibility of attaining high speeds with light weights, was however a problem, and would have remained so, had not the directors of the Eastern Counties Railway sanctioned one of their officers in putting the matter to proof. An engine on four wheels, with the centre of gravity within their base and below the level of the axles, was constructed. The total weight was 22 cwt.—less than half the weight of the lightest vehicle on the line; and with a load of eight passengers, including the driver, this engine made the journey to Cambridge at the rate of forty miles per hour, the maximum speed attained being at the rate of forty-seven miles per hour. The expenditure of coke to accomplish this was at the rate of two pounds per mile. Thus the fact was established, not merely that an engine regarded as a toy could travel at great speed, but that it could accomplish this speed with economical result. The fact was established—sneers and vexation from gravitationers notwithstanding—that railway transit is practicable with light engines, by elastic steam power, analogous to the Arab horse and not to the elephant. It became evident from that time that a new system of economical railways might be profitably employed, placing the steam-engine on the passenger carriage, instead of making it a steam-tug. It is obvious that the same principle holds good on railways as on water. The self-contained boat can travel faster than a train of drawn barges. On the steam-tug principle on railways the dead weight varies from six to eleven tons to one ton of available load. On the steam-carriage principle the dead load will probably ultimately be reduced to one ton dead and two tons available; a proportion which would leave a wide margin for profit.

This new discovery—for it really seems to us as a discovery practically—though the mechanical philosopher would have predicted the same result, comes to us in the very time of our need, when the demand for fresh railways is on the increase, and the apparent means to produce them are lessened. With the vanishing of the mammoth engine and the express trains, the light and cheap rail becomes practicable for the light steam carriage, and the cost of one mile of the present rails may be made to construct six or eight miles of the future. No problem is this, but a feasible proposition, shortly to grow into a fact, solving the difficulty into which existing railways are plunged, by branches and proposed railways connecting with their trunks. They are well competent to judge who have drawn up the proposal now before us; and we believe that at no distant period they will be ready

to undertake the work they have projected. We earnestly commend it to the attention of the directors inclined to be merciful to the pockets of their shareholders. We give it entire.

Proposal for a New System of Passenger Transit on Railways, with frequent departures, high speeds, select parties, large numbers, low fares, greater safety, and small capital.

The existing railways have been constructed at an average expenditure of £30,000 per double-line mile.

The trains on them have increased in number and weight, in some cases beyond the capacity of the rails.

In order to draw such trains the engines have been increased in weight till the rails deflect beneath the driving wheels.

To prevent collisions it is requisite that goods' trains, travelling on the same rails as passengers, should travel at the same speed, or there will be great risk.

This will tend still further to increase the weight of the engines.

The construction of goods' waggons being mechanically far inferior to that of passenger carriages, their resistance to traction is considerably greater per ton; and this resistance increases in compound proportion with the speed. Therefore, as traffic increases, still heavier engines will be required, and the rails will require replacing with heavier metal, probably 156 pounds to the yard.

For there is no greater source of loss and expense on a railway than that of deflecting rails, whether from too light scantling, or from bad joints, or both. If the rail deflects the engine slips. It is equivalent to a constant bad gradient, varying from 1 in 30 to 1 in 75. And whenever deflection takes place, a constant packing of sleepers will be required—"maintenance of way."

Two ways there are of better using rails of light structure. First, to diminish the speed of heavy trains; for although it is true that the vertical pressure is lessened with the speed, the blows both lateral and vertical are greatly increased. Secondly, to arrange the joints with double chairs and sleepers and fish bars, so that the joints may be as strong as the other parts of the rails, instead of being only one-fourth the strength, as is at present the case. In short, to make the rails continuous bearings, as is practically the case, with longitudinal timbers.

If, therefore, by the abstraction of the fast passengers' traffic from the main lines, the general speed can be reduced, a great source of economy will thereby accrue.

This can be accomplished over the greater part of the lines by laying down a system of light rails on the slopes and embankments, and other spare land, the rails being a longitudinal timber framing, with iron rails thereon, and being carried one side on the railway fence, and the other on the embankment, and *vice versa*. Light wood structures would serve to widen the bridges. At tunnels and stations, points to be laid into the main lines, till found desirable to alter by increasing the

tunnels or altering the stations. This would be practically four lines of railway.

These lines to be worked by a system of steam carriages—not steam tugs—on the steam boat principle, carrying thirty passengers, in a well-arranged body, at a speed of fifty miles per hour.

These steam carriages would be very safe by reason of the under side of the frame being within nine inches of the rails, so that they could not overset in case of a wheel breaking; and in case of getting off the rails the carriage would become a sledge, gradually arresting its own progress. The contrary of these two conditions is the case with existing locomotives.

The total weight of these steam carriages would be about 3 tons, or little more than half the weight of an ordinary first-class carriage. The passengers about 3 tons, making up a total of 6 tons, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ ton per wheel.

The load on the driving wheels of modern locomotives is from 10 to 14 tons. It is obvious, therefore, that a rail of one-sixth the strength would suffice, the more so, because in the low suspended engine there would be neither oscillation nor blows.

The momentum or inertia of the heavy engine and train requires an excess of engine-power to start it, and great friction and space to check it.

The light steam carriage, on the contrary, will require comparatively small power. It will easily be started, and as easily be brought to a stand when required.

Being capable of great speed, the chances of being run into are obviously lessened; and in case of collision the absence of great momentum will be a material safety.

As these carriages will readily ascend gradients of one in fifty, and pass freely round curves of three hundred feet radius, they will accommodate themselves to many circumstances more than ordinary.

By their greater lightness they will be far less subject to wear in their working parts than heavier engines, and consequently their speed can be greatly increased without mischievous results.

With heavy engines drawing trains, the weight of the engine on the driving wheels must be a maximum for the greatest load ever applied. Consequently, with a minimum load great waste must exist.

With a steam carriage carrying its load on its own frame, the load itself would contribute the adhesive power in the requisite proportions at all times.

By the ordinary mode of despatching large numbers of passengers at few intervals and moderate speeds, station room and servants, landing platforms, and other working expenses are required in the same proportion; and these expenses are kept up for use only at short intervals of not frequent occurrence. It is like a man employing six servants one day for his household work instead of one servant six days.

With steam carriages departing in quick succession with thirty

passengers at a time, station room and servants only for thirty passengers would be required.

Nor would the total numbers be small with a rapid succession of departures. Twelve departures per hour would be perfectly practicable, and with a speed of fifty miles per hour the working stock would not be large, as the return transit would be rapid. Twelve departures per hour would give a maximum of 360 passengers—twelve hours for a day's work would give 4,320. But if twenty only were taken each trip, the total would be nearly 3,000.

But although this system has been described as applicable to the slopes of existing railways, it is quite applicable to other positions. For branch lines, for lines of rails to be laid on the surfaces of existing (grass-grown) highways, or at the sides thereof, or on piles, thus restoring the property along their borders to the ancient prosperity; and also for new lines of railway, whether set out for passengers' transit only, or for passengers and goods; supposing, in the latter case, that four lines of way are to be made, and without which no railway can thoroughly develop all its possible resources.

The following statement gives the probable cost, expenses, and income of a passenger line, with up and down rails, supposed to be laid on the undulating surface of a country, with the inclinations generally not more than one in seventy, and never more than one in fifty; such, for example, as the valley of the Thames, or the plain stretching from London to Uxbridge. This would not include bridges or level crossings, but very light timber bridges would suffice for vehicles with the extreme pressure of only $1\frac{1}{2}$ ton on each wheel. A line of twenty-four miles is taken:—

	£	s.	d.
Rails and timber work, fixed on ground surface, at £2,640			
per mile, double line, 24 miles.....	63,360	0	0
Sundries per mile, £360	8,640	0	0
Twelve steam carriages for 30 passengers each, at £1,200	14,400	0	0
Stations, extra carriages, &c.....	3,600	0	0
	<u>£90,000</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

This would be at the rate of £3,750 per mile of double line. Supposing increase of work, a further allowance might be made, say £4,000 per mile, for extra engines, and with other contingencies making up the whole capital to £100,000, exclusive of land and bridges. Adding them, a further cost would be incurred of say £50,000, or in round numbers a total of about £6,250 per mile double.

This would not include buying off oppositions or Parliamentary impediments; but the probability is that such lines would rather be coveted than opposed. And for this outlay the line would be ready for work. The capacity for work would be enormous.

On the double line 24 carriages per hour might be started, and they *could* convey, within 90 minutes from the starting of the first,

720 passengers over 24 miles. A day of 12 hours would give 8,640 passengers. A year of 313 working days would give 2,704,320 passengers.

This calculation is not based on the supposition that such numbers would be found in any rural district, but merely to show that it could be adapted to any amount of traffic in the most crowded neighbourhood, and would be a much more convenient arrangement than long trains of carriages with heavy engines.

Supposing this number of passengers to be carried at one halfpenny per mile, or omnibus fashion, at one shilling for "all the way," or any portion of the way, be it long or short, so as to dispense with tickets, the annual gross revenue would be in round numbers £133,000. Deducting one-fourth for working expenses—a very full allowance on such a cheap system—say £33,000, there would be left £100,000 of profit, or 66 per cent. on the original capital. In this statement Sundays are thrown out of the calculation.

But supposing only six carriages per hour to start each way, and with twenty passengers each, at one penny per mile, or two shillings per head, that would be £901,440 per annum, excluding Sundays, and would be a gross revenue of £90,144, deducting one-fourth for expenses—still a large allowance—there would be, in round numbers, a net revenue of £68,000, or 45 per cent. profits.

500 passengers per diem, at 2s. each, would amply pay 5 per cent. interest on capital, and all working expenses.

But with only 500 passengers per diem, it would be absurd to make a double line. Therefore the capital might in such case be reduced to £100,000.

Supposing a line to be made on a railway embankment, or on the surface of a highway, without needing to purchase land, a single line could be laid down, and steam carriages for the transport of 1,500 passengers per diem placed on it at an outlay of £2,000 per mile.

At 4s. per head, or 2d. per mile, over a 24-mile line, 500 passengers per diem, excluding Sundays, would yield a net profit of £70,000, or nearly 150 per cent; and the speed would be nearly double that which people now pay more than 2d. per mile to obtain.

The plan of carriage being on the principle of a steam-boat would to a certain extent resemble it in form, &c., it would be very low and very long. It would be upon four wheels, each wheel made to run independently when required, the weight being within the base of the wheels, and below the horizontal line of the axles. Either one, two, three, or all four of the wheels would be propellers when required, they would not exceed 4ft. 6in. in diameter, and their speed would be duplicated from the strokes of the pistons. The boiler would be vertical, but with the base below the level of the axles.

Two years extension of term is to be granted by Parliament for the construction of lines of railway now in progress, on account of probable difficulties in procuring capital. For directors placed in this position, with their land bought and paid for, it will be worth consideration,

whether a line of light rails laid on the surface, with a few steam-carriages, would be a ready means of commencing their passenger transit and earning the further means of completing their works, instead of lying idle, waiting for money.

It would be still better worth consideration whether true economy would not dictate four lines of rail, the two internal for fast traffic, the two external for slow. The external lines, with slow trains, would then serve as feeders for the main lines, and the objection to frequent stoppages would cease. Upon such a system the communications with private property, farms, and manufactories, by means of sidings, would surprisingly increase.

These carriages might be made to communicate from one railway to another, by means of trains laid in the surface of the streets and roads, and might be thus rendered very valuable for the purpose of carrying the mails. It is strange that these trains should have been so much neglected, practicable as they are. As all good examples must come from those who are placed in conspicuous positions, we will suggest a thought that has often before occurred to us. Her Majesty Queen Victoria is a great railway traveller, and especially from Windsor to Buckingham Palace. For the honor and profit of her transport there are likely to be two competitors—the Great Western and the South Western. Her Majesty likes to travel with as little trouble as possible to herself or others; and it would assuredly add very considerably to her comfort if the railways, Great or South, or both, or all, would enable her to keep and use her own railway carriage. We conceive that a carriage might be constructed on the Eastern Counties' plan, which would convey the whole Royal family and suite with the minimum of trouble; in short, a suite of apartments, warmed and ventilated, "not so wide as a church door, nor so deep as a well," nor altogether so large as Buckingham Palace, but practically a little moving palace, with every kind of travelling convenience. This carriage might stand in a carriage-room or gallery of Windsor Palace, forming part of the Royal suite of apartments, on rails laid therein and communicating, beneath folding doors, with the court-yard and street. These rails, laid on the surface of the road or street, might communicate with the Great Western or South Western, or both. The carriage might be drawn by horses from the interior of the palace to the railway, and then attached to an engine. On arriving at Paddington, a tramway, laid along the junction road, across Hyde Park and down Constitution Hill, would enable horses to draw the carriage into a room at Buckingham Palace, similar to that at Windsor; and thus her Majesty might perform the journey from palace to palace without even going into the open air. If

the arrival were at Nine Elms, a tram over Vauxhall Bridge, through Pimlico, would be perfectly easy. It would not be a slight convenience to be able to make the journey without shifting the carriage. We think that no parish officers would baulk her Majesty in such an arrangement, setting so good an example to the subjects. In point of convenience the Great Western would have the advantage, as being able to admit the largest carriage—probably 80 feet by 12 feet; but then it could not travel on the narrow gauge; and her Majesty would be obliged to keep a duplicate, 60 feet by 10 feet. We shall be curious to see whether it will be Mr. Chaplin or Mr. Russell, who will first set the example of accommodating her Majesty by connecting railways with horse trams, or whether her Majesty's self, tired of being continually shifted from one moving railway lodging to another, will finally determine on having her own travelling house, and issue her own orders thereon. If this present writing meets the eyes of those who watch over her Majesty's moving architecture, let them think how much human progress may be the consequence if they bring this thing to pass; the example of what can be done producing the will to do more at comparatively small cost.

P. O. U.

ART. VIII.—*Two Lectures on National Education.*

By the Rev. R. S. Bayley, F.S.A.

WE have been very superficial observers of the tendencies of English society, if we have omitted to notice the bias of the artisan population to extreme political opinions. We think it is Guicciardini who said, that it was "a sure omen of the revolutionary spirit, when the peasantry have been driven, by long hereditary injustice and neglect, to study the fundamental principles of society, and to bring the artificial institutions of antiquity to a rigorous ordeal of common sense and unsophisticated and injured hearts." Great Britain has for ages been debating in her Parliament on the condition and prospects of nearly all classes of mankind, except those of the growers of her corn and the founders of her industry. The Bechuanas, the Caffres, the Moors, the Affghans, the Creoles, the Greenlanders, the Mohawks, the Gondoliers, the Polish Refugees, the Hybrids of Canada, the Thugs and the Mamelukes, the wild Celt and the untameable Gael, have all successively drawn forth the eloquence or the applause of St. Stephens; while, until very recently, it appears never to have occurred to our senators, that a process

was going forward in every tavern and smithy of the country, that would in a few years, put all our institutions into jeopardy, and go nigh to the forfeiture of that glorious estate which our forefathers won, and Providence has so long preserved to us. Such is the *present* crisis of the national fortunes! Over millions of the working classes, several of the lamp-post orators that we could name wield an influence far greater than that of the Throne and the Parliament. Not the parochial churches, but the lowly Ranters' chapels, or those of the other unendowed and often letterless sectaries, win the very small church-going portion of the operatives of England. The laws are submitted to rather than approved; the other institutions are tolerated, instead of exciting admiration and gratitude. Capital is regarded as the robber of labour, instead of its patron and brother. Parochial relief is no longer dreaded as a badge. The police are treated as spies, instead of being supported as defenders. Classes are in hostile array. The religious sects are at the red-heat of the feud warfare. The tavern has become the Englishman's half-home; secret orders are on the increase; and meanwhile the great majority of England's workmen can neither read these pages with profitable facility, nor write an ordinary letter of business, with the least regard to the proprieties of expression, or the laws of grammar. No wonder that crime has outsped the proportion of population by a fearful ratio; and that we are now expending nine millions a year to defend society from its own hands! Fearful indeed are the laws of retribution; and we can no longer conceal from ourselves that this alarming state of the masses is the natural and just result of their abandonment, for ages, to every influence that could paralyse, obdurate, mislead and stultify their body and soul.

No one competent to judge will suspect these sentences of calumnious misrepresentation. If, however, there be readers who doubt our statements, let them, at random almost, set themselves to collect evidence on the subject. The clergy will inform such as hold a higher estimate of the mental condition of our operatives, that their congregations consist almost entirely of the *middle* classes. From the pawnbroker they may learn to how great an extent the plagues of poverty and crime, reproducing each other, have penetrated into the body of the people; a very large proportion of whose Bibles, Sunday clothes, wedding-rings, and those humble trinkets that keep alive some taste in the cottage, are in constant pledge. The brewers can attest that their vats are kept in profitable activity, by the hordes that live within a week's labour of starvation. The gin palaces derive their flaunting finery, the tillburies of their proprietors, their pretty

bar-maids and smart waiters, from the multitudes who quaff their matutinal liquid fire with the price of their children's breakfast, or their wives' garments. The venders of pestiferous publications can inform our evidence-seekers, that the vilest trash that ever braves decency in print, all goes to the cottages, taverns, club-haunts and shops of the poor. At the police-station they may also learn that an educated disorderly is scarcely 1 per cent. of the prisoners. The vagrant mountebanks, and the itinerant performers at the public taverns, or semi-brothel and semi-beer house, all look to impoverished indigence for their rewards. This is not the case only in the wedged purlicus of Glasgow, London, and Birmingham, but in all the lesser towns, and even in most of the villages; Sunday has ceased to be a day of becoming rest; church holidays have given place to cheap trips, and railway tours; to support the gratification of which hundreds of working men borrow money from clubs, where Mammon's cormorants sit at the taverns nightly to feed on the vitals of those bookless artisans, who first borrow from one club to take their pastime, and then from another to defend themselves from the talons of the former, and perhaps from a third; whose loans go in drink to work up courage to schedule and drown the memory of the past! And it is not too much to say, that the majority of the working classes of this country are in a more generally degraded state than the Flat-heads of the prairie, or the recently extinguished Mandans, the free-booters of Port Natal, or those stunted outcasts of the human race in New Zealand. Honor, truth, justice, and gratitude would, at all events, be found among the latter, to a *ratio* fully as great as would be obtained from by no means the worst selections from the mine, the loom, or the wheel.

A few true patriots of all parties have long foreseen the moral wreck that awaited our operatives, and have nobly warned both Church and State; but nations, like their individual personages, rarely believe an evil till they have felt its blow, and seldom trouble themselves to bar the door till the treasure is gone. The age of drinking *gentry* has produced one of tippling operatives; a cold and distant aristocracy, living to exemplify its own heartless motto of *nil admirari* of all that concerned the people, has reciprocated to us a peasantry who act out the same adage so far as it applies to "whatever is lovely and of good report." A church whose main object, for two or three generations, appeared to be only the enlargement of the glebe, and the augment of the stipend; and sects in violent feud, whether so much or less water constituted baptism; whether a free prayer, or one pre-composed, a read or an extemporaneous sermon, a Calvinistic or an Arminian interpretation of the difficulties of Scripture were better Christianity?

And while absorbents of thought magnified the evil, to the exclusion of active charity and busy benevolence, they may well have inspired in the cottages of the operatives contempt of all priesthoods, and a fearful and false inference, that Christianity was a mere system of ancient opinions, whose comforts were reserved for the rich, and whose threatenings against the vicious would never be put in force. A jobbing Parliament, that represented pocket-boroughs, destroyed faith in public men; while headlong wars, that mortgaged the national resources for centuries to come, robbed the peasant of the homage with which he was wont to think of the nobility. Taxed food, and trade working in the heavy irons of monopoly; public schools, founded for the poor, but sequestered to the use of the affluent; venal corporations that became more proverbial for turtle and wines, and their partisan violence, than either for their usefulness or dignity; magisterial clergymen, that fox-hunted during the leisure days of the week, and tiraded on the Sunday, in two or three different churches, with lithographed sermons against Dissenters, and on the duty of the poor to be contented, and obedient to the law; completed the dire causation. These, and the collateral causes that have been two centuries in elaborating noble sentiments and virtuous habits from that peasantry of England that made Cromwell's Ironsides terrible to ill-doers, will furnish the simple exponency, how the operatives of England, Ireland, and Scotland stand in need of that education, for want of which all the great nations of antiquity, and the medieval times, went to the dust.

Now this degraded population, hitherto of easy management, and therefore of comparatively little *political* importance, is acquiring, at an immensely rapid rate, such a portion of the political power of the country, as, coupled with its previous command of the physical force, will, at no distant period, give the real mastery of England to the violent part of the working classes and their representatives. We are not opposed to their acquisition, so long as it comes of fair play, of the political power of the artisans: but we were not willing to precipitate such acquisition, in the absence of their educational fitness, by extending the franchise unduly. Now, however, whether that be extended or not, it is quite clear that the working classes are obtaining the power inevitably, and in more ways than they seem themselves to be aware. Take an instance. Through the provisions of the Municipal Act, the majority of the corporations of the larger, and perhaps of the smaller towns, are really in the power of the operatives. By this law, on the 1st of November last, the Chartists of Sheffield are said to have ousted the re-electible

portion of the Town Council, and placed nine partisans of their own in the corporation! What was done in Sheffield has no doubt been done elsewhere, or will be done, in November, 1848. What is to hinder the growth of this power? Nothing but a change in the feelings and political views of the operative population. All that is now in action *tends to politicise the artisan mind*; and nothing can neutralize that state, but the introduction of better tastes and higher aims. Let us look seventy years forward in the history of the country! What will be the condition of England if the leading corporations, with their inevitable local influence, power of taxation, connexion with the courts of Civil Justice, the town charities, and the parliamentary representation, be wielded by the uneducated classes? What in that case awaits us but a smothered servile war with all the older and more potent interests of Great Britain? Now all this is *avertible* calamity.

At length the government began to feel that most of our public evils were but yet in their juvenescence; that they were chiefly traceable to popular ignorance, which is always insubordinate, presumptive, fickle, and mean; that large portions of the ignorant masses fell off yearly into permanent pauperism; that another large portion annually passed from the vicious classes, to those of criminal offenders; that a third portion of the artisans were becoming reckless politicians; and that the remainder of the peasantry were not so armed with knowledge, and so fortified with virtue, as to be sufficient checks to the rest. By one of those extraordinary and simultaneous perceptions of truth, which great dangers inspire, the leading men of all parties seemed to feel that the Schoolmaster, and his despised arts, presented the only rational means of staunching the wounded heart of the country. Long and anxious nights have been spent in debate, how to bring education into its right position with the operatives, without giving offence to any of the divisions of the Christian Church among us. Parliament has promulgated its plan, which does not meet our views in some particulars, and incumbered itself with a vast amount of thankless business; and now it is told, by a portion of the older Dissenters, that the Educational scheme of government is a violation of the laws of conscience; and that the result will be the sequestration of a portion of the voluntary churches, and the enslavement of the popular thought!

We admit this deep aversion of considerable portions of the Dissenters to every form of government aid for education; of their attempt to make that aversion *appear* a legitimate deduction from the fundamental rights of conscience, and of the many, but by no means congenerous modes, by which they propose to

carry out their opposition to the measures of the Privy Council. The Dissenters cannot deny, that though they have done much, they have left by far more of the work of popular education undone; that they have neither propounded, before nor since, anything like an adequate theory of instruction; that they have little or no means of producing the necessary supply of suitable teachers; and that they have neither the funds to work out their own scheme, nor have they produced even a decent approximation to suitable apparatus. Most Sunday and day schools are notoriously in a most inferior condition of the scholastic art. The great bulk of the Sunday-school teachers are indifferent readers; and, of the grammar, language, history, geography and customs, not to say the antiquities, the doctrines and morals of the Bible, they know far too little to become either able teachers of "the letter" or "the spirit" of Christianity. But in reply to this, we are told, the voluntary principle will meet all the exigencies of the case. Of that principle Mr. Bayley thus truly speaks in his Lectures:—

"I admit the voluntary principle is a great because it is a true principle; but it is the principle that is chiefly powerful where human nature is already in a high state of virtue—in fact, where it is the least required. But we want principles of action and discipline for human nature in its most degraded state. The voluntary principle, I know, has raised its churches and schools by thousands, but a great part of the preachers of these churches are but partially educated, and the majority are most inadequately paid: some of them have been left by this voluntary principle to degradation, and the threadbare coat; while others have all but died of want. And as to the voluntary principle in schools, it has raised the building, but in most instances not qualified the master, nor found adequate apparatus; it has launched the ship without a crew; and after wearing out its preachers and schoolmasters, the voluntary principle has not prevented their being consigned to a superannuated beggary, living on the doles of a herculeanly-collected charity; and on his deathbed, the preacher or schoolmaster of the voluntary principle has often had, to trouble his last hours, the vision of his widow and fatherless children hawked through the papers and magazines to stimulate the sympathy of the benevolent, or to shame the sectarian pride of the mean. Is this a fitting peroration to a life of public service to the voluntary principle?"

The voluntary principle may pamper its gifted few; but it does out inadequate rewards to its ordinary many. The gifted Doctors may be fattened, but a White of Chester can be destroyed by a faction (for the voluntary principle, as well as force, has its martyrs), and a gifted but unpopular preacher can be driven into proscription. The voluntary principle can royalise its spiritual Macreadys or its pulpitic Kembles; but its John Fosters have been more than twice over repu-

diated by both town and village congregations. The voluntary principle can spread the train and swell the pæans of him that is popular ; but woe to the Mephibosheth that is lame of either foot, or to the timid or ill-assorted wight who miscalls the Shibboleth ! The voluntary principle can use ordinary men as long as they are congenial, if not servile—occasionally zealot, but partisans always ; but let such men pretend to differ with Gamaliel or Hillel ! The voluntary principle is effective while it works, but it is fickle, and may not be able, or not willing. This is a constitutional disease, old as the Apostles, who ehided the halters with, ‘Ye did run well for a time—what hindered ?’ The voluntary principle is valorous in times of revolution and excitement, but when the waters of thought have quiesced into still and ordinary life, this voluntary principle seems to die of ennui, and cannot even help itself. How many of its chapels have been transferred to new ereedsmen ? How few of its trusts are now applied to their legitimate uses ? This voluntary principle may be beautiful, but it is often unjust : it is confessed that it is often sublime, but it is also often cruel. It is frequently generous, and often mean. In the widow of two mites it gave all ; but in the case of Ananias it ‘kept back part of the price.’ In the time of Solomon it raised the temple, but in the days of Jesus it sold the priesthood. It prevents the tyranny of a ruler, but it admits the despotism of a rash and illiterate majority : it may exclude Parliament, but it suffers Alexander the coppersmith to sway, and Diotrophes to have the pre-eminence, with their mobs of ‘devout men, and honourable women not a few.’ The voluntary principle forbids the State preamble and the Senatorial mandate, but the junto of ‘the brethren’ is not less dogmatic, and the decisions of the conclave are not less arbitrary. The truth is, there are as many fallacies regnant about this voluntary principle as any other thing. Human nature has its pet ideas as well as its pet dogs and persons, adopted at first without reason, continued without merit, and often abandoned without blame.”

What period, then, can the advocates of the voluntary principle fix as the probable time, when with the application of the educational machinery they possess, or are likely to acquire, the masses of England will have become an educated people ? It is not in the nature of things that congregations should permanently rise above their teachers ; and the schoolmasters of a congregation will generally be of inferior attainments to its clergyman. Now we mean nothing disrespectful when we affirm, that whatever Dissenting ministers think of themselves, the British nation thinks *them* below the educational wants of the time. The state of education among their own colleges and schools at once furnishes the gauge to the attainments of the clerical and the more informed class of their laymen ; while the quality of Sunday-school teachers and teaching, also furnish the test of the state of practical education among the humbler members of the unen-

dowed denominations. It is rare that a day-school attaches to a congregation; or that more than one Lancasterian or British school exists in a town, jointly supported by the Dissenting congregations; and with even such help, it is often in the depths of debt, labouring without tools, or existing without life.

Most of the Dissenting clergy have the greatest difficulty to exist in humble gentility on their inadequate income, which the people raise not without many a noble act of self-denial. Many of the congregations are so unable to exceed the stipend of their minister, that they have neither tract, bible, missionary, or Dorcas society, or day school, or any other of those beautiful branches of the congregational trunk, whose strength is thus evinced, and rewarded, by the dews and light they draw from the skies, and the countless aids of the atmosphere to improve the parent tree. Helpless as the small congregations of dissent appear, they have yet to extend help to those needier picquet posts, where the voluntary principle has hoisted its colours among the sparse cottages of the rural districts. For whenever in such a locality a dissenting congregation is found, it is often dependent either on what is called the "Home Missionary Society," or the "County Union," that find a material proportion of the minister's income, and without which crutches there could be no minister at all. But still a lower depth is there of congregational indigence. Around nearly every large town, there is a cluster of village congregations to which neither the County Unions, nor the Home Missionary Society, nor the denominational gentry, can extend funds enough to maintain a minister, even to divide his labours among two or three of these destitute flocks, who have therefore to be supplied with lay sermons weekly by "the gifted brethren" who drive their shuttle, plough, plane, or file during the six days, and on the seventh, nobly trudge a-foot, sometimes to the distance of ten, fifteen, or twenty miles, to deliver a gratuitous address to a few score of villagers, who rarely see a regular minister, and yet valorously proclaim the more apostolic order of congregational churches, and the self-supporting energy of the dissenting theory! Much indeed do they wrong our hearts who suppose that we print this for the purpose of reproach. Our object is simply to show that dissent has not the resources to work out a competent educational machinery, even for itself. We believe the highest water-mark has been reached by the dissenting tide; that the flood has been long on the slow ebb; and that whatever local exceptions can be produced, the present forms of dissent are destined to become more feeble in the popular mind. From causes that it more concerns the Dissenters than us to investigate, the sympathies of the mass are leaving the chapel, without

attaching themselves to either of the established churches. The main increase of dissent will in all probability be now from the populational augment of its own members; but the funds meanwhile, will share the fate of a large unentailed estate, subdivided so often as to be at last insufficient for the purposes of existence. The missionary and other societies of the dissenting communities with the utmost difficulty now raise their funds. Efforts have been often made, and mostly failed, to raise an extraordinary treasury for scholastic purposes; and we must do the Dissenters the justice to say, that the failure has been owing, not to the want of will to do nobly, but to the want of the power.

We perceive that at the recent meeting in York of the Congregational Union, a new society was projected for educational purposes: that there was an obvious inclination on the part of several of the Dissenters present to accept the aid of government on certain conditions; but that their inchoative approaches were repressed by sundry emphatic speeches, which after all leave the question still in its difficulties. How, even supposing the voluntary principle to have just claim to control the public instruction of the masses, are the funds to be raised? The only answer that *appears* logical is, "dissolve the connexion of the Church with the State, and give fair play to the voluntary principle." But we have no idea that such a dissolution would issue in the creation of requisite funds; and we cannot help smiling meantime to see how many of the dissenting ministers who, till they were defeated on the Minutes of Council, had been the resolute opponents of the "British Anti-State Church Association" have now gone heroically to its aid. It is passing well to give the Bishops notice to quit the House of Lords, but warning to depart does not insure the recovery of the tenement. The great want of the age is, even to the children of the poor, a very superior training to that which the voluntary advocates have given, either in their day or Sunday schools. Let it however be granted that the Dissenters' plan is unobjectionable; we repeat the question, where are the funds? As we know that even under the most stimulant influence, the 10,000 voluntary congregations of her Majesty's kingdom could not raise a tenth part of the requisite funds for working out the scholastic machinery without so impoverishing the poor members of those societies as to put their principles in peril; we think that consideration alone ought to be conclusive.

So long, however, as the mere education of childhood is contemplated by the Government, we shall regard all its labour as the mere filling the riddle. Much is done by the child school-master, but while we have an equally potent agency to undo convalescent boyhood in that great receiving ward, the shops and

farms of England, filled with uneducated young men and women, who joke away what the school has but insecurely implanted in childhood's *memory*, more than in its understanding or affections, it is a vain hope to expect the national millenium of general education. On this subject we must quote another passage from the Lectures to which we have referred.—(p. 15.)

“Never did a greater fallacy possess the world than that childhood is the principal time for education. Can ordinary childhood understand the laws and habits of mind,—the philosophy of language,—the science of mathematics,—the rules of taste and eriticism,—the economy and uses of history, the relative value of logic, geography and drawing,—the importance of moral knowledge,—the force of opinion, and the varieties of literature? The answer from all parts of the world would be, from all ages, if we could assemble them,—NO! It would be unreasonable to expect childhood under 15 or 16 years to appreciate these subjects. Now these subjects are education. There can be no education, worthy the name, without them. And if childhood cannot appreciate them, it is clear that childhood, in the proper sense of the term, cannot be educated. And this is a most undoubted truth, which it behoves the nation to learn, if it ever intend its population to be virtuously revolutionized. Some of the physical powers may be modified in children, and many of its dispositions may be biassed, but neither more than superficially. These can be done, because childhood is intensely imitative, facile of perception, and tenacious of memory. But in all that requires thought, reasoning, self-discipline, and moral courage, it is not possible to make material progress with the child-pupil. The imitative faculty is the mind's tender, filled with the materials which the vast and complicated machine of thought will require; but the tender will not move the train. It is wise and gracious in Providence that the intellectual powers do *not* develope in childhood. It would be a lacrymose world if childhood could reason and resolve like men, were consumed with the same passions, or ridden by the same cares. Childhood's tears dry before they have well fallen; its repose is rarely broken by the ruined fortune, or its appetite spoiled by the change of fare, from venison to porridge, or by the decay of the last fine garment: for the heart of childhood rapidly domiciliates itself to every place; finds associates in the nearest sport-fellows; plays with the fringe of its parent's coffin; thinks more of a water-frolic than of the verdict of the world, or of a handful of roseate fruit than the rising funds or falling thrones. ‘The war-horse,’ says Job, ‘taunts the battle array with his ha! ha!’ and so does childhood. The civic procession passes in awful silence, the shops are closed for the interred monarch; the engines play on a conflagrated town; an earthquake shakes the city; the lightning rives the oak and smites down the tower; the flood sweeps away its banks, bridges and docks; revolution fills the streets, pestilence the cemetery, and famine speeds its death-wafting pinions over the land; but they find and leave

childhood the same thing of laughter and jest and song and play. In its simple absurdity, it roasts an apple or a potato in the smoking ruins that have unhoused a hundred families and destroyed a century's commerce; trundles its hoop, in hardy glee, over the hot marl of volcanic irruption; or launches its kite above the city filled with the plague. Why is all this? Because the sweetly-simple unconsciousness of childhood knows no fear, its spirit is ever buoyant; in its world there are no terrors, for its mental power is not developed, it cannot think or foresee, and, because it is without experience, it can permanently neither feel nor care. How preposterous then, to suppose that this mental baby can take in adequate provender for all the future man! All that it can learn it should be taught, and in the best style of teaching, too; but the utmost that can be done for it, is merely to prepare for an age of more advanced life and appropriate instruction. The children of the wealthy find that instruction, from 15 to 25, in the university, in private tutors, and foreign travel. But the children of the poor must go to the lathe, the smithy, the wheel, the mill, or the plough, to earn their bread; and while they are learning the arts of subsistence, the effects of the school almost universally exhale. For want of a suitably advanced school or college, the tongue loses its art of reading, the hand its calligraphy, the memory forgets the rules of arithmetic, the few historic incidents once known melt away, and the lines of geography wane from the map. And when the child gushes into the youth, and business demands knowledge for use, and learning would be the best part of poverty's capital, the awakened soul of the young man and woman sighs at the recollection of undervalued school days, looks round society in vain for a mental home, and feels in tears the desolating sentiment, 'No man careth for my soul.' Men of Sheffield, is this childhood, or is it a caricature? If it be a true portrait, what a farce is any plan of national education that does not provide People's Colleges for the nation's youth."

The People's College is an institution of this kind, in the sixth year of its operation in Sheffield. It owes its existence to the Rev. R. S. Bayley, F.S.A., its principal, to whose energy and self-denial it is attributable that it has not met the early grave which has swallowed so many institutions of a popular nature. Its main classes are for the adults of the operative and middle ranks of both sexes, *before* and *after* the hours of their daily labour. The morning classes assemble at *half-past six*—the evening classes at *seven*. How much may be accomplished at these hours, and at the cost of but a few pence, under judicious direction, without the abstraction of a moment from the ordinary duties of labour, may be judged of from the following syllabus of a late public examination; Lord Fitzwilliam and his chaplain were present subsequently, at a similar private examination, and were as much astonished as gratified with what they witnessed.

"Order of the Classes.

"**MATHEMATICS.**—Definitions of a straight line, of a curve, a point, a square, a circle, an acute angle, an obtuse, an arc, a segment, a diameter, a right angle, a parallelogram, a scalene, an isosceles, a right-angled triangle, a rhombus, a rhomboid, a trapezium, a sector, &c.

"The axioms on which mathematical science is founded ; uses.

"Demonstrations of any of the following problems of Euclid :—

"Book I.—p. 5, 7, 12, 16, 21, 22, 26, 30, 32, 35, 42, 44, 47.

" II.—p. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16.

" III.—p. 1, 4, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 22, 25, 26, 27, 33, 35, 36, 37.

"**SENIOR LATIN CLASS.**—The 7th Eclogue of Virgil, to be translated, parsed, and scanned. The same course adopted with the *Carmin Seculare* of Horace, archæological questions, grammar, exercises, and written translations.

"**ENGLISH GRAMMAR.**—General questions on the nature of language and of its laws ; definitions of the following terms—grammar, orthography, parts of speech, declension, conjugation, case, mood, tense, active, passive, neuter, noun, pronoun, &c. ; syntax—parsing, prosody, concord, government, person, gender, number, relative, irregular, comparative, objective, nominative, &c. ; to parse Shakspeare's *Apostrophe to Sleep*, and some passage *ad aperturum libri*.

"**HISTORY CLASS** will be examined on **IRELAND.**—Situation ; climate ; extent ; the first inhabitants ; early state of the island ; language ; the Phœnician and Irish traditions ; early Christians ; St. Patrick ; the controversy of Whittaker and Macpherson ; first invasion by Henry II. ; Strongbow ; Irish chieftains ; first success ; disasters ; Strongbow's recall ; the war of the natives ; new emigrants ; lords of the Pale ; state in the Reformation ; during Elizabeth ; Raleigh ; Poyning's Act ; Tyrone rebellion ; confiscations under James and Charles I. ; Strafford ; the massacre of 1641 ; state of under Cromwell ; James II. ; battles ; William III. ; the Pretender ; invasion by France ; rebellion of 1798 ; the Union ; subsequent history ; remarks.

"**MORAL KNOWLEDGE CLASS.**—Evidences of Christianity, what evidence is, and Christianity ; importance of perfect proof, its sources, and kinds ; character of Jesus Christ, his miracles, resurrection ; character of the apostles, their success, the opponents, with learning, caste ; political laws, commerce, slavery ; Judaism ; idolatry, its kinds ; severe tests of the first Christians ; benignant influence of Christian truth, its adaptation to all times and natures ; its sanction of civil and domestic life, favours intellectual development, survives through all forms of society ; Christian character formed by the highest standard ; its independence of poverty, sorrow, health, and even of liberty ; argument from prophecy, and the state of the arts.

"**THE LANGUAGE CLASS** will explain from what sources the English language is derived, in what proportions ; how words are constituted, prefixes and affixes, their sources, powers, and importance ;

philosophy of the prepositions; Anglo-Saxon and Latinised style; authors in both kinds; the words of the Lord's Prayer; 1st chap. of St. John's Gospel, and 15th chap. of the 1st Ep. of Cor.; specimens of classification of words; derivation of a passage from the P. C. Reading book.

"COMPOSITION CLASS will produce a number of essays written by the students; definition of various terms; difficulties; what necessary to success in composition; what the characteristics of a good style; defects; method of producing materials, and the order of writing; metaphorical language; criticism, rules for; examen of the style of Franklin, Swift, Cobbett, Burke, Burns, Addison, Johnson, and Scott.

"THE GREEK CLASS will construe, parse, and translate the 6th chap. of St. John's Gospel, and Solon's interview with Cræsus, also to explain the difference between the Greek and the Latin verb.

"THE GEOGRAPHY CLASS.—Scotland; boundaries; various names; geological character; mountains; lowlands; lakes; rivers; canals; counties; chief towns; memorable localities; capes; islands; animal and vegetable productions; population; meteorology; latitude; sea-ports; commerce and agriculture; manners; literature; education; religion; music; antiquities; statistics; crime, &c.

"THE LOGIC CLASS.—Terms to be defined; what meant by the science; first authors; character of Greek logic; its defects; causes of its decline; Socratic system; inductive method; requisites to this study; uses; books; distribution of the subject; construct syllogisms; obstacles; state defects; what fallacies; their sources, kinds, and remedies; Latin terms used in logic; the *à priori* and *à posteriori* argument; logical character of Bacon, Franklin, Locke, Hume, &c.; habits promoted by this study; comparison with mathematics.

"ARITHMETIC CLASS.—Define arithmetic; number; unit; difference in value; extrinsic; intrinsic; the cipher; notation; numeration; signs; mental arithmetic; the four principal rules, with their various signs and methods; simple and compound quantities; reduction, its nature; proportion direct, inverse, and compound; fractions, what; the numerator, denominator, &c.

"THE SECOND LATIN CLASS.—To parse, construe, and translate the life of Themistocles, by C. Nepos; written translations and exercises, with the 15 early rules of syntax; the rules of gender, and the irregular verbs.

"THE COMMERCIAL CLASS.—To be examined in book-keeping; what is meant; its uses; its connexion with arithmetic; the various books and methods; single and double entry; waste book; orders in, out; ledger, debtor, creditor; balance; discount; interest; gross and net price; stock; sales; letters; bills; acceptance; profit, &c.

"THE THIRD LATIN CLASS will read the first 16 pages of Valpy's Latin Delectus; a written translation; parsing; exercises; the grammar to the 10th rule of syntax, as arranged in the 'People's College Latin Grammar.'

"Besides the above, the French, the German, and the singing classes will be examined by their respective teachers. The other classes of the People's College will not be examined on this occasion."

We learn, that of the more than 1,800 young persons who have received educational help at the People's College, four or five young women are now filling important situations as teachers; two or three young men are also acting as schoolmasters; one young man is now studying at Airdale College for the Dissenting pulpit; another is at one of the Wesleyan Institutes for a similar purpose, and a third is preparing for Cambridge, while we have several of Mr. Bayley's students in London in important stations (one at the London University), two are much more advantageously settled in America than they would have been but for the People's College; and another is one of the rising railway engineers.

Now if one man can do so much on this plan, why cannot we have popular Colleges of this description wherever there is a sufficient population? True, we cannot find enthusiastic advocates like Mr. Bayley everywhere; but if the government will apply its strong-armed wisdom to the subject, the honour and employment will soon produce the adequate directors of the movement. Actuated by the Sheffield example, Nottingham has already a People's College founded by private munificence; and if the voluntary principle *can*, in all other cases, accomplish the object, let it at once proceed to the work; till, however, it better supports its present operations, we shall despair of seeing *this* desideratum.

Mr. Bayley has published five Class Text Books, at a shilling each, to come within the reach of his poor students; and printed a large number of tablets as wall-lessons of great value, for the use of his classes, in almost every department in which this institution gives instruction. This of itself we consider of great importance, as the kind of apparatus of which *all* our schools much stand in need. We can bear witness to the general superiority and great utility of these school tablets, and regret that for want of funds, that canker of all noble ideas, they have not been published for general use. How many a retired tradesman, or unofficed gentleman about town have we, whose only anxiety is, "where shall I bestow my goods," whose life is a mere series of sad shifts, between the violent pleasures that money buys, and that mock-erous stillness of savannah existence where everything is green and flowery, but nothing healthy, might be useful in a People's College.

How many such gentlemen and ladies, without "next of kin," have we, who, by the expenditure of £400 or £500 yearly for

five or seven years, would at once rescue themselves from the ignoble *otium* of a self-loathing gentility, and by attaching themselves to the new and ennobling idea of a Popular College, in some destitute district, would also purchase a cheap and an honourable niche among England's benefactors, and lay all society under obligation to this wisely expended pittance in the cause of the poor. In the absence of ground for appeal to the higher principles, we ask, is there no such man among our readers, burning with the thought,

"What shall I do to be for ever known?"

who is willing to become the William de Wykeham of some necessitous locality, where his name, hitherto obscure, would be held in more than canonizing remembrance, and his example cheer and rescue many a family from the perils of tempted virtue, and perhaps some genius, bred and cherished by poverty and its sorrows, who shall more than repay the founder's munificence?

The time has evidently arrived when something should be done more efficient than has yet been attempted. More than half the Mechanics' Institutes are already in ruins; and many of the excepted cases are driven into a spurious prosperity by the help of balls and soirées, which, when they have arrived at the sating point, will leave the institutions without funds and classes, and without the religious friends whom these expedients always repel. If the voluntary principle can meet this state of educational need, well; but why does it not begin? There are ten localities in London at least, where a Popular College is the greatest desideratum; filled with churches and chapels, with gigantic marts of commerce and halls of justice, the dank stream of polluted existence yet flows on in boiling torrents, without a prophet to cast in that quiescing element that would defecate the flood. No; it will be passing well, if the voluntary principle can maintain the religious operations which it has so magnificently created. The power and funds of Government alone can come to the relief of the young virility of the operative masses; and it will atone to generous hearts for many a party miscarriage, if the Whig Government bucklers itself heartily to this division of the public service, without which, it will squander funds, mock hope, and prolong the period of popular regeneration to a distant time, so long as it merely teaches the children of the poor.

Let us not, however, be misunderstood when we thus call for Government aid. The Institution at Sheffield which we have described is self-supporting, or nearly so; and we are convinced that the Government should only help the people in this to help themselves; at once the greatest wisdom and the purest

benevolence. Patrons are easily alienated; non-beneficiary subscribers have to be goaded into compliance; congregational collections are very difficult to obtain, except for denominational purposes; and legacies are angel visits. Self-support is the true principle of these institutions, and we are persuaded that gratuitous education is not true wisdom. Gifts must precede, but the weekly fees must follow, and become the permanent resources as far as possible. What we pay for we estimate, even if it be worthless; and the knowledge that is bought will be more efficient than that which is given without requital, or obtained without labour. For apparatus and furniture, and for the stipend of the principal, Government should, at least for a few years, provide, and we have no fear for the sequel.

But whatever the scholastic organizations contemplated by the Privy Council, or by the religious societies that so unite in the end, and disagree in the means, little progress will be made, till there has been effected a *total reform in the apparatus for teaching*. By apparatus, we mean the class-books usually employed in schools; the furniture requisite for conducting school operations; and the various sorts of maps, wall-lessons, models, pictures, and mechanical instruments, which are known to be in partial operation in some of the better schools. Would any one, entering the shop of a cabinet-maker, on seeing a miserable supply of broken tools, all out of order, expect to find specimens of that first-rate workmanship of the plane and the chisel which we often witness in the wardrobe, where beauty keeps its idols, or the cabinet, where fashion treasures its baubles? Would it be a matter of surprise, if we found a mechanic turning out an instrument, untrue in its operations, defective in polish, and objectionable in form, if we found that he was destitute of the requisite tools, without which neither Watt could work, nor Stevenson improve? What more signally proves the novitiate of the English mind in the science of education, than the expectation of good teaching, in the absence of the indispensable apparatus for effectuating the work? Whatever the voluntary principle has done for the children of the poor, it has done in spite of unskilful teachers and inadequate tools; and it is no honour to the advocates of that much-misunderstood principle, that they have done so little to clothe the walls of the school with the fundamental furniture for making the work of the master efficient, and the labour of his pupils delightful.

The importance of the subject is so great, that we would suggest to the Committee of Privy Council for Education the propriety, not of further engaging themselves in the preparation of school-books and implements, by which they rather repress

than promote individual effort in the same direction, but to establish a *Scholastic Museum*, where there should be accessible to the public, for purposes of comparison, copies of *all* books published on Education; and with all maps, charts and tablets published, together with every variety of educational machine and furniture, in a well-arranged order. Why? Because a large proportion of the school teachers are either now partially trained in the neighbourhood of London, or visit it; and we should think lightly of the tutor who could walk through such a museum, and obtain a concentrated view of the apparatus for teaching there exhibited, and not return to his charge a more valuable servant of the public. Nor should we think it a supererogation, if when the Scholastic Museum were opened, the Committee of Privy Council should pass a minute, that in every subsequent examination of the teachers, it should be incumbent that they visit, at least once, this Museum, and be prepared for interrogation on its contents. Another vast benefit would accrue from the existence of such an institution; as it would compel the advocates of the voluntary principle to adopt superior machinery, and to improve the character of their teaching, which of itself would remove a considerable portion of the grounds of the present controversy. How, indeed, without such a Museum, Government proposes to work so vast a body of organized agencies as it contemplates, we cannot conceive; while with it, the Educational Staff of the Privy Council would become at once *au fait* of what materials exist, are used, or are useable for the purpose of promoting public education.

Another vital subject which requires the united wisdom of society is the legitimate provision that must be made for the conversion of popular amusements, either into direct elements of popular instruction, or at least into its auxiliary forces. At present, the powerful antagonism to the progress of education, especially among the adults and elder youth, is by day the long hours of labour, and by night the miscellaneous amusements that in the tavern, the club-room, the theatre, and the streets, tempt our artisan population to ruin by so many paths of flowers, laughter, and song. Amusements are as indispensable as food and clothes; and neither the rigour of mistaken police, nor the gloom of sectarian misanthropy, can deprive mankind of its right to recreation. At present, however, as indeed they mostly have been, the amusements of poor men are at war with their morality, and their solid, not to say their religious, interests. Let a company of Pablo's tumblers enter a town, where there are in beneficent operation half-a-dozen scholastic institutions, and the forms and classes will be immediately thinned: professors must stand

idle while the zany rides the goose; Greek and French, mathematics and chemistry, are all put in abeyance until the spangled clown has worn out Joe Miller's jokes on his master, blazing in streams of lacquer and tin-foil. A hurdle race, a match 'of pedestrian skill, a duck hunt, a performer on the quart bottle, or any of the other phenomenists of the extensive art of swindling the artisan of his earnings, are sure of an audience, whether the course of lectures can be continued, or the classes sustained. It is on the ground of the voluntary principle that the fool plays at the circus for the merriment of a town; and that the adult mechanics forsake their scholastic institutions to exchange silver for a joke, and a professor for a buffoon. Now this supply of amusement is hugely on the increase. The country swarms with a thimblery order, that is every night debauching morals, and dissipating thought. A barn, an old malthouse, a suite of attics in an old house, a long room in a back yard, as well as places of more showy exterior, are all in nightly activity to win the heart of Young England from the schoolmaster, the librarian, the lecturer, or the Church, or indeed from the shop and the hearthstone. Is this evil to have the full benefit of the toleration act too? If we could lend the operatives the eyes of the best part of the middle class for a few days, it is probable the magician and the buffoon would find themselves the most affected part of their audience; but as the elevation of the taste of society is necessarily of slow growth, would it be at all impracticable for Government to interfere? How? Would it not be wise to restrict these mendicant performers by compelling them all to take out a hawker's license? Suppose the very moderate number of persons, who stroll through the country without license or responsibility, to be only 2000; we have here £8,000 a-year, which would support a really noble Scholastic Museum, that would benefit all the schools of the world, and probably do much to raise the level of society itself.

To some of our readers, it will appear to be a better counteraction of the tavern and the jerry-shop amusements, by introducing a sufficient quantity of really superior recreation into our popular colleges, when we have established them, and similar institutions. Truly. But here again we are encumbered with the sectarian animosity. What the Episcopalian or Catholic member of Committee might consider a *minus* quantity of amusement, the Independent or Wesleyan might regard as the *plus*; and even demur to the safety of introducing any at all. But if scholastic committees should be fortunate enough to obtain unanimity for the introduction

of amusements as a necessary part of the agency of an educate establishment, it would be too much to hope that they would not come into fierce collision when it came to be debated what pastimes should be allowed. Cricket might comport even with a clergyman's gravity. We have seen good preachers, and better Christians, at football, with some of the younger portions of their auditory; and have never heard of any accruent evil, unless it were the acrid hypercriticism of polemic antagonists. Job Orton, and Dr. Doddridge, and, we believe, Dr. Watts, too, all played at dice and cards; and John Calvin was wont to practice bowling at the green in Geneva, and even on Sunday! The book of sports was a memorable eyesore to the Puritans; but meanly as we think of the authors of that measure, we believe that many good men whose names England will not "willingly let die," not only read the *licet* for such recreations with good faith, but took their own pastime, too, without "conscience of the offence." Quoit, backgammon, chess, drafts, cribbage, sword exercise, archery, and a number of similar recreations, in our judgment, are all legitimately admissible to the lounge department of a Scholastic Institution for adult students; while to such places we think a coffee and a news-room should be also attached. The difficulty is, funds and room enough for their performance; and for such things, we are persuaded, nothing but government or a local tax, would be found sufficient.

This brings us to the subject of municipal taxation for educational purposes. It cannot be denied that there is a great evil in a concentrated and remote agency, even where it is far enough removed from the cold and haughty habits that are generated in officials by arbitrary governments. Local administrations win and retain the popular suffrage, with far less cost. Petty ambition is gratified by participation of the seeming honour of a municipal post, and fictitious generosity often becomes a valuable element in the public service, in spite of its ostentatious worthlessness. Local antipathies are also better understood and managed, and modest worth is more likely to be brought into useful employment by a local, than by a general government. Most reluctant should we be to see the schools, either for the children or for the elder youth of the operative classes, given over to the control of any of the religious sects; but, for the same reasons, we should be delighted to see the provisions of the Municipal Act so far extended as to enable corporations to found schools adapted to the population, and levy taxes for their support.

It is remarkable with what simplicity the educational funds might be raised through the local governments. Let the Poor

Law Commissioners, upon the application of a local Educational Board, elected by the rate-payers or a Town Council, be empowered to add a graduated poundage to the rates of the district, and the means would be at once raised. A fifth of the population, paying at the rate of a farthing a day, would be upwards of £2,000,000 per annum, which, with the fees and voluntary contributions, would be enough. No expensive staff of collectors of such a revenue would be requisite: a cheque from the overseers to the treasurers of the School Committees would make a curt transfer of the income; and with such resources, what locality could long continue unsupplied with the requisite number of popular colleges and day schools? By this method also, we believe a large portion of the existing local jealousies and sectarian bitterness would be at once destroyed. Few would object, where all were to benefit and none to domineer; and while the lust of control would sate one class of objectors, the appearance of greater impartiality by self taxation, and directly responsible expenditure, would convert others, who are now opponents or waverers, into ardent advocates and appeased friends. So long as educational funds are exclusively drawn from the parliamentary estimates, and controlled by the Committee of Privy Council alone, there will always be denominational distrust and local acerbity.

We heartily hope some of the enlightened advocates in Parliament will endeavour to work out the difficult part of these questions; and while we expect opposition from such as regard all changes as portents of calamity, we cannot think so ill of the Government as to fear that it will oppose the translation of heavy burdens from its already too-laden shoulder, to that of the more direct representatives of the popular will. In our judgment, by this method, more money will be devoted to popular education, than can ever be otherwise raised; and the work will be better done, provided, however, *Government retain the power of inspectorship in its own hands*. The advocates of the voluntary principle will be gratified by becoming participants of all the authority; and those who favour the application of Government aid, not less pleased. And thus, for the average of 7s. 7½d. a house, the country would have a permanent income, applicable to educational and benevolent purposes, which, after the first year or two, would be raised with less difficulty than almost any other tax. Let us suppose a case:—in a town of 100,000 persons, reckoning five to a family, this method would raise about £7,500 a year, which would give the following results:—

	£	s.	d.
Seven day schools for the poor, at £300 each...	2,100	0	0
A mechanics' institution (really such) ...	300	0	0
A college for adult classes, to include every department of education	500	0	0
An orphan school	400	0	0
Four ragged schools, at £200 each	800	0	0
School of design	300	0	0
Schools for the blind, deaf, dumb, and cripples	500	0	0
Four reading rooms for the poor, at £150 each	600	0	0
A depository of the arts of most interest to the locality	300	0	0
For the support of proper popular amusements	500	0	0
Fund for the reward of local virtuous actions...	200	0	0
Seven evening schools for the adult poor, at £100 each	700	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£7,200	0	0
	<hr/>		

By such an appropriation of the public money, what interest or community worthy of preservation would be endangered? Most of the objects contemplated in our plan are now entirely neglected, or are only attempted in such a manner as to convert the terms of popular education into symbols of burlesque or contempt. One obvious advantage from the custodial direction of local governments would be, in the greater facility that would be afforded for the provision of suitable buildings, and in the better economization of those buildings, so as to accomplish, within the same suite of rooms, several of the congenial objects to which we have referred. As it is, much of the small fund raised by the voluntary principle is wasted by the rental and taxes of so many hired rooms. Out of 23 Mechanics Institutions that, in 1845, formed "The Union," of Yorkshire, 18 met in "hired rooms," and only reckoned 3,361 members, including the life members and other subscribers, who merely attended the lectures, exhibition, &c.

In conclusion, we would urge upon the Government seriously to remember the law of falling bodies. The acceleration of crime within a few years will double the cost of protecting society from its young men and women. More schools, and superior supplementary institutions for adults, or more prisons, are inevitable. The laws of mind are as true when developed among the vicious, as the virtuous. Revelation only echoes human experience, in its "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." Switzerland, Scotland, and the older States of America, answer the rodomontade of the fearful, "that Government education will

destroy the public liberties :” since there are no people more sensitive to alarm, or courageous to defend their freedom than these. The rookeries in St. Giles’s may be displaced ; parks may scatter the hordes that have huddled in the back streets of Whitechapel and Mile End ; now and then a railway may cut open a human morass ; or new docks may destroy old haunts of the smuggler, the pickpocket, and the pimp. But all this disturbance will only rouse these fearful masses of pollution into more reckless energy. Gin and beer houses, the haunts of cheap gambling and flaunting finery, are striking society every hour with more than tilt-force. Pulpits are losing their power over the multitude. Vicious amusements are disarming the cottage hearth of its panoply. Pestiferous periodicals defy instinctive decencies. We are reaping the dreadful harvest which a thousand years’ misgovernment have produced. It is a miracle that we exist in national vigour. But even yet, there is hope for old England, if her government be but as wise as her perils require, and as courageous as the crisis is full. *Now or never is the time for Government action.* And if no more can be done, let us have a few Popular Colleges in London ; and verify for ourselves what Mr. Bayley has found in Sheffield, that no course is so certain to depoliticise the rabid, and to elevate the brutal, as to inspire them with the nobler tastes that accompany mathematics, elocution, grammar, drawing, or music. One of his students was once heard to exclaim, after a few weeks’ attendance at the classes, “ Lor, sir, what a different body yove made o’ me ! I used to be nobbut a brute, and naw I’m com’d into a new world. I seem to love everybody but mysen ;” and the tears of joy stood upon his cheek, in witness to the truth of the tamed soul within. That young man was the son of a little innkeeper, and after a remarkably rapid course of improvement, he died of consumption. Who will make the next experiment ?

B. S.

- ART. IX.—1. *Essay on Money; its Origin and Use.* By John Taylor.
2. *Our Money Laws the Cause of the National Distress.* By Chas. Enderby.
3. *A Letter to the Congestive Bankerhood of Great Britain.* E. Wilson.
4. *History of the Bank of England; its Times and Traditions.* By John Francis. 2 Vols., 8vo. E. Wilson, Royal Exchange.
5. *View of the Progress of Political Economy.* By Travers Twiss, D.C.L., F.R.S. Longman & Co.
6. *Report of the Bullion Committee of 1810.*
7. *Suggestions for a Domestic Currency, Founded upon Philosophic Principles.* Wiley & Putnam.
8. *Lectures on the History and Principles of Ancient Commerce.* By J. W. Gilbart, F.R.S.

LATE occurrences, and the uncertainties of a future, dependent, less, perhaps, upon the wisdom than the chances of legislation, have rendered the currency question one of anxious and universal interest.

We continue to be told, and we know not how truly, even in the midst of congratulations and national thanksgivings for an abundant harvest, that the storm by which we have been overtaken, has not spent its fury; that it is now but lulled for the moment, and that the worst of the consequences of our improvident engagements in 1845, and of the loss of the potato crop in 1846, have yet to be realised. We are warned to prepare for a further depression of all property, whether existing in the shape of the investments of the rich, or the savings of the poor. "Land, canals, railway shares, canal and bank shares, cotton, wines, iron, the labour of the country,—all must be depressed, until the miser, who has hoarded his gold, will bring it out; until the Englishman, who has money in foreign bonds or railroads, will find it his interest to sell them and buy those of his own country; until foreigners themselves will buy our securities, our cottons, our woollens, and manufactured produce.*"

"All that we can discover before us," says the city editor of the Times of November 26th, "is declining trade and grinding poverty, bankrupt railways, and increased taxation." There is some hope in the fact, that the prognostics of birds of ill omen are not infallible; but in these times, the prospect opened to us, however discouraging, cannot, after the experience of the last

* Correspondent of the "Times," of November 6, 1847.

twelve months, be regarded as altogether a remote and an improbable contingency. We have been struggling and sinking during the past year in the slough of despond, and we may yet fail to find solid footing,—

“But in the lowest deep, a lower deep.”

Distrust strengthens itself in the conviction, now widely spread among all classes, that whatever may be the modest self-reliance of politicians and economists in their own judgment, there is something in “sound principles of currency,” which nobody understands, and that it is, therefore, just as possible that the terms of the next renewal of the Bank Charter may lead to fresh disasters as certain that the last “settlement” has wholly disappointed the expectations, not only of the public, but of its authors.

The question, however, will now undergo the ordeal of a more searching investigation than any to which it has yet been submitted. There will be no more indifference as to the result of further mistakes. It is felt that they may involve the ruin of a nation. If, on the one hand, danger is still to be apprehended from a possible unlimited issue of inconvertible paper, no one, on the other hand, can now shut his eyes to the fact that even gold may be bought too dear. Consider for a moment what would be the effect of a further formal ratification by Parliament of the principle implied in the warning just quoted—that upon the first symptoms appearing of a new drain, supplies of bullion must be procured at any cost, and that the only way to obtain them in sufficient quantities is by artificially forcing down prices below the point to which they have as yet fallen. Would not every branch of productive industry, thus deprived of all chance of remunerative profit, be instantly suspended? Would not every manufacturer hasten to save the capital yet left to him, by dismissing his workmen? Would our farmers drain the land, or continue to plough and sow with the certainty of a loss upon every outlay? Would our merchants navigate the ocean with their ships to bring home return cargoes of less value than the exported produce? Already we see the effect of depreciation as affecting stock, commodities, and bills of exchange, in the destitution of thousands of workmen deprived of their bread in the midst of winter. To what extent could their number be multiplied without a civil convulsion, in which all property would go to wreck?

In taking part in the present discussion our object will be to confine the question as much as possible to the most material points at issue; and to simplify these, and render them intelligible to those of our readers who may hitherto have been strangers to

the paper and gold controversy, we will give a brief historical sketch of the facts out of which modern currency theories have originated; commenting upon them as we proceed, and pointing out the conclusions to which they tend.

We will begin by endeavouring to trace the source of much of the obvious confusion of ideas which prevails upon this subject, not less among the wise than the unlearned. We believe it will be found in imperfect or inaccurate definitions.

Mr. Huskisson, in his pamphlet upon Depreciation, published in 1839, quotes the following dictum of Locke:—

“Men in their bargains contract not for denominations or sounds, but for the intrinsic value.”

This proposition, received as an axiom without examination, in deference to the high authority of the most acute philosophical mind of the seventeenth century, and misapplied to a case which it does not in the least affect, appears to have been the foundation of the theory of the Bullion Committee of 1810, and the chief support of the assumption made and reiterated a thousand times since the publication of their report,—that a contract for a pound sterling is a bargain for the delivery of 5 dwts. 3 grs. of gold and nothing more.

In these words “nothing more,” always understood when not expressed, lies the error. Grant the position, that a pound sterling means nothing more than 5 dwts. 3 grs. of gold, and the deductions of bullionist writers from the premises assumed are perfectly legitimate. A contract for a pound is of course violated when the gold cannot be delivered, and the currency of a country is of course depreciated (in one sense) when the pound paid by the debtor conveys to the creditor less gold than the quantity for which the latter stipulated. But never was there a more extraordinary perversion of meaning, by a rigid interpretation of the letter of a contract without regard to its spirit, than in this instance. The quantity of gold in a pound sterling never or but rarely enters into the calculation of either buyer or seller. What buyers and sellers mean by a pound is not 5 dwts. 3 grs. of yellow metal, but *that command over the necessities and comforts of life which was conveyed by a sovereign or a one pound note, in the average of the transactions in which they have seen it employed.* This view of a contract most materially affects the argument: for the reader need not be very profoundly read in ethics to discover that the payment of 5 dwts. 3 grs. of yellow metal does not satisfy the *equity* of the case, unless the metal convey the same purchasing power over an average of commodities which was contemplated by both

parties when the contract between them was concluded. If the metal convey a *less* purchasing power than was mutually agreed for, then the debtor takes an unjust advantage of the creditor. If it convey a *greater* purchasing power, then the creditor, supposing him to insist upon adherence to the letter of his contract, takes an unjust advantage of his debtor.

This may be rendered clear by picturing to our minds the consequences of a discovery (by no means an impossible one,) of the source of the sands of the Ural mountains, in *continuous veins of golden ore*, and of gold becoming as abundant as silver, or even as lead. Imagine a fundholder,—a widow, dependent upon a small income derived from the 3 per cents., reduced under these circumstances to beggary, and appealing in her distress to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Widow: "Sir, I am come to you to represent the difficulties into which I am plunged. My late husband was a subscriber in 1847 to the Government loan of eight millions, raised at the beginning of that year for the relief of the Irish poor. Before his death he assured me that the interest of this money, in the 3 per cents., would be sufficient for my support and the education of his children, when he should be no more. But, from the altered value of the money of that day, the sovereigns in which my dividends continue to be paid have become almost worthless. If I offer them to my green-grocer he regards them as only so many yellow dumps."

Chancellor of the Exchequer:—"My dear Madam, have you weighed these yellow dumps, as you call them, and ascertained their quality? Each of them, I can assure you, weighs exactly 5 dwts. 3 grs., and the metal of which they consist is pure gold, containing only that proportion of alloy which was long ago fixed by Act of Parliament when it settled the standard of value. These coins are exactly what your husband bargained for when he lent his money to my excellent predecessor, Sir Charles Wood."

Widow: "Sir, when my husband lent his money to Sir Charles Wood every pound then advanced would have paid the rent of my lodgings for a week; one of these will not buy me a loaf of bread."

Chancellor of the Exchequer: "Really, the public service will not admit of my time being taken up with this idle discussion. Nothing can be more unreasonable than your application. The Government, in 1847, contracted certain obligations of debt, which obligations it continues faithfully to discharge. If, &c. &c."

We quite agree with Locke that men do not in their bargains contract for names, or sounds, or smoke, or moonshine, but for

intrinsic value; but what idea do men attach to intrinsic value as applied to the precious metals? Is it merely the value of utility, like that of a watch, that may be consulted as a record of time; or of a French roll, that may be eaten for breakfast? Nothing of the kind. The intrinsic value which we think of when we speak of metallic coins, is the facility of paying them away. We covet gold and silver with a view to something else. A contract for a pound sterling is never confined to 5 dwts. 3 grs. of gold; it invariably implies an ulterior object.

It is quite true that the purchasing power of a sovereign is in part regulated by the quantity of gold it contains; but this consideration is not an element of the ordinary business transactions of society. Mr. Travers Twiss, professor of political economy at Oxford, may possibly be able to explain (let us not speak too confidently) how or in what manner 5 dwts. 3 grs. of gold, paid as wages to a ploughman, regulates the quantity of bread and bacon which the sovereign enables him to command; but the ploughman knows nothing of the matter, and does not trouble himself to inquire. He takes the sovereign simply because it will *pass*; and he would take a note or a cheque with the same confidence, if he were certain, from past experience, that either would be equally acceptable to the village shopkeeper. In Scotland, one pound notes are still the medium of the transactions of the middle class; but we doubt whether there is a shopkeeper in Edinburgh who is quite aware that a one pound note, in its strictly technical and legal sense, is a promise to pay precisely 5 dwts. 3 grs. of gold, neither more nor less. Reader, are *you*? Are you, at the present moment, so certain of the fact, that without a moment's hesitation, or consulting some authority upon your shelves, you would undertake to affirm, or make oath in a court of justice, that a pound sterling means 5 dwts. 3 grs. of gold *troy* weight, and not 3 dwts. 5 grs.?* You are *not*. The pound with which you are familiar, is confined to that purchasing power which you have been in the habit of receiving and conveying in your daily bargains; as, for example, when you bought the last ton of coals burning in the fireplace by which you are sitting.

Metaphysicians have shown that an abstract quantity is a non-entity; and many have hence attempted to ridicule the notion of a pound considered apart from the precious metals; as if a pound which did not mean exclusively 5 dwts. 3 grs. of gold was a term wholly unintelligible. But there is no vagueness or want of precision in the sense in which the term pound is used by the public. All calculations of the future have reference to the past. A pound

* Precisely 123 grains and 274 parts of a grain, out of a thousand.

is nothing indefinite: it is that precise amount of purchasing power which a pound note or a sovereign has conveyed whenever we have had one to spend. Perhaps, in our last shopping expedition, we bought a hat with it; in which case one of the elements in our notion of a pound is a hat; and if we have occasion to say to a friend, "Pay us to-morrow the pound you borrowed," we mean, "Pay us to-morrow that which will enable us to procure another hat when we want one, or some other article of corresponding utility."

A father may easily discover in his own family the way in which children and men come by their notions of intrinsic value, and in what they consist. Place for the first time before a boy of four years of age a dingy half-sovereign, a bright half-crown, and a crumpled one pound note: with the one pound note as a convenient piece of waste paper, he will probably wrap up the gingerbread that he puts in his pocket. If offered his choice between the dingy half-sovereign and the bright half-crown, he will choose the latter, because the larger and the brighter of the two. Take him the next day to a toy-shop, and let him observe that the crumpled one pound note will purchase twice as many kites and marbles as the dingy half-sovereign, and that the dingy half-sovereign will yet buy four times as many kites and marbles as the half-crown, and what becomes of his former estimate of the latter? In this way the child, and afterwards the man, acquires general ideas of exchangeable value, and proportions of value, as measured by coins and paper symbols; *but these ideas are all confined to purchasing power.* Upon the causes which regulate purchasing power he may never speculate; and he may deal for pounds sterling all his life without even hearing of them in connexion with pennyweights and grains, troy weight, or avoirdupois.

We would have the reader pause here, and reconsider the argument we are enforcing. If he is impressed with a belief that we stumble at the threshold, it will be useless his proceeding with us another step. We have to discuss theories advanced by men of the highest intellectual powers, and deservedly held in public respect; and the errors of such men are only to be found in their first principles. The deductions of philosophers are seldom illogical. They fail only when something has been incautiously assumed at the beginning, which ultimately proves to be inaccurate, or when something has been omitted which alters the complexion of the facts, and of course the conclusions to be drawn from them. If our definition of the word *pound* be correct as affecting both the equity of contracts, and the problem which we have next to examine, of a standard of value, then the entire fabric of the reasoning of David Ricardo, Francis Horner, and

William Huskisson, in reference to what was called by them the *depreciation* of bank paper, built upon the assumption that a pound was nothing more than 5 dwts. 3 grs. of gold, falls necessarily to the ground. If we are wrong, it will be vain to expect that in what may follow we shall be able to throw any light upon the subject.

The principle for which we are contending—denied by some economists, and admitted but forgotten by others—was distinctly recognised by Adam Smith. He distinguishes between the idea conveyed by a guinea as a metallic coin, and that which we intend to express when we are speaking of the weekly revenue of a person receiving a guinea; meaning the commodities which it enables him to consume, or *the guinea's worth*.*

Adam Smith also perceived, that out of this fact grew the important inquiry, whether *the guinea*, or any other coin retaining the same weight and quality of metal at different periods of time, *continues to convey the same purchasing power*—other commodities remaining as before? For

“As a measure of quantity, such as the natural foot, fathom, or handful, which is continually varying in its own quantity, can never be an accurate measure of the quantity of other things, so a commodity which is itself continually varying in its own value, can never be an accurate measure of the value of other commodities.†”

To this point we have now to direct our attention. After the experience of 1847, what guarantee can be given that in contracting to pay a rent of fifty guineas next Midsummer, we are not incurring a liability equal to sixty guineas at their present value? And although, on the other hand, it may be extravagant to suppose that gold will ever become as abundant as lead, what assurance have we that we shall be able six months' hence, or in all future time, to obtain exactly a sovereign's worth for a sovereign, a shilling's worth for a shilling, and a penny's worth for a penny? Are the 5 dwts. 3 grs. of gold, which, technically and legally, represent a pound, really a standard of value in the sense of purchasing power, or only a sliding scale?

* See his chapter on Metallic and Paper Currency, Book II. Adam Smith adds:—“Though we frequently, therefore, express a person's revenue by the metal pieces which are annually paid to him, it is because the amount of those pieces regulates the extent of his power of purchasing, or the value of the goods he can annually afford to consume. We still consider his revenue as consisting in this power of purchasing, or consuming, and not in the pieces which convey it.”

† ‘Wealth of Nations.’ Chap. 5, Exchangeable value.

It will hereafter long have to be regretted that Adam Smith, who entered upon this investigation in a promising spirit of research, should have pursued it only sufficiently far to demonstrate that the value of the precious metals varies considerably from one century to another, and that he should have then jumped to the conclusion, that it varies less from year to year than the value of all other commodities—an unfortunate error (as we regard it, and shall endeavour to prove), which has been repeated after him by nearly every economist that has written on the subject.

Adam Smith shows that there is so little permanent uniformity in the value of metallic coins, that in making a rent charge upon an estate for the endowment of a public institution, it is safer for the institution that the endowment should consist of a certain number of quarters of wheat than of a sum of money.

“The rents which have been reserved in corn have preserved their value much better than those which have been reserved in money, even where the denomination of the coin has not been altered. By the 18th of Elizabeth, it was enacted that a third of the rent of all college leases should be reserved in corn, to be paid, either in kind or according to the current prices at the nearest public market. The money arising from this corn rent, though originally but a third of the whole, is, in the present times, according to Dr Blackstone, commonly *near double of what arises from the other two-thirds*. The old money rents of colleges must, according to this account, have sunk almost to a fourth part of their ancient value; or are worth little more than a fourth part of the corn which they were formerly worth.”*

He adds, that this difference is owing entirely to the diminished value of silver, and not to any debasement of coins; English coins having undergone but little alteration since the reign of Philip and Mary.

The ‘Wealth of Nations’ was published in the year 1776, and the relative superiority of corn to money has not only been maintained from that time to the present, but has further increased. In earlier times, however, as we shall hereafter have occasion to note, a contrary rule has often prevailed.

The history of the currency question, as affected by the philosophical speculations which have founded the yet infant science of Political Economy, commences with the “glorious revolution of 1688.” Upon the accession of William, the attention of his ministry was early drawn to the necessity of a reformation in the state of the coinage. At this period, as for nearly five centuries previous, we had a double standard; as in France at this day.

* Book I., chap. 5. Exchangeable value.

Silver and gold coins were both legal tenders, but the latter only at the market price, as measured in silver, and regulated from time to time by royal proclamations. Practically, as the gold coins were always scarce, the "current coin of the realm," in which all debts had chiefly to be discharged, consisted of shillings and crown pieces, and these had become so degraded in value from long wear, and the practice of *clipping*, which had commenced as far back as the reign of Charles II., that a shilling sometimes contained not as much silver as was worth threepence. The average depreciation was estimated by Mr. Lowndes, the Secretary of the Treasury, at 25 per cent., and he pointed out to the government, that as the abuse was one which had prevailed so long that all prices and obligations of debt had become adjusted to this lowered value of the existing coins, it was necessary, to prevent a general derangement of commercial affairs, and the exportation of bullion, that either the original Mint standard should be reduced to the actual standard, or that the new shillings should be issued at 1*s.* 3*d.*, and the new crowns at 6*s.* 3*d.* This reasoning was opposed by *Isaac Newton*, who was consulted on the subject, and made First Chief Warden and afterwards Master of the Mint,—and by *John Locke*. These two celebrated men, considering only the holders of shillings at the moment, contended, that if the loss by the new coinage was thrown, not upon individuals but upon the revenue, by the Mint giving new shillings, worth twelvepence, for clipped shillings worth ninepence (which was done),* the public would sustain no injury; and that as the foreigner had never accepted the old shillings for more than their weight of metal, he would attach no importance to the fact of a less number of new shillings, when in the scale. The mercantile interest thought otherwise, but being powerless at syllogisms, the arguments (such as they were) of the philosophers prevailed, and the country was brought to the brink of ruin by the two "foremost men of all the world."

Newton and Locke would have been right in their theory of the new coinage, if, by a miracle, they could have effected on the day the new silver was issued an instantaneous reduction of 25 per cent. in the prices of all commodities, and a corresponding reduction in rents, wages, taxes, and other fixed burdens, affecting the cost of production; but as this was impossible, the necessary effect of the enhanced value of money was to raise the price of all English produce and manufactured goods, *as measured by the*

* To the extent of a loss, as stated by Lord Liverpool, of not less than £2,700,000.

silver of other countries, 25 per cent. above their former value, and of course to destroy the profit of the foreign trade.

For example; suppose an English merchant had been at the time in the habit of shipping to Hamburg broad cloth at the price of 20*s.* per yard, as valued at home in clipped silver; this price meant at Hamburg 15*s.* in silver bullion. After the new coinage the English merchant would continue to ask as before 20*s.* for his broad cloth, but which would then mean at Hamburg 25*s.* in silver bullion. We may imagine the kind of correspondence that would ensue.

Hamburg Merchant.—“How is this? The price you expect for your cloth is raised. You have not allowed for the difference of the new coinage. 25 per cent. should be deducted from your invoice to bring it to the old level.”

English Merchant.—“The cloth costs me per yard as many of the new heavy shillings as it formerly did of the clipped and light shillings. Wages remain the same, and the taxgatherer and my landlord will make no deduction from their claim.”

Hamburg Merchant.—“I cannot help this. Your cloth is now too dear for the market. *Ship bullion for the balance of my account.*”

Or the reply might be this,—“I have sold your cloth sent here on consignment, at the same rate as last year, in our Hamburg money, and acted upon your instructions to purchase tobacco for a return cargo. But the transaction, to you, will necessarily be a losing one, through the existing differences of currency. Your imports will not equal your exports.”*

				Exports.	Imports.
* 1697	..	..	..	3,525,907	3,482,587
1699	..	..	..	6,788,166	5,640,506
1700	}	average for each year	..	6,045,432	4,658,600
to					
1702					
1713	}	average for each year	..	7,696,573	5,792,422
to					
1715					

In considering tables of exports and imports we have to remember that as all trade resolves itself into a simple exchange of commodities, our exports and imports during an average of years should be equal to each other. When our exports exceed our imports it is always safe to conclude that although some portion of the difference may have been paid in money, or made up by smuggling, the greater part must represent a loss. If the balance occasioned by the excess of British exports over imports during the last 150 years had been paid in gold, we should now have as much gold in England as probably exists in the whole world. The excess, however, does not necessarily, and in all cases, represent losing trade, but more generally the foreign expenditure of government. To show the balance of trade, from the beginning of the last century, we should deduct from our aggregate exports nearly the whole of the national debt, spent in foreign wars, and the present cost of maintaining our colonial possessions.

The Custom-house returns of this period show the diminution of imports that might have been expected from this cause from all countries where we had not a monopoly of the market ; and all writers of the time agree in lamenting the rapid disappearance of the new coinage in consequence of the foreign demand for bullion, for which, however, they were unable satisfactorily to account.

The demand was so great, that in 1696 it stopped the Bank, then a new institution, founded but two years previously, and held in Grocers' Hall. Mr. Francis says—

"The Bank was placed in a peculiar position. They had received the clipped money at its full value ; they had taken guineas at thirty shillings ; and when the notes, issued by them in exchange, came in, there was not sufficient specie to meet the daily demand. Had they paid in full, they must soon have been drained of specie, and they resorted to the plan of paying cash at first in instalments of 10 per cent. once a fortnight, and afterwards 3 per cent. once in three months. But that this was only a temporary pressure, arising from extraordinary circumstances, and not discredit, was proved from sealed bills, bearing interest, being received by their creditors in lieu of specie. Bank notes were advertised at 20 per cent. discount ; but it must be remembered that guineas were at 50 per cent. premium."*

This was the *first* suspension of the bank of England. A rival institution,—a land bank, founded about the same time under auspices equally favourable,—was no sooner launched than wrecked. The Bank of England had a narrow escape, but finally weathered the storm.

The new coinage produced a double appreciation of the circulating medium. First, that which was physical and tangible, in the positive addition of a fourth in weight of metal to the silver of every shilling ; and, second, that which was not visible, but not less real, in the scarcity of money occasioned by the drain of bullion. Instead of the new coinage improving the state of the currency, there was now no money to be got ; and, as this was found to affect the revenue, the government were obliged to issue a proclamation (Jan. 10, 1697), authorising the receivers of taxes to take any silver offered them in payment, at the rate of 5*s.* 8*d.* per oz. Parliament further authorised the issue of three millions of exchequer bills, in sums as low as £5 and £10 ; and these also were allowed to be received in payment of the taxes ; to relieve the pressure.†

* History of the Bank of England, vol. I, p. 77.

† This was the first issue of exchequer *bills*. In former times of financial difficulty (from the period of the Norman conquest), the practice had been to issue exchequer *tallies*. Tallies were the sticks or slips of wood, on which it

The severity of the crisis soon passed, but a permanent mischief was left in operation. Prices having been raised *artificially* 25 per cent. above the value of our commodities abroad, it was obviously impossible that they could be maintained. Foreign competition was certain in the long run to bring back the prices of home and foreign manufactures to their former relative position. Every manufacturer, therefore, and every farmer who calculated upon realising the same profits as before upon the same outlay, was inevitably a loser by his operations. He had to contend against a falling market; and until wages and all other fixed burdens had fallen in the same proportion as they had been raised by the new coinage, the necessary condition of production was *loss*. Hence the unpopularity of William III., and the prevalence of general discontent during his reign. Small capitalists found themselves ruined, labourers and artisans deprived of employment, without understanding the cause, and the blame was laid where it was not deserved.

It will be well before we quit this part of the subject, having before us a clear case of an *appreciation* of money, of which there has never been any doubt, to compare the possible or probable consequences of *appreciation* on the one hand, and *depreciation* on the other; for, as we may never attain a perfect monetary system, it is important to know on which side it is least dangerous to err.

had been customary, before writing became general, as it still is among small publicans, milkmen, and others, to keep the account or *score* of a debt by notches. (Icelandic *skora*, a notch.) An exchequer tally was an account of a sum of money lent to the government, or of a sum for which the government would be responsible. The tally itself consisted of a short four-sided staff, cleft lengthwise in two parts; one of which was kept in the exchequer, and the other only issued. When the part issued was returned to the exchequer (usually in payment of taxes), the two parts were compared, as a check against fraudulent imitation. Hence our corresponding practice with cheques, and the origin of the term we employ when we say, that a cheque should *tally* with its counterpart. Hence also the terms "Bill," Norman French, *bille*, a *baton*; *billet*, a short piece of wood; and the origin of the phrase, being on the "staff," as applied to officers in the pay of the crown. The amount of an exchequer tally was expressed both in writing and by notches; the latter only for the convenience of the many who were unable to read. The size of the notches varied with the amount. The notch for £100 was the breadth of a thumb; for £1 the breadth of a barley corn. A penny was indicated by a slight slit. (See 'Essay on the Origin and use of Money,' by John Taylor.)

It is quite an error to suppose that promissory notes, supported by the credit of government, are a modern invention. They existed for six centuries in this country before the introduction of paper-money; the only difference between the modern and the ancient system is, that the promissory notes which are now made of paper, were formerly made of wood.

What would follow from the progressive depreciation of the purchasing power of a pound down to a penny?

We have seen, from the illustration already given, that it would involve the ruin of the fundholder, and in fact of all the non-producing classes living upon fixed incomes. This would be an evil, and there would be another evil in the stimulus to rash enterprise, which results from a rise of prices, when the rise is rapid. But against both these evils there is the important set-off of "*increased production*," and the prosperity of all classes, having not only rents, rates and taxes to pay, but to create the wealth which pays them. The reason is this:—All manufacturing and agricultural processes involve not only an outlay of capital, but an expenditure of time. Wheat, for instance, (which is sown in Autumn) lies twelve months in the ground before it can be gathered into the barn. If, between seed-time and harvest, prices rise, so that a farmer, instead of having to pay his rent and taxes, as he expected, with the proceeds of 50 quarters of wheat, can discharge them by the sale of 40 quarters, he has a profit of 10 quarters left for other purposes; and this will both induce and enable him to till more land and employ more labour than before. To the working classes the benefit is less immediate; but it reaches them in the end. A rise of prices at first inflicts a loss upon the labourer. His wages will procure less food than he could formerly buy with them; but by-and-by he finds that his work is more constant than it used to be. Something is found for him to do even on rainy days, and during winter, when he used to be dismissed. He remarks great scarcity of hands at harvest, and asks higher wages, which he obtains, and if prices be maintained he presently gets an advance for the year. There were harvest seasons during the war, when farmers went round in the towns *imploping* the manufacturers to give a week's holiday to all their hands that the outstanding corn might be reaped.

Appreciation, on the contrary, is a check to production. The farmer who pays his rent and taxes, when money is dear, with the proceeds of 60 quarters of wheat instead of 50, has ten quarters less for other purposes than he calculated upon when he took the farm. While his labourers are congratulating themselves that a shilling will now go further than it did a year or two ago, he is making up his mind to turn some of them adrift. The landlord, the fundholder, and all who stand in the relations of creditors, receive the benefit while it lasts, but it lasts only while the goose is dying which laid the golden eggs. Ultimately land is thrown up, manufacturing operations are suspended, rents fall, the fixed burden of the taxes becomes

more and more intolerable,* and if we were to imagine the process of appreciation continuing for a great number of years, in a country manacled with the interest of a debt like that of England, which could not be shaken off or reduced like private obligations, the end would necessarily be national bankruptcy and universal confusion.

"Depreciation" and "appreciation" mean injustice to the few and injustice to the many. Of the two evils, if we have to elect one, it is obvious that we should not choose that which involves a stoppage of the supplies. That the means of subsistence should exist is, for all, a more important consideration than their just distribution, however necessary it may be that we should not lose sight of the latter.

The practical application of this argument leads us to the inquiry of whether or not the tendency of modern British legislation is adverse to the interests of industry, by favouring this mischief of appreciation we have deprecated? The facts we have already adduced give us the data by which the question may be answered. The condition imposed by nature upon the use of a metallic currency is this. Gold and silver must be bought with merchandise, and to buy these metals in the quantities required, we must offer our merchandize in the gold and silver markets of Europe as cheaply as other nations. The moment we are underbid we must lower our prices, *or lose our gold and silver*. If we are now beaten by foreign competition in the gold and silver markets, and a moral necessity still exists for maintaining a metallic circulation of fifty millions, we must still submit to further losses; and the modern contrivances of contracting paper issues, raising rates of discount, and forcing on panic, are only hastening the end at which it is quite certain we must arrive at last.

The question, however, of progressive depreciation, or progressive appreciation, we do not now propose to examine, because it is subordinate to one of much greater importance; viz. the extent, as affecting the precious metals, of what are called by

* These facts were noted by David Hume, but they have been almost wholly lost sight of by modern economists. Hume sums up his observations upon this subject, which are to the above purport, as follows:—"There is always an interval before matters be adjusted to their new situation; and this interval is as pernicious to industry when gold and silver are diminishing, as it is advantageous when these metals are increasing. The workman has not the same employment from the manufacturer and merchant, though he pays the same price for everything in the market. The farmer cannot dispose of his corn and cattle, though he must pay the same rent to his landlord. The poverty, and beggary, and sloth that must ensue are easily foreseen." *Hume's Essays*. 'Essay on Money.'

economists *perturbations of value*, or, in simpler language, the nature of those extreme changes, real or apparent, in the value of money, which now afflict the whole community with an ague fit once or oftener in every five years. And this is the place to explain generally the laws (as far as we understand them) which determine the exchangeable value of commodities; for it is a curious element of this discussion, that while the whole community (meaning of course the ignorant and vulgar) concur in lamenting the dearness of money, we are yet surrounded by politicians, and some of them men of genius, who deny the fact.

We have only to take up the 'Economist,' or to read the speech of the mover of an address, to discover that what stupid people call dearness of money is only scarcity of capital; that is to say a scarcity not of "fixed," but of "floating" capital. Interest of money at 8 per cent. was no evidence whatever that gold was more valuable than when any amount of sovereigns could be obtained at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but only a proof that the nation had contracted engagements for the supply of a greater amount of capital—that is, of bread, meat, clothes, fuel, and shelter for railway labourers, than had any existence, and must, consequently, pay dearly for all it could get!

We have never heard or read these propositions without a feeling that those who propounded them had, by involving themselves in some theoretical mist, lost for a time the faculty of seeing. The official statement laid before the House (November 23rd) by Mr. Heywood, of the amount of capital sanctioned for railways, was as follows:—

Amount expended...	...	£161,000,000
Amount yet to be raised	...	138,000,000
		<hr/> £299,000,000 <hr/>

The magnitude of these figures may sufficiently account for the depression of railway stock; and if Mr. Heywood had confined himself to the statement that *railway shareholders* found it very inconvenient to raise £138,000,000 in calls, in addition to the sum they have already advanced, he would have stated a simple fact, admitting of neither doubt nor denial; but when he proceeded to argue upon the assumption that the *British Nation* could not raise £138,000,000 of capital in the next three years,—from which it would follow that we should inevitably succumb to the first power by which we may be attacked, he drew largely upon the credulity of the assembly he addressed. Of course, it is very easy to say that the £630,000,000 expended, according to Mr. Porter, between 1800 and 1814, upon the army, navy,

and ordnance, were raised through the facilities afforded by an "inflated credit;" but an "inflated credit" can only provide capital when it exists; and capital to the extent of at least £500,000,000, even at last year's prices, both existed and was provided, in the form, for the most part, of the same commodities of food and clothing which are now required for railway labourers, with the addition, then, of gunpowder and shot. After thirty years of peace, the British nation either has or has not the power of making the same efforts that it made during the war. If it has not the same power, our poverty is certainly to be lamented; but let it first be proved. If we have now at least as much capital, "fixed and floating," as when £100,000,000 sterling "floated" away in our ships of war in the one year of 1814, which can hardly be *seriously* denied, and if nothing has altered but the state of credit, why is the national capital which exists not rendered available? Why cannot the Board of Trade, which at one time contemplated funding the whole railway property of the United Kingdom, and with that object limited the dividends upon new lines to 10 per cent., do so now, when it might obtain them upon its own terms?

The doctrine that a high rate of interest is only a proof, not of an enhanced value of money, but of scarcity of capital, we think may be shown to be palpably at variance with a plain sense view of the matter.

It is quite true, as explained by both David Hume and Adam Smith, that in ordinary circumstances the scarcity or abundance of the capital for the command of which money is sought, is indicated by rates of interest; but as money is itself capital, which may be sought for other objects than the immediate purchase of commodities, the rule cannot of course apply to those sudden and extreme oscillations of interest which arise upon every violent disturbance of the money market. An increasing deficiency of capital, in the sense of food, clothing, fuel, &c., is always felt gradually; or, if otherwise, from the suddenness of a new demand, the deficiency is marked by a rapid rise in the price of the commodities most pressingly required. But unfortunately for the hypothesis assumed, as applied in the present case, food, clothing, fuel, and every article required for railway labourers, have recently been falling instead of rising in price, indicating abundance rather than scarcity. Rising rates of interest, to prove deficiency of capital, must be accompanied with rising prices; rising rates of interest and falling prices, prove a deficiency only of *money* capital, as required for the discharge of money obligations. It is admissible for argument's sake, that between July, 1845 and October, 1847, we had wasted some

portion of our means of subsisting railway labourers; but it is not even conceivable, that because we have seen a threefold increase in the market rate of interest, the national capital has diminished to the extent of two-thirds its former amount.

Adam Smith's hypothesis of the uniformity in value of the precious metals is this:

"From century to century corn is a better measure than silver, because, from century to century, equal quantities of corn will command the same quantity of labour more nearly than equal quantities of silver. From year to year, on the contrary, silver is a better measure than corn, because equal quantities of it will more nearly command the same quantity of labour."

This is probably true with respect to corn, the price of which we have seen to fluctuate, from last May to September, between the extremes of 110s. to 45s.; but it does not therefore follow that the value of silver does not fluctuate quite as much as the average of commodities less subject than wheat to the vicissitudes of speculation. At the present moment, as we are sure Adam Smith would admit were he alive, the command of silver, or gold at least, over labour, from the number of the unemployed, greatly exceeds that of ordinary seasons; and over merchandise, including both raw material, as well as in the case not only of shares but of every description of real and funded property, the purchasing power of silver and gold is increased, as compared with last year, to an average extent fully equal to 20 per cent.

Adam Smith having lived in times when the, to us, familiar symptoms of "monetary pressure" were of infrequent occurrence, although not altogether unknown, the precipitancy of his conclusion that metallic money varied less from year to year than other commodities need not surprise us. The subject then seemed hardly to require a very close examination, but there is room for some astonishment that it should have been wholly neglected by modern economists, and by the chief among them, David Ricardo, who was proclaimed by Mr. McCulloch to have introduced a "new era" in science, and to have all but perfected the work which Adam Smith left incomplete. Here is the confession of David Ricardo, that the variations of intrinsic value in bullion from year to year were a question he had never probed, and which he was at a loss how to investigate. It occurs in his chapter on Foreign Trade, in answer to the very obvious objection to his theory of the Exchanges, that whether bills between London and Hamburgh were at *par* with bullion or not, had nothing to do with the more important

inquiry of whether the intrinsic value of bullion itself was rising or falling? He says—

“How is to be ascertained whether English money has fallen, or Hamburg money has risen? *There is no standard by which this can be determined.* It is a plea which admits of no proof, and can neither be positively affirmed nor positively contradicted. The nations of the world must have been early convinced that there was no standard of value in nature to which they might unerringly refer, and therefore chose a medium which, on the whole, appeared to them less variable than any other commodity. To this standard we must conform till the law is changed, and till some other commodity is discovered, by the use of which we shall obtain a more perfect standard than that which we have established. While gold is exclusively the standard in this country, money will be *depreciated* when a pound sterling is not of equal value with 5 dwts. 3 grs. of standard gold, and that whether gold rises or falls in general value.”*

We have already shown how little comparatively the term *depreciation*, as understood by Mr. Ricardo, concerns the public. What the public required to know of him and of the members of the Bullion Committee of 1810 was, whether the paper symbols of the Bank of England were not at the time a more exact measure of purchasing power for domestic purposes, than the gold and silver bullion required for the armies which then devastated Europe? Upon this, really the most vital question of that day, as of the present, he and they had not a word to offer. The report of the Bullion Committee, and the ‘Principles of Political Economy,’ by David Ricardo, came out as new editions of the play of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet omitted.

The assertion of Ricardo, that there is no standard by which a rise or fall in the value of bullion can be determined, he has himself enabled us to meet. Turning to his chapter, on Supply and Demand, we find it explained, that the permanent value of all commodities, not subject to monopoly, is governed by the cost of production, and that, for limited periods, but for limited periods only,† the value of every commodity, in the words of M. Say, “rises in the

* ‘Principles of Political Economy,’ chap. vii., “Foreign Trade.”

† In the distinction, sought to be enforced by Ricardo, between “Supply and Demand,” and the “cost of production,” which has led to considerable controversy, he appears to us to have added nothing to the science but the perplexity of a verbal puzzle. Cost of production is implied in the term “Supply;” for what commodity of exchangeable value can be supplied without cost? The term “demand” has also a reference to cost of production, for our opinion of the first cost of an article is always an element in our bargains respecting it. Who would offer a guinea for a box of lucifer matches, that he could make himself for a penny? Mr. Ricardo’s argument is, that if bread could be made at half its present cost, its price would fall one half, although

direct ratio to the demand, and in an inverse ratio to the supply." Here, then, are two tests given us by which to judge of a rise or fall in the value of bullion,—the cost of production at the mines, and a sudden variation of demand. He might have added a third and fourth test,—the average quantity of commodities, not affected by any unusual abundance or scarcity, for which bullion will exchange; and rates of interest, rising or falling in the *inverse* ratio of prices.

Mr. McCulloch's exposition of the views of Ricardo, on the causes which regulate the value of bullion, is an instructive example of the progress of error. It was but to omit the qualification of "limited periods" by which Ricardo guarded his hypothesis, and then we have the following:—

"Bullion is a commodity in the production of which competition operates without restraint. It is not subjected to any species of monopoly, and its value in exchange *must, therefore, be entirely regulated by the cost of its production*; that is by the quantity of labour required to bring a given quantity to market."^a

The reader has now before him the dogma, on the supposed truth of which it is contended that there has been no increase of late in the value of money, but only an increased demand for capital, "because," says the bullionist, "the cost of producing gold at the mines has undergone no material change." The answer might be supplied by any farmer's wife who has been twice, or oftener, to market with butter. A learned professor may instruct her that "cost of production" is an element in the

the demand and supply would remain much about the same, as none would buy more bread than they could eat. But he is wrong in supposing the demand would remain the same. The demand of a family for *shilling* loaves would cease the moment they discovered that they could bake their own bread for *sixpence*.

Mr. McCulloch says (Article, "Money." Enc. Brit.), that "the case of cotton goods, the price of which has been constantly on the decline during the last half century, notwithstanding the vast increase of demand, is enough to convince the most sceptical of the extreme erroneousness of Mr. Say's views." The error is with Mr. McCulloch, who omits all reference to the vast supply. There has been no increase of demand for *high-priced* cotton goods. That demand has necessarily diminished with every excess in the supply.

The relation of supply to demand is in all cases the governing principle of exchangeable value. Cost is merely an element of supply and demand; and, in the case of food, hunger is another element; but it would be an idle waste of words to state this whenever we are referring to the price of a loaf. The necessity of satisfying hunger is sufficiently implied when we speak of a demand for bread.

This is a question of language, not of meaning, but of some importance, because the terms employed by Ricardo had a tendency to mislead, and have obviously been the parent of an error which he himself would have disavowed.

^a Article "Money," Sect. 2, 'Encyclopædia Britannica.'

price of her butter; but she knows, perhaps better than the learned professor, that whether she will get a third more or less for her butter *next Saturday* depends not upon the cost, but upon the quantity then brought to market, and the number of buyers then and there. The cost to her, of the milk, and labour of churning, may be 8d., but the price may, notwithstanding, fluctuate between 8d. and 1s. 3d. Her profits are high when a north-westerly wind has detained at sea the Dutch ships laden with butter firkins, which furnish the chief part of our London supplies; low, when by all arriving at once the market becomes overstocked.

Exactly as it is with the soft yellow substance, called butter, must it be with the harder yellow substance, called gold. The average value of butter and gold for the next hundred years may be governed by the wages of churning and mining; but upon the principles admitted by Ricardo in reference to "limited periods," the value of either butter or gold between last Christmas and next Midsummer, must depend upon the quantity that can, within that time, be brought to market, as compared with the demand. Note, however, that the comparison between butter and gold is not nearly so favourable to the currency hypothesis as it appears; for gold is *not* like butter, "a commodity in the production of which competition operates without restraint." Butter can be made wherever there are green pastures; and it is conceivable that double the quantity now consumed might be provided without a very material increase of price; but gold is one of the rarest of known substances, found, it is true, in many places, but generally only in minute depositories. Until the recent discovery of the mineralogical treasures of Russia, the supply, as shown by Mr. Jacobs, was below the annual loss by waste and wear; and the Russian mines, from their superior productiveness, having nearly stopped the working of all others, the *production* of gold, for all practical purposes, at the present moment, may be considered as little better than a monopoly of the Russian government. One-third of the Russian mines belong to the crown, and the rest are subject to heavy duties, which the emperor may increase *ad libitum*.*

* This mischief has, we think, been underrated by Mr. Fullarton. He tells us that, independently of the mines, the aggregate mass of existing bullion is so great, that any demand likely to arise in England could easily be met out of foreign surplus reserves. This we admit, but the practical question is, upon what terms at the time of our greatest difficulty the reserves would be released; for it is no argument in favour of the theory of convertibility to say that £10,000,000 of gold are always to be obtained by the sale of the fee simple of the British Crown. The terms we submit, must always be high at a

The time is at hand when this unquestionable fact must force upon the legislature an inquiry whether, if the principle of a metallic currency is to be maintained in its full integrity, it will not be at least prudent to return to our ancient *double standard* (abandoned in 1774), rather than place all the property and credit of the country, as now, at the mercy of the most ambitious potentate of Europe? Silver, unlike gold, is, to some extent, a home product, and to be obtained, at equal cost, in many different parts of the globe. The power over British commerce which a gold currency, and an enforced limitation of paper issues, when gold disappears, gives to the Emperor of Russia, ought to make a British statesman tremble. It is well observed, in a very sensible pamphlet by Mr. Enderby,* that foreigners, when they buy English securities with gold, do so like other people, in the expectation of realizing a profit by the transaction. A sum of £2,000,000, invested in three per cent. Consols at 80, means £2,250,000 to be withdrawn when Consols have risen to 90. The Emperor of Russia has now been taught by experience that the time to buy English securities is after the drain of gold occasioned by a bad harvest, and the time to sell—on the first reaction consequent upon the return of bullion. He may therefore easily, with the immense means at his disposal, make enormous profits at our expense, by the simplest possible process; and if disposed afterwards to risk some portion of these profits for the sake of holding the power of crippling our resources when we might otherwise thwart his designs, he has only to instruct an agent to keep a “deposit” account with the banking department, and to hold a large sum in Bank of England notes, and then, by the withdrawal of one, two, or five millions of gold at the right moment, he may paralyse industry, cut off ten or twenty per cent. from the revenue, impede or prevent the negotiation of a new loan, create a belief that we are now too poor to think of helping our weaker neighbours against the stronger, and, in the midst of our distresses and humiliation, buy our acquiescence in his projects with the same money back again.

The comparative safety of a silver standard does not, however, give to silver money that character of invariability which is assumed to belong to every commodity not subject to monopoly,

moment of panic, for two reasons; first, because the sensitiveness of the English money market is immediately communicated to every money market in Europe;—secondly, because the depression of English securities may as often induce the foreign capitalist to withdraw his gold from England, by alarming him for its safety, as to send it here for profitable investment.

* ‘Our Money Laws the cause of the National Distress.’

and of which the cost of production is stationary. The important fact is, that the amount of either silver or gold that can be produced within a given time is limited by physical causes, and that the demand within that given time is *variable*; and variable to an extent sufficient to derange all the relations of debtor and creditor. We have no means of determining the average yield of all the silver and gold mines now worked, with an approach to exactness; but let us suppose that ten millions sterling per annum* suffice to meet the average demand in times of peace: if so, what is sufficient to meet it in times of war, when, on the approach of hostile armies, all property becomes valueless but gold and silver, and they are sought only to be hidden? Would another ten millions suffice, or a thousand millions, added to the gross quantity existing in the world? Grant that if the increased demand continued, another thousand millions, with great exertion, could be supplied within a lifetime, how would that prevent immediate ruin from overtaking the debtor called upon to meet heavy engagements, not some years hence, at his convenience, but this year, and *to-day*, in an impossible medium?

With regard to gold, we have sufficient data to ascertain the length of the interval, before the supply could be largely increased, during which every new demand would give to existing holders of bullion the power of a monopoly. If the whole produce of the Russian mines came direct to this country, it would take five years to supply the Bank of England with fifteen millions of new gold.† But before the end of five years two-thirds at least of that amount would be required to make good the loss accruing during the same interval from the annual waste and wear of the gold now in Europe.

* This is the amount required to make good the annual loss of the precious metals by waste and wear; a loss usually estimated at 10s. per cent. per annum. The gross quantity of silver and gold in existence is supposed by Mr. Senior to be about 2,000 millions.

† It appears from the official returns, that the produce of the Russian mines in 1846 was 1,722 poods 29 liv. 87 zol., surpassing by 336 poods 28 liv. 46 zol. the produce of 1845, but this rate of increase has not been maintained during the six months following.

A pood, Russian, is 43 lbs. 10 oz. 13 dwts. 6 grs. ¹⁶⁶⁴/_{10,000} troy weight, or about 36 lbs. avoirdupois. The value of a pood, Russian, of pure gold in English money is £2,237 2s. 5½d. The value of the produce of 1846 (1,722 poods 29 liv. 87 zol.) was therefore, if of pure gold, £3,845,000. The value of the total produce of the mines since 1819, (12,624 poods 28 liv. 24 zol.) £25,419,000. We have, however, to remember, that the whole of the gold produced is not pure, the purity ranging from 17 to 22½ parts out of 24; but on the other hand, there is little doubt that the official returns are below the real gross amount of the produce; much being smuggled out to evade the government duties, varying from 10 to 24 per cent.

Suppose the French government, by determining to adopt an exclusively gold standard like our own, instead of their present double standard, were thereby to create a new effective demand for 50 millions of napoleons? This additional quantity could not be supplied—allowing also for the annual deficiency occasioned by waste and wear—in less than twenty years, upon a moderate calculation; and could not be supplied at all without greatly enhancing the value of gold in every market of Europe!

This being so, it is obvious that war and peace, speculation and panic, seed time and harvest—all the causes which produce great variations in the *demand* for money, produce corresponding variations in the *value* of money, because the tendency of the average cost of production in the case of the precious metals acts, as we have seen, too slowly to affect the immediate result. If our readers still doubt, let them again consult Mr. McCulloch, or refer to any of the authorities of the Bank Charter Act upon the causes which affect the value of *paper* money. All agree that the value of paper money is governed solely by the proportion of supply to demand; the reason assigned being, that paper, having no intrinsic value, the cost of production does not in this case operate. Neither does it operate, as we have shown in the case of the precious metals, when a new demand has to be met before either new mines can have been got into working order, or the yield of the old has been increased by additional labour.

In the oversight we have detected, lies one of the fundamental errors of the theory of the Bank Charter Act,—that a large reserve of bullion is best secured by a contraction of paper issues. If the authors of this system had not omitted to notice all the bearings of the fact,—that the bullion of Commercial Europe is always, for the time being, as much a fixed quantity as the stock of wheat existing in October is a fixed quantity, to which nothing can be added till the next harvest, and had reflected, that to raise the value of bullion here is to raise it in all the markets of Europe,—exactly as wheat in Dantzic and Odessa is raised in value upon every advance of prices at Mark Lane,—they would have understood that an artificial depression of prices is at once the most costly and the most uncertain of all methods for effecting their object. A method which may sometimes succeed, but as frequently fail in producing any thing but a mischievous see-saw action of the exchanges; a collapse in London being often followed by a collapse on the continent.* We are now

* "The Bank of Amsterdam, it appears, in consequence of the efflux of bullion, have raised their rate of discount from 4 to 5 per cent. The charge for loans is to be 6 per cent."—*Times, City Article*. Nov. 4th, 1847.

learning, from the bitter lessons of experience, what our wise men should have taught themselves and us long ago, that the gold which is tempted here only by a ruinous interest will not remain when the interest falls; and that the sensible thing, therefore, to be done in such circumstances, is to embrace the very opposite course to that which we have been pursuing;—not further to enhance, but to cheapen the bullion existing, by, for the time, substituting something else for it, and thus diminishing the demand to the extent that it had outgrown the supply. People who have no pretensions to science, do this in humble life with the happiest effects. A good housekeeper, when meat is dear, buys less than usual of her butcher, and more of her baker. She does not suppress the pudding, and order an extra joint. Our currency philosophers must imitate her example.

One oversight leads to another. Ricardo, and all the economists who have ranked themselves among his disciples, having failed to perceive the practical fixedness of bullion in quantity, for very long intervals, and the impossibility, therefore, of a metallic standard accommodating itself to the *double action* of a variable demand for the precious metals as merchandize, and a variable demand for them as money, failed also to discover the practical *corrective* of this evil in the *expansiveness of credit*, and *paper representatives of credit*;—failed to understand that a variable demand for metals, of which the supply could not suddenly be increased, renders them so glaringly unfit to perform the functions of a standard of value, that mankind would have long since ceased to use them as money but for something in the nature of mercantile arrangements which counteracted, to a considerable extent, the fluctuations of gold and silver, and gave them, in ordinary circumstances, a comparative uniformity of value which could not otherwise be maintained. Hence that most mistaken, most disastrous doctrine, radically false, and not only false, but the very antithesis of the true principle upon which sound policy should be based,—the doctrine that the expansiveness of mercantile credit and its paper representatives should *not* be permitted to counteract the fixedness of bullion, but that paper money “should conform precisely in all its changes of value and quantity to the changes of a metallic currency.”*

That is to say,—the more gold abounds, and is in excess of the

* These are the words of Mr. Wilson in the debate of Nov. 30th, by which he has now, to our regret, fully identified himself with the principles of the promoters of the Bank Charter Act, except upon points which we regard as of very secondary moment.

average demand, the more we may increase our issues of paper, and the expansion of credit; and the more it becomes deficient, the more must we cease to employ a substitute. Or, to put the proposition in homely, but more intelligible language,—when meat is cheap we may, if we please, eat bread and potatoes; but when meat is not to be had, we must voluntarily deprive ourselves of bread and potatoes, and starve altogether.

The proposition is one which can never be fully carried out, for it violates the only condition upon which a metallic currency can exist without reducing a flourishing country to the state of one without credit, commerce, agriculture, or manufactures, as Spain and Portugal; but as the probability is very great that it will not be given up without renewed attempts to enforce it in some modified shape, let us endeavour to make our meaning clear to those who would save their property from the next hazards to which it is likely to be exposed.

The demand for money represents the aggregate of the necessities of private individuals, and its extreme variableness is therefore a fact which may be judged of by every one, from his own daily experience. If society were composed of individuals so methodical in their habits that, whether for profit or consumption, they expended precisely the same sum every week in the year, the demand for money would of course be uniform, and no inconvenience could ever arise from the unchangeable quantity of the precious metals; but, practically, we all know the irregularities of receipts and payments, and that no man who has money owing to him, or money embarked in manufactures or agriculture, can tell, three months beforehand, precisely how much he will be at liberty to spend, or lay by for investment, on any given day in the year. We need not dwell upon the most obvious causes of these irregularities—improvidence, caprices of fashion, the changes of seasons, &c.; we will confine ourselves to the cause which is most important, and which is least understood.

The greater or less demand for money depends upon the proportion of buyers to sellers. The demand for money is lowest when the aggregate amount of commodities sold the most nearly balances the aggregate amount of other commodities bought; greatest, when all are sellers and no buyers; when the parties who throw their commodities upon the market seek money, not to part with it again, but to hold it for a time as the safest investment. The commerce of the world is conducted very much like that of the Stock Exchange, where, when business is brisk, transactions to the amount of millions are often settled among the brokers without either gold or notes, by an exchange of stocks and mutual transfer of names; but where, when con-

sols and shares are falling, and the "Bears" preponderate, money is always scarce.*

It is a most material fact to notice, that the demand for money is not greatest when the greatest amount of speculation is afloat, but, on the contrary, greatest when the reaction has set in; when the speculators say, "Now let us realize, and wait!" At a moment of great speculation, money is always a drug; *and it is not, as a general rule, the cheapness of money which causes speculation, but rather speculation which causes cheapness of money*; the reason being, that, at such a time, *real* money is practically superseded by the *money of account* (the £ s. d. figures of private ledgers), and that money itself passes so rapidly from hand to hand, that the same quantity performs double or triple duty, in respect to its ordinary functions; no one keeping it by them an instant longer than may be necessary to purchase the commodity upon which a rise of profit is expected.

Suppose it were customary, in the East, to buy and sell estates, not with money, but with elephants, as in pastoral countries it used to be with oxen. A rajah sells to a nabob a sugar plantation for ten elephants, and the nabob sells to the rajah, also for ten elephants, a forest of teak wood. Here it matters little whether the elephants exist or not, because the two transactions, by balancing each other, amount to a simple exchange. But suppose the rajah, after the first sale has been concluded, refuses to buy the forest of teak wood. The nabob has then to *deliver* ten elephants to the rajah for his sugar plantation; through which, of course, the demand for elephants, and their consequent value, increases. Multiply this instance by a thousand, and we should have a community ruined for want of a sufficient number of elephants, which, without any elephants, might yet have doubled the amount of its interchanges.

Suppose, again, that there were but three articles of merchandise in the world—gold, beans, and bacon. So long as the sellers of beans are willing to buy bacon, and the sellers of bacon willing to buy beans, it is of no consequence whether the quantity of gold in the world be little or much—exchanges of beans for bacon may be transacted to any imaginable amount without any gold whatever. But suppose the sellers of beans and the sellers of bacon to be impressed with a belief that both beans and bacon are likely to prove unprofitable commodities, we should then have an increased demand for gold; which, as the nominal price of gold is *fixed*, could only show itself in the falling prices of beans and bacon. A falling market for beans and bacon would

* This has been explained in full in a former article of the 'Westminster Review.' See, No. 93, for July, 1847, page 446.

of course increase the anxiety of holders to sell; and the demand for gold once begun, might continue to increase in an accelerated ratio until the value of all the beans and bacon in the world had fallen down to the value of all the gold available for its purchase; however disproportionately small and insignificant that amount might be.

We have here, in a few words, a simple, and we trust it will be deemed a rational and satisfactory explanation of the action of the late railway, cotton, and corn speculations upon the money market. There is nothing more in £161,000,000 expended upon railways within twenty years to occasion a dearth of *capital*, nationally, than in the £161,000,000 which the British nation has often spent within the same time upon canals, docks, factories, and shipping; but when we see the holders of these £161,000,000 filled with distrust of railway property, anxious therefore to part with it at heavy sacrifices, and nobody equally desirous of taking it off their hands; and cotton and corn speculators in their turn coming to swell the demand for money; we see the occasion of a real dearth of *money capital*, relatively to a demand enormously increased; and which dearth our suicidal policy of permitting nothing to circulate as money that has not a gold basis has aggravated, until the pressure which was at first partial, has become universal; has pulled down the funds, landed estates, houses, produce, manufactures, and all the property of the kingdom.

The difficulties of railway calls are incidental only to the cause out of which those difficulties arise—a general depreciation and distrust of railway property—and will help to explain the cause and process of the universal depreciation of all commodities relatively to gold, now in operation. There never has been and never will be, as long as the world stands, in a large and rich commercial country like England, any difficulty in paying fifty or even a hundred millions sterling upon shares, or the scrip of government loans, when there is a *rising* market for shares or scrip; because although A and B may have no capital for the payment of calls, some one is sure to be able to spare it for the moment, and C and D would be only too happy to take the shares or scrip from A and B and pay the calls, for the sake of realizing the anticipated profit.* But the case is changed when there is a *falling* market for scrip and shares.

* The aggregate revenues of the people of Great Britain and Ireland are usually estimated by statistical writers at £350,000,000 per annum. The aggregate revenues of the whole of the British Empire, including India, at £900,000,000 per annum. The question here is not whether £100,000,000 can always be permanently *spared*, but whether they cannot at any moment be advanced with facility, upon an expectation of profit.

A and B then find that if their own resources are unequal to the demand upon them for calls, neither C nor D, nor any other letters of the alphabet will help them out of the scrape. Shares and scrip becoming unsaleable, A and B have to consider what other securities in their possession can be converted into money. Their first step is perhaps to obtain loans upon the security of houses, lands, or consols, in hopes of better times. When these loans have to be returned, and times grow worse, houses, lands, and consols must be sold. Houses, lands, and consols forced upon the market begin to follow the fate of shares and scrip,—they fall in value. Other holders of houses, lands, and consols, who may have had nothing to do with share transactions, then take alarm, and become equally anxious with A and B to convert their property into gold. Consols from 100 fall to 94, from 94 to 89; at 89 continuous sales of the Bank (showing an increasing pressure for money) create a belief that Consols will be yet further depressed; other brokers hasten to sell; a panic seizes the Stock market, and Consols fall to 78.*

In ordinary circumstances, the progress of universal depreciation in reference to gold is checked by an extension of credit, or paper issues; which extension answers for the time the same purpose as a direct supply of new gold from the mines, if any considerable immediate increase of the latter were possible; which it is not. An increased temporary demand for money, that may subside in a week, is met by the public generally deferring their payments for a week. In other cases the demand is met by an increased issue of promissory notes and bills of exchange, which, during the time they circulate, answer the same end in sustaining prices as an equal number of additional bags of gold. The expansiveness of credit is strikingly exhibited in the fact that the paper currency most in use among merchants and manufacturers, bills of exchange, fluctuates in amount to an average extent of twenty millions per annum; the difference sometimes even amounting to seventy millions. We take the following from Mr. Leatham's tables.

"Amount of bills in circulation at one time, assuming the bills to be drawn for one-half the sum the stamps issued would cover, and the average term to be three months:—

1815	..	..	..	..	£162,480,290
1825	..	..	..	..	88,601,323
1835	..	..	..	..	101,350,762
1839	..	..	..	..	132,123,460"

The above figures furnish a commentary upon the wisdom of our currency legislation, at which posterity will marvel. We

* The lowest price of Consols, Oct. 23, 1847.

pass a law in 1844, to limit the issue of promissory notes (not of the Bank of England) to £8,000,000 for England and Wales, that is, of notes payable *on demand*; but while framing this enactment, we see no objection to a circulation of 130 millions of promissory notes, payable seven days, six weeks, or three months *after date*, and never trouble ourselves to inquire whether this immense circulation varies in different years fifty millions, more or less, and what effect its variations produce upon the public interests.

The effect we have already stated. An additional twenty millions of bills of exchange convey, to the parties using them, precisely the same purchasing power as an additional twenty millions of gold produced from the mines. An additional twenty millions added to the book debts of the country, is to the parties enjoying such credit the same thing, for the time, as the loan of an equivalent amount in gold; but book debts and bills of exchange, resting alike upon the basis of convertibility, when the demand for gold extends beyond a certain limit the whole fabric is endangered, and may presently come toppling to the ground. It is not too much to assume, that if private credit were so completely destroyed that no man would trust another for a sovereign, and all bills of exchange were to be reduced to the condition of waste paper, 500 millions of new gold, advanced by the Emperor of Russia, would not be sufficient to supply the void! *

* This is placed in a clear light by an able writer, under the signature of M., in the 'Bankers' Magazine' for December; but it will be observed, from the following extract, that he under-rates the mischief of a total destruction of credit, by omitting from his calculation the amount of private book debts, which are legally as much payable in gold as the deposits of bankers:—

"We know that the average circulation of bank notes throughout the kingdom is upwards of"								£35,000,000
The deposits in banks are assumed to be"								150,000,000
The cash credits, or liberty to overdraw accounts, are assumed to be"								50,000,000
The bills in circulation which serve the purposes of gold, are assumed to be"								100,000,000

Making altogether a sum of £335,000,000
all payable in gold if required.

"It is well known that there is never an amount of gold stored up to meet these engagements, even to the extent of the bank notes alone.

"S. Jones Loyd says—"The proper reserve of bullion is usually considered as one-third of the Bank of England circulation, which is itself about one-half of the paper circulation of the kingdom; consequently, the bullion seldom, even at an ordinary full period, exceeds one-sixth of the paper circulation. Should panic or any other cause produce the simultaneous presentation of a large proportion of this paper circulation for gold, the demand could not be met."—*Thoughts on the Separation of Departments.*

"Although it is perfectly clear that we should be utterly unable to carry on our trade and manufactures without credit, yet this system, whereby we have between

In the two facts now before the reader, the extreme expansiveness of credit, and the tendency of a rise of profits to diminish rather than to increase the demand for money, by inducing every body to part with it as fast as they can get it, we may see the cause of the disappointment, now confessed by Sir Robert Peel, that his measures had failed to discourage excessive speculation. Restrictions which can only come into operation upon a scarcity of gold cannot of course tend to check speculation at a time when every sovereign in the country is circulating with twice its usual rapidity, and *when, therefore, the gold itself is in excess*, as compared with the ordinary demand. Restrictions which come into force only at a time when every sovereign is clutched, as with the gripe of a dead man's hand; and gold, therefore, insufficient to meet the ordinary demand, aggravate the intensity of the evils sought to be averted.

The principles which determine the value of money at different periods—whether that money be gold or silver, promissory notes, wooden tallies; or the leather, brass, and copper of the ancients; or skins, as among the hunting tribes of Western America; or cowries, as in Africa, may be thus stated:—

1. Uniformity of value in money, or in any other commodity, depends upon an uniform proportion between the demand and supply.

2. Metallic money being (for long periods) a fixed quantity, and the demand for the precious metals being variable, both as merchandize, and in the shape of coin, the natural tendency of gold and silver is to fluctuate in value from day to day.

3. This tendency, in a healthy state of society, is corrected by the various forms of CREDIT adopted by mercantile communities, which, in the shape of book-debts, promissory notes, and bills of exchange, expand and contract with a varying demand, and leave, in ordinary circumstances, the action of the precious metals undisturbed.

4. Whatever affects CREDIT affects the demand for metallic money, or notes immediately convertible; and as credit is necessarily impaired by every demand which cannot be met, the tendency of an unusual demand is always to increase in a geometrical ratio, ending in panic, and a rapid fall in the price of all other commodities.

£300,000,000 and £400,000,000 of credit, all resolvable into gold, without the most distant possibility of procuring it, should it be required, seems unsound on the face of it; for, should panic cause the holders of 'credit pounds' to endeavour simultaneously to convert them into sovereigns, it would destroy the whole system and create universal ruin, as so large an amount of gold as might be demanded does not exist."

5. The collapse occasioned by the discredit of Bills of Exchange, (the usual commercial remittances) and an artificial cheapness of our commodities, attracts bullion from abroad; but this supply, not being obtained in the usual course of trade, may remain with us only for a brief interval; a collapse abroad, produced by precisely the same causes, or an improvement of prices here, commonly leading to its withdrawal.

It will be seen, that in our view of the causes of the late and existing embarrassments, the errors of our monetary system are much more deeply seated than those imagine who would confine the attention of the public to the working of the Bank Charter Act. Agreeing with those who condemn it, but not for the same reasons, we cannot perceive that much would be gained by exchanging the particular *modus operandi* of the two panics of 1847 for that of the panics of 1839 and 1825. Sir Robert Peel was quite right in his assertion, as he proved, by referring to the period preceding the Bank Restriction Act, that the world would not be exempt from panics if the whole of his measures were swept from the statute book. He might have gone further back in his investigation, and shown, from the records handed down to us from the past, that the problem which has baffled him perplexed the greatest sages of antiquity. The difficulty of adjusting the *equity* of contracts by the varying standard of the precious metals, or of any commodity used as money, was one which engaged the attention of philosophers and lawgivers at the earliest dawn of civilization. Plutarch commends especially that institution of Lycurgus which prohibited the use of gold and silver as money, and substituted *iron and leather* money, as having no intrinsic value, compared with the amount it was made to represent. Plato, impressed with an opinion that this institution had worked well in Sparta, adopted it in his scheme of a model republic. His coins were to have "a value among the members of the state, but no value to the rest of the world!"* Solon cut the gordian knot of the money embarrassments of the Athenians, by proclaiming a general forgiveness of all debts. The Jewish lawgiver, "skilled in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," proclaimed a jubilee of debts every fifty years; and what is yet

* Plato Laws, b. 5, vol. 2, p. 742. He adds, "and the state must also have or procure a common (current) Greek coin, for the purpose of military expeditions, or the occasions of visiting other states, such as, for instance, embassies; or for any other purpose necessary for the state. And when any individual has occasion to travel abroad, on obtaining permission from the rulers, he shall go abroad (with it), and when he comes home again he shall return to the state whatever foreign money he has in hand, receiving the state money to the same amount."

more remarkable of the code he established, he not only forbade usury, in our sense of the term, but the receiving of *usufrucht*, or increase in any shape whatever, excepting of strangers. Under the Mosaic economy, no Israelite could receive of another interest for money, nor interest for capital, nor rent of land. Whatever was sold was sold for a fixed sum; whatever was left unpaid was a debt, of which the principal only had to be discharged, and if not discharged by the Year of Jubilee, was then to be forgiven. The public taxes were a tithe collected in kind, once in *three* years; and thus the whole of the Jewish code appears to have been framed with a view of disconnecting every class of fixed obligations from all *contingencies* of profit or loss, whether arising from the accidents of the seasons, or the varying value of that "current money of the merchant" with which Abraham purchased the burying place of Sarah of "the children of Heth."

The authority of Lycurgus and Plato in favour of symbolic money, as contradistinguished from that possessing intrinsic value, is quoted by Mr. John Taylor in a very able essay upon 'The Origin and Use of Money,' in support of his proposition (lately brought again before the public by "The Anti-Gold Law League"), for superseding our metallic by a paper currency, to consist of Exchequer notes, limited to the amount of the annual taxation.

The plan would effect four very important objects; and to the extent of believing in the advantage of these, we fully agree with Mr. Taylor. It would, 1. Save the public an enormous capital now wasted, and annually diverted from the production of articles of utility; the only process by which our manufactures can be permanently cheapened. 2. It would prevent all those disturbances in the value of money which we see occasioned by every drain of bullion for exportation. 3. It would prevent that unlimited depreciation of money which may arise out of a progressive or rapid increase of the supply from mining districts; as in the instance of the discovery of Spanish America. 4. It would further prevent that sudden *appreciation* in the value of money, which is the consequence of hoarding, as in every case of apprehended invasion. A Spartan, when the Commonwealth was attacked, had no motive for amassing or hoarding a greater quantity of iron or leather money than was required for his daily need. He could not, like an English banker in Lombard-street, chuckle over the money in his strong closet, and say, "Whatever happens to the State I can fly, because my gold will pass anywhere." The Spartan money depending wholly upon the credit of the State, the interest of every one who held it was identified with the State, and he who would maintain the value of the one had to fight for the other.

These reasons, which weighed with Lycurgus and Plato, and in modern times with William Pitt—for it was by acting upon them, and by that alone, that he was enabled to maintain a contest with Napoleon—weigh also with us. But the defect of Mr. Taylor's plan, unless it has been recently modified, and the defect of all plans that we have yet seen for an inconvertible paper currency, lies in the proposed mode of regulating the issue.* The amount of taxation can be no certain indication of the amount of money required as a legal tender, for assuming the revenue to be £40,000,000, and to be collected half-yearly, £20,000,000 of paper would suffice for this object; £10,000,000 if collected quarterly. Nor can we discover any sound argument for the precautionary limit of £40,000,000 (or the £14,000,000 of the Bank Charter Act), for the demand for money being a variable demand, *any fixed quantity* of inconvertible notes would be liable to the same vicissitudes of value, in kind although not quite in degree, as a fixed quantity of gold. The same amount of inconvertible notes that sufficed at one time, as a legal tender, would be in excess upon an expansion of credit, and deficient upon every subsequent reaction. This result, in fact, was realized with the inconvertible notes of the Bank of England in circulation during the war, and it helped to puzzle the members of the bullion committee more than any other of the stubborn facts by which their theory was assailed. They saw money, which had been scarce, become abundant, and when they looked at the Bank returns for the expected evidence of excessive issues, found either none, or but slight differences in the average circulation, which could not adequately account for the change.

A currency founded upon sound principles would require to contract and expand in the *inverse ratio* of credit, so that the notes in circulation should always correspond with the amount required for immediate use, and the *bona fide* capital they were required to represent. This end, it appears to us, might be sufficiently secured by a tax upon the use of them, in the shape of a uniform rate of interest. If an exchequer note, made a legal tender for £100, were only issued to those who would agree to pay annually, and give security for the payment, of the value of a quarter of wheat at the average of the last ten years' prices, we believe that such a currency, although inconvertible, would be the nearest approach to a fixed standard, or a rule of absolute uniformity of value, that it is perhaps possible to attain. A currency so regulated could not suffer depreciation, because, if the quantity of notes issued affected prices so as to cause a material rise, the

* In a pamphlet by Mr. Anderson, which reaches us on the eve of publication, entitled 'Recent Commercial Distress,' we find the true principle of a Currency correctly stated, but not so clearly applied.

tax would become too onerous to be paid, and those who held the notes would hasten to get them cancelled, and release their securities.

Here we must explain that when we speak of an uniform rate of interest we do not mean *uniform nominal price*. £6 per annum charged as interest when commodities are dear may not represent as great a purchasing power as £3 per annum charged when commodities are cheap; and it has been correctly observed that when Ministers raised the minimum rate of interest in October last to eight per cent., they were in effect raising it (but perhaps unconsciously) to at least ten per cent., as compared with the purchasing power of money in the summer of 1845—when the Bank rate was £2 10s. per cent. The question will of course arise, whether a decennial average of wheat would give us the data for an uniform rate with sufficient exactness. If not, an average of the prices of fifty or one hundred commodities might easily be taken. Uniformity of rate, however, is thought to be sufficiently secured in the case of the Tithe Commutation Act by the averages of corn for seven years. The amount of such proposed uniform rate of interest, whether three, four, or five per cent., should be the average return to capital for the same period.

In answer, by anticipation, to that somewhat supercilious class of thinkers, who are ready to denounce every departure from the theory of immediate convertibility into gold, as a nostrum savouring of French assignats, or Mississippi bonds, let us observe that the question has now been narrowed by events into one not of principle, but of degree. It was admitted by Mr. Huskisson, and subsequently by Mr. Loyd, that in extreme cases of jeopardy, an order in Council to suspend the operation of the principle was an act of justifiable necessity; and we have lately seen Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Wilson, and all the warmest advocates of convertibility in the House, defend the order in Council of last October, which did virtually suspend the principle, by authorizing a further issue of notes, at 8 per cent., for which no adequate provision could be made. It has now become an established rule that the credit of the state shall be interposed in every similar emergency; but that the emergency must always be one akin to national bankruptcy and a total paralysis of industry.

We would have the rule applied so as to prevent the emergency. Without insisting upon a total change in the character of our currency, for which the public is not prepared, we would at least ask for an inquiry whether the credit of the state might not usefully interpose in the *first* stage of ruin, instead of the *last*.

Whether, subject as we must always be, with a metallic currency, to periodical drains of bullion, from innumerable causes, and to periodical collapses of private credit, from the reaction of speculation, the depreciation of *all* property thence arising should not be early counteracted by some kind of alternative money sufficient for a temporary need. Whether, for example, the experiment might not be tried of authorizing, in certain cases, the *Issue department* to advance upon deposits of silver bullion, deposits of gold and silver plate, which the duty now prevents being converted into coin, and 3 per cent. Consols, in sums of £100, Exchequer bills, of the usual form, but not bearing interest, and made a legal tender.*

In a country where everything is governed by precedent, we are induced to hope that this suggestion may possibly be entertained, as sanctioned by ancient custom, and as in itself moderate. Exchequer bills, as we have shown, having been first issued to relieve a monetary pressure in 1696, when the principle of their application to the exigences of the state was not a new one; *bills* having then merely been substituted for *tallies*.

We are now writing at a moment when a forced and therefore not improbably a temporary influx of bullion, consequent chiefly upon the impaired negotiability of all bills upon London, has revived, in influential quarters, the old delusion,—that we need not provide against the recurrence of evils which are becoming “mitigated” without our further interference. How often their recurrence may be expected we will enable the reader to determine for himself, by a chronological sketch of the facts most intimately connected with the state of the currency from the time of the Conquest; and with these we shall dismiss the subject.

* The existing Exchequer Bills are not a legal tender in the discharge of contract debts, or they would of course otherwise never be at a discount, as we have lately seen them, compared with Bank of England notes. Taxes may be paid with Exchequer Bills, but they are issued for sums too large to be available for this object. The following is their present form:—

No. 335. £1,000.

By virtue of an Act Primo Gulielmi 4ti Regis, for raising the sum of £13,607,600 by Exchequer Bills, for the service of the year 1830.

This Bill entitles or order to ONE THOUSAND POUNDS, with interest after the rate of one penny half-penny per centum per diem, payable out of the first aids or supplies to be granted in the next session of Parliament; and this Bill is to be current and pass in any of the public revenues, aids, taxes, or supplies, or at the receipt of Exchequer at Westminster, after the 5th day of April, 1831.

Dated at the Exchequer the 30th day of Sept. 1830.

GRENVILLE.

If the blank is not filled, up, this Bill will be paid to bearer.

CHRONOLOGICAL SKETCH

OF THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

IN

BRITISH HISTORY,

RELATING TO THE CURRENCY.

The use of the precious metals, as money, was probably known in some parts of England at an earlier period than the invasion of Julius Cæsar, through the intercourse kept up with Cornwall by commercial nations known to have visited it for tin; but it may be assumed that metallic *coins* were first introduced by the Romans. On the departure of the Romans, and when the country was given up for several centuries to intestine divisions, we meet with, in the brief records of the time, occasional notices of the scarcity of money; and a species of *living money* may be said to have supplied the place of coin during a part of the Anglo-Saxon period. Slaves (the *theowes* or *servi* of 'Doomsday Book'), and oxen, passed current in the payment of debts. The price of a slave was four oxen. The export of slaves to Ireland (then in the hands of the Danes) was the chief feature of the trade of Chester and Bristol. This was restricted, but not altogether abolished, by Canute, about the year 1030.

1066.—The Conquest. The ancient *Tower pound* (11 oz. 5 dwts. troy) of fine silver, with 3 dwts. of alloy (seignorage), coined into 20*s.* by William the Norman. Each shilling divided into twelve pence or *sterlings*. The same system of coinage which had been introduced in France by Charlemagne. A foreign gold coin in use at this period called a *Bezant*, ten of which were about equal to the Tower pound of standard silver.

1100 to 1135.—Reign of Henry 1st. *Tallies* first mentioned in the statutes of this reign (c. 56), as a means of collecting the revenue.

1229.—The Pope's Nuncio having acquired great influence in England, through the weakness of King John's government, orders the "tenth" to be col-

lected in money, instead of in kind. Payment exacted with great severity; and the rate of interest raised by the usurers to 60 per cent.

- 1257.—Gold pennies coined by Henry III. A gold penny weighed two *sterlings*, or 45 grs. troy. This was the first gold coin struck by English monarchs.
- 1262.—The middle or average price of the quarter of wheat, as gathered from the 51 of Henry III., regulating the assize of bread and ale, 10s. per quarter (30s. in shillings of the present weight and standard).* The barons, during this reign, reproached Henry III. with pawning the credit of the Crown by issuing "*Tallies* for the victuals of his table."
- 1274.—A parliament called by Edward I. to restrain *usury*, and oblige all Jews to wear a badge.
- 1279.—Two hundred and eighty Jews hanged for clipping and coining.
- 1289.—The Jews banished the kingdom by Edward I.

The Jews were succeeded in their vocation of money-brokers by Italian merchants from Lombardy, who resided in that part of the city which is still called after them *Lombard Street*, or the street of the Lombards. The stalls or benches at which their business was transacted gave rise to the term "*bank*," from the Italian *banco*, a bench. The Lombards were succeeded as private bankers or traders in money by the London goldsmiths; one of whom, Mr. Child, established about the time of the Restoration, the earliest of the modern banking firms still existing, that of Messrs. Child and Co., Temple Bar.

- 1336.—The exportation of English and Foreign coins prohibited by 9th Edward III., caps. 1, 9, 10, 11.
- 1337.—The Lombard money dealers accused of extortion, and their property seized and confiscated by a Royal commission.
- 1344.—Gold *florins* coined by Edward III.; but having been issued above their value, they were superseded the same year by a new gold coinage of *nobles*, *half nobles*, and *farthing nobles*. The *noble* was commanded to be a legal tender at 6s. 8d. (about 13s. 4d. in silver of the present standard, and about 24s. in silver at its present value.)

From this date till the year 1774, a *double standard* prevailed in England, silver and gold coins being both a legal tender; the silver coins at the price at which they were issued from the mint, the gold coins at prices fixed from time to time by royal proclamation, and governed by the market value of gold, as measured in silver.†

- 1349.—The *Tower pound* of standard silver, coined into 22s. 6d. by Edward III.
- 1350.—The middle price of wheat, by the 'Statute of Labourers' (25th of Edward III.), 6s. 8d. per quarter, or 20s. in shillings of the present weight and standard.
- 1351 to 1464.—A Poll Tax of 4d. per head produces a popular insurrection, headed by Wat Tyler. Further debasement of the currency, in six successive coinages, by the last of which, under Edward IV., the *Tower pound* of standard silver was coined into 37s. 6d.

* Adam Smith, book I, chapter xi.

† Lord Liverpool, Treatise on Coins.

- 1382.—5th of Richard II. increases the penalties on the exportation of gold and silver coins.
- 1466.—5 Edward IV. The *Rial* coined, containing 5 dwts. of gold.
- 1489.—4th of Henry VII. increases the penalties on the exportation of coin to *double forfeiture*.
- 1490.—5 Henry VII. The first gold coin, called a *Sovereign*, issued at 20s. It contained 10 dwts. of gold;—our present sovereign contains 5 dwts. 3½ grains.
- 1527.—The *pound troy* of 12 oz. substituted for the Tower pound of 11 oz. 5 dwts; and the pound troy of standard silver coined by Henry VIII. into 40s. The *gold crown* coined containing 2 dwts. 9½ grs.
- 1528 to 1546.—Henry VIII. debases the *pound troy* of silver in the next four coinages by mixing it with 8 oz. of alloy and coining the pound troy, so composed, into 48 shillings. This was the most violent interference with the currency recorded in British history, as attempted during the lifetime of one Monarch. The *Sovereign*, in 1545, was reduced to 8 dwts. in gold. In 1546, the maximum of interest was fixed at 10 per cent., 37 Henry 8, c. 9.; previous to which all interest had been considered usury by statute.
- 1547 to 1551.—In the next three coinages, the pound troy is further debased by Edward VI., and made to contain 9 oz. of alloy, and coined into 72s.

This was the extreme point attained by the progressive adulteration of the coinage. The shilling of William the Norman, which had contained 266 grains of fine silver, *now contained only 20 grains*; a difference nearly as great as that between twelve pence and three farthings;* but we have to remember that *the real value*, or purchasing power over food and labour, of silver, had been progressively increasing up to this time, from the gradual discontinuance throughout Europe of the custom of payments *in kind*, and the consequent growing demand for money, which exceeded the average productiveness of the mines then worked. The average value, in other commodities, of *three farthings* in 1541, was about equal to that of *three pence* in 1066. Prior therefore to the reign of Henry VIII., the *depreciation* of the coinage by adulteration had not been nearly so great as the *appreciation* of the same quantity of fine silver by scarcity.

The last mentioned debasement of the coinage was formally sanctioned by Parliament as a subsidy, "that the king might gain thereby £220,000," but limited, for this object, to the adulteration of 20,000 lbs. weight of silver bullion; but about the same time, the Parliament determined upon the equally impolitic measure, in an opposite extreme, of returning to the ancient standard, to the extent at least of restoring the purity of the silver in the current coin.

- 1552.—The proportion of alloy to fine silver, reduced from 9 oz. to 19 dwts., and the pound troy coined into 60s. A commercial treaty concluded with

* The particulars we have given of the coins are taken from the tables supplied in the 'Essays on Money, Exchanges,' &c., by Henry James.

Sweden, of which the conditions were made to depend upon the importation of bullion.

- 1553.—Edward the VI. dies (July 6th) in the 16th year of his age. A new coinage by Queen Mary of the same Mint standard as the last.
- 1554.—Philip of Spain, on his marriage with Mary, brings over with him 27 chests, 99 horse-loads, and two cart-loads of gold and silver bullion; all subsequently spent in his foreign wars.
- 1555.—Growing scarcity of money. The Queen, this year, obliged to borrow of the merchants, at Antwerp, £30,000, at 14 per cent. on the joint security of the Corporation of London and her own. Average price of wheat for the three years, ending 1555, from Fleetwood's tables, quoted by Adam Smith, 8s. per quarter, in money of the present standard.

The change in the currency effected by the two last coinages of this period *quadrupled its value*. The shilling, which contained but 20 grains of pure silver in 1551, was now made to contain 88 grains. Its effect was of course to increase fourfold the burdens of rents, taxes, and every class of fixed obligations. Henry VIII. had cheated his creditors by paying them in base coin, but as his revenue was collected in base coin, he had practically lightened by it the burdens of the people; the well-intended measure of restoring the purity of the standard made them intolerable. This will be understood by the reader if he will imagine the consequences to himself of being called upon to pay his assessed taxes in sovereigns weighing, each 20 dwts. 12 grs., instead of 5 dwts. 3 grs. Of course the demand for bullion would be quadrupled, as it was in Queen Mary's time; and from the increased cost of production the coin would go abroad in remittances of payment, instead of goods, as it did then; and as it did again subsequently, in the reign of William III. This explains the reason, why that cheapening of silver which resulted generally in Europe from the discovery of the mines of Potosi, in 1545, was not felt in England till the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth. The supply had increased, but not increased in England in the proportion of the artificial demand occasioned by raising the standard. Queen Mary was unpopular, as a bigoted and persecuting Roman Catholic monarch, but from the first she was thrown into a false position with her subjects by causes of which neither she nor the historians of the time understood the operation. That operation, however, was far less severe than a similar measure would be in our own times, because in the reign of Mary our foreign trade was inconsiderable. The little commerce we had then was in the hands of merchants belonging to the Hanse Towns, meeting in the *Steel Yard*, and the entire revenue of England amounted but to £300,000.

- 1560.—The pound troy of silver, made to consist by the 2nd of Elizabeth, of 11 oz. 2 dwts. of fine silver, and 18 dwts. of alloy, at which standard it has since remained. The pound troy so composed, coined by Elizabeth into 60s.

- 1562.—Wheat allowed to be exported by the 5th of Elizabeth when it reaches the price of 10s. per quarter. This low price quoted by Adam Smith, as an evidence of the continued dearth of silver.
- 1571.—13th of Elizabeth, c. 8, confirms the 37th of Henry VIII., c. 9, fixing the maximum of interest at 10 per cent.
- 1580.—The Baltic Company formed. The first association of *English* merchants engaged in foreign trade.
- 1587.—Elizabeth defeats the Spanish Armada.
- 1597.—The privileges abolished of the Hanseatic merchants meeting in the Steel Yard.
- 1600.—The pound troy of standard silver coined by Elizabeth into 62s.

Subsequent coinages of the shilling have remained the same until the year 1816, when the pound troy of standard silver was coined into 64s.

- 1601.—The foundation of a systematic provision for the poor established by the 43rd of Elizabeth.
- 1603.—Elizabeth dies, and is succeeded by James I. The crown passing from the family of Tudor to that of Stewart.
- 1604.—Gunpowder plot.
- 1605.—The *Unity* Sovereign coined, containing 6 dwts. 11 grs. (The fourth change since 1545.)
- 1612.—The comparative cheapness of gold at this period not increasing relatively so fast as silver, gold rises 2s. per oz.
- 1620.—The *Laurel* Sovereign coined containing 5 dwts. 20 grs. of gold. The average price of wheat for this year, and the twenty-five years preceding, 37s. for the quarter of eight bushels.*
- 1624.—The maximum of legal interest reduced from 10 to 8 per cent. by the 21st James I., c. 17.

Towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, the influences upon prices began to be felt, of that vast and disproportionate supply of the precious metals, as compared with the demand, which resulted from the discovery and conquest of Peru. Subsequently, also, to the destruction of the Spanish Armada, England, and indeed the greater part of Europe, began to enjoy the blessings of a settled government, and with it came an expansion of credit, which, co-operating with an actual depreciation of gold and silver, but especially silver, all over the world, had, of course, a marked effect upon the nominal value of articles of merchandise, as measured by metallic coins.

Our readers will notice the falling rates of interest which commenced with this era of cheap money. David Hume and Adam Smith attribute these lower rates solely to increase of capital; contrary to the opinion of Locke, Law, and Montesquieu, who considered that the influx of the precious metals sufficiently accounted for the fact. We hold that the latter were right, although the two former had the best of the argument. David

* 41s. 9d. for the Winchester quarter of nine bushels, by Windsor Market prices, quoted by Adam Smith.

Hume and Adam Smith seem to have too hastily concluded, with some of our modern economists, that because money represents capital, therefore the demand for capital is always commensurate with the demand for money. A most serious mistake, as we have already endeavoured to explain. *The demand for money depends upon the balances of trade.* Falling prices turn the scale in favour of money; rising prices turn the scale in favour of commodities. When, therefore, upon the influx of the treasures of South America, prices rose, and with them profits, the demand for money diminished; and diminishing in a more rapid ratio than its intrinsic value, in consequence of its place being supplied by the *money of account*, the result was shown in both a nominal and real reduction of interest. Let us repeat here what we may yet have to repeat again, that the test by which to discover whether a high rate of interest is or is not occasioned by a scarcity of capital, is a rise or fall of prices in reference to that kind of capital most imperatively required. If *capital* had been scarce when Queen Mary was borrowing money at 14 per cent., would the price of wheat have been 8s. per quarter? In the case before us we see, that with interest of money reduced to 8 per cent. the price of wheat had risen to 37s. per quarter.

1625.—James I. dies, and is succeeded by Charles I. Base money still continues to be issued for circulation in Ireland.

1636.—Average price of wheat at Windsor Market for the 16 years, ending this year, 44s. per quarter.*

1640.—Charles I. having failed in his attempts to levy money without the consent of Parliament, and being refused an advance of £200,000 by the City of London, seizes, as a forced loan, £40,000, belonging to private merchants, deposited for safety in the Tower Mint.

1649.—Charles I. executed at Whitehall (January 30). The quantity of bullion coined during this reign, estimated at £12,096,220. A greater amount than was coined during the two reigns of Elizabeth and James.†

1650 to 1659.—The Commonwealth and Protectorate of Cromwell. The Jews again permitted to settle in England. The maximum of legal interest reduced to 6 per cent. Average price of wheat for the ten years, ending 1659, 45s. 9d. per quarter of eight bushels.

From this period we may continue our chronological sketch at regular decennial intervals.

Period of Ten Years.	Average price of Wheat per Qr. of 8 bushels.	
1660 to 1669.—Restoration of Chas. II. (1660). A return of exports and imports by Dr. Chas. D'Avenant, Inspector-general of Customs (1662.)	s.	d.
Exports, £2,022,812.	Imports, £4,016,019.	
The public revenue for 1662 under £1,100,000. 1663. Gold imported from <i>Guinea</i> , and the <i>Guinea</i> Sovereign coined, containing 5 dwts. 9 grs. of gold; issued at 20s. Plague of		

* Fifty shillings per quarter of nine bushels.

† Wade's 'British Chronology.'

Period of Ten Years.	Average price of Wheat per Qr. of 8 bushels.
London, 1665. Fire of London, 1666. The Dutch sail up the Medway, and burn our shipping (1667)	s. d. 44 9½
1670 to 1679.—Chas. II. to obtain funds for the Dutch war shuts up the Exchequer (1672), seizing, as a permanent loan, £1,300,000, advanced upon the security of Exchequer Tallies, in anticipation of the revenue. <i>Panic in the City. Run upon the goldsmiths</i> , the private bankers of the time, many of whom were compelled to stop payment. Ten thousand families said to have been ruined by this measure. The statute of 12 Car. II., cap. 13, of the same year, again fixes the maximum of legal interest at 6 per cent.	44 9
1680 to 1689.—A penny post first set up by Mr. Murray (1683.) Charles II. dies, and is succeeded by James II., 1685. James II. dethroned, and is succeeded by the Prince of Orange and Nassau, 1688. William III. conciliates the landed interest by granting a bounty of 5s. per quarter on the exportation of wheat (1689)	35 8½
1690 to 1699.—First years of bounty money on the exportation of wheat; seven years of extreme dearth, during part of which the bounty money was suspended; six years of a currency depreciated in value, by light weight, 25 per cent. Guineas sold at 30s. The Bank of England established in 1694. The old value of the shilling restored by a new coinage, 1695. Foreign coins allowed to be exported about the same time, on oath that they were <i>foreign</i> ; and watches, sword hilts, &c. of silver manufacture. <i>Drain of bullion. Panic. Suspension of the Bank.</i> Exchequer Bills first issued as a substitute for Tallies; in this case limited to £3,000,000, and issued for small sums, to relieve the pressure. The amount still represented by Tallies in 1698, £8,882,544.	50 1
1700 to 1709.—Years of an enhanced currency, Government loans and continental wars. The National Debt raised by William III. from £664,263 to £16,394,701. Union with Scotland in the 5th year of Queen Anne (1707). Threatened invasion of the Pretender at the close of the same year. <i>Panic. Run upon the Bank. The Government helping it through its difficulties by guaranteeing for six months 6 per cent interest upon Bank Bills*</i>	35 0½

We have already explained at length the disastrous effects of the new coinage, in producing an artificial scarcity of money and a falling market. These consequences would have been avoided but for the error of Locke, that "men in their bargains contract not for denominations or sounds, but for intrinsic value." He failed to perceive that intrinsic value can only be guessed at through the medium of denominations with which we are familiar, and that therefore, when he raised the intrinsic value of the current coins by which rents, taxes, wages, and prices had been adjusted, he should have given his new shillings new names. It was an excellent opportunity lost for issuing a decimal coinage.

* Francis' "History of the Bank," Vol. 1, page 87.

Period of Ten Years.	Average price of Wheat per Qr. of 8 bushels.
1710 to 1719.—Continental wars. Victories of Marlborough. National Debt on the death of Anne, increased to £53,681,076. 12 Anne, c. 16, reduces the maximum of interest to 5 per cent. Accession of George I., 1714. The following year the Pretender proclaimed in Scotland and in the Western counties of England. This was preceded by a <i>run upon the Bank, which lasted for several days without intermission</i> .* The price of guineas (<i>guinea sovereigns</i>) fixed at 21s., 1717. The close of this period is memorable for the Mississippi and South Sea bubbles, which arose out of an universal expansion of credit when peace was secured abroad and at home. The Royal Exchange and other London Assurance Companies founded at this time. The government enabled, in 1716, to effect a great reduction in the interest and principal of the National Debt....	s. d. 43 5
1720 to 1729.—The reaction in October, 1720, of the South Sea, and other bubble speculations, produced a run upon the Goldsmiths, many of whom, with the Sword Blade Company, that also acted as bankers, stopped payment. The Bank of England was again nearly swept away, but again weathered the storm. With the increased demand for money, all securities and every description of property fell in value. Trade was suspended, and the whole nation involved in suffering. It was about this time that the Bank adopted the resolution of maintaining a reserved fund, called " <i>the Rest</i> ," to make good an occasional deficiency in the dividends to their own shareholders, and for extraordinary contingencies.	
Geo. I. dies 1727, and is succeeded by George II.	37 4

BANK CIRCULATION.

1718.....	£1,829,930	
1721.....	2,054,780†	
1730 to 1739.—Reign of George II. Peace throughout the first nine years of this period. War with Spain declared in 1739..		31 10½
1740 to 1749.—Heavy losses by Spanish privateers. Hanoverian wars. War declared against France in 1744. Bank circulation £4,000,000. Charles Edward sails for Scotland, July 14th, 1745, gains two victories and marches upon Derby, Dec. 4th. <i>Panic. Run upon the Bank. The Bank obliged to pay in sixpences, and to block up the doors with its own friends, to gain time.</i> Charles Edward retreats from Derby the same week, and is finally defeated at Culloden, April 6th, 1746. Peace with France and Spain, by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, proclaimed 1749		31 8

Mr. Francis tells us of this period, that

"The day on which the news arrived that the rebels were at Derby, was known in London as Black Friday. The gates of the city were shut. The train bands were placed on duty night and day. The guards were ordered out. The Tower was closed before its time. The shops were unopened, and no business was done excepting at the

* Francis' 'History of the Bank,' p. 99.

† 'History of the Bank,' by J. M'Cay.

Bank. Many of the inhabitants collected their valuables and fled from the country."

It was in the midst of a similar panic that Charles Edward had entered Edinburgh without a shot being fired. The retreat of his army, forced upon him by the Highland chiefs against his own bitter remonstrances, saved the crown by saving the Bank. The Highland chiefs did not know how much the principle of *immediate and absolute convertibility* would have befriended their cause. The stoppage of the Bank, that would have followed upon the next three days' march towards London, would have added such intensity to the demand for money, that no effective force could have been collected by the Government, or long maintained. Yet, at this time, there were no notes in circulation under £20; and with our then double standard, the bank had the option of paying either in gold or silver. We shall presently see what became, in a similar crisis, of the principle of immediate convertibility, when the bank was required to pay in gold only.

Period of Ten Years.	Average price of Wheat per Qr. of 8 bushels.
1750 to 1759.—The 4 per cents. reduced to 3½ (1750). The Bank lend Government £1,400,000 at three per cent. (1752). War declared against France (1756). The 3½ per cents. reduced to 3 per cent. (1757.) £10 and £15 bank notes first issued, 1759	s. d. 37 5
1760 to 1769.—Bank circulation, 1761, £6,001,810. George II. dies, and is succeeded by George III., 1760. National debt, at the peace of 1762, £146,682,843. A commercial crisis at Amsterdam and Hamburg, and numerous bankruptcies in both cities. The pressure relieved by advances from England to solvent houses,* 1763. Dearth of corn, and distress from the high price of provisions, 1768. The first issue of <i>paper roubles</i> (3s. 3d.) by the Russian Government the same year.† The gold and silver coins having become deficient in weight, bullion rises in price. Gold sold at £4 2s. per oz., silver, 5s. 10d., 1769.‡ Average price of wheat for the last five years, 48s. 5d. per quarter, for the ten years	41 4½
1770 to 1779.—Continued bad harvests. At the close of 1772 the light coin called in, and re-issued at full weight. <i>Extensive failures, and a monetary panic</i> , followed by a crisis still more severe on the continent, especially in Holland and France. The Bank at this period maintaining the convertibility of its notes by a loss, according to Adam Smith, of from 2½ to 3 per cent. for several years, on an average of £850,000 per annum, the amount of bullion it was compelled to purchase and get coined. (This was to meet the run upon the new heavy guineas, which went	

* 'History of the Bank,' by Mr. Francis.

† Macpherson's 'Annals of Commerce,' iv. 8. The difference between the paper rouble and the silver rouble was but 3 per cent. for nine years; but the subsequent unlimited issues of the Russian government during the war, reduced the paper rouble to one-fourth only of the value of that of silver.

‡ Wade's 'British Chronology.'

Period of
Ten Years.

Average price of
Wheat per Qr.
of 8 bushels.

abroad, like the new shillings of William III., and for the same reason.) In the year 1774, were passed the coercion bills, with which originated the first war with our American colonies; and in the same session *the act for the adoption of a gold standard* (14 Geo. III. c. 42), by which silver was disallowed as a legal tender for sums exceeding £25. Average harvests from 1775 to 1778, and an unusually abundant crop in 1779. Bank circulation same year, August 31, £7,276,540 49 0

The substitution of a gold standard for our ancient double standard of gold and silver appears to have attracted little public attention, as a subject upon which few had thought, and therefore one upon which those who could talk learnedly were allowed to legislate in their own way. The reasons assigned for the change were the variations in the relative value of the two metals, and the practical inconvenience of having continually to adjust their relative prices. This was an argument for a single standard, although one which appears to us of very secondary importance, but not a reason for adopting the dearer metal as a standard rather than the cheaper. The argument for this was, that if the dearer metal were made to govern the price of the cheaper, there would be no variations in the relative price of either. The answer is, that although the variations would not be apparent, they would be as real as before; and that, as all experience proves that the tendency of silver is to fall in value relatively to gold, from a more rapid rate of increase, the change was certain to give to the creditor the advantage which had hitherto been enjoyed by the debtor, who having had the choice of paying in silver or gold, of course paid with the metal most easily procured. But this is a point of but little moment compared with the obvious fact, that in choosing the dearer metal for our single standard we necessarily augmented the chances of monetary disturbance. The proportion of value of silver to gold is as 1 to 15, but the proportion of *quantity* of silver to gold existing in the world is supposed to be as 50 to 1.* In the proportion, therefore, of $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, the difference between a silver and a gold standard, and greatly beyond that by the difference between a single and a double standard, did we, in 1774, increase the disability of the nation to meet a new and sudden demand for metallic money, with an immediate and commensurate supply.

Let it be understood, and it is important that this should be generally known,—the principle adopted in 1774 of allowing nothing as a legal tender but the rarest and dearest of metals was an entirely new rule of administration in the history of nations.

* Bullion Report. Allen's evidence of 1810.

The ancient Roman standard was copper;* and in modern times a tender of silver, or of either silver or gold, has been held by the common law of mankind to be a legal discharge of contract debts. We stand alone, with the exception of Portugal, as the only civilized community in the world that exacts from a debtor for every pound a prescribed weight of gold, even though it cost him a pound of flesh. Upon this new and, to our thinking, most perilous experiment, we entered,—when? Upon the eve of the outbreak of those civil convulsions which shook Europe to its centre, and when we were about to add £700,000,000 to the national debt, within the life-time of the then reigning monarch.

Period of Ten Years.	Average price of Wheat per Qr. of 8 bushels. s. d.
1780 to 1789.—New York surrendered to Washington by Lord Cornwallis, 1781. The independence acknowledged of the Thirteen United States, Dec., 1782. <i>Tallies</i> finally abolished, 1783. Pitt introduces his plan for a sinking fund, 1786. Commercial treaty with France, 1787. The States-General of France assembled May 5, 1789. The following harvest deficient, and a great dearth of corn in France 49 10½	
1790 to 1799.—First issue of <i>Assignats</i> by the Constituent Assembly of France, April 19, 1790. Louis XVI. beheaded Jan. 21, 1793. The next week England declares war against France, and joins the coalition. <i>Drain of gold. The Bank contracts its discounts.</i> Feb. 19.— <i>One house fails for nearly £1,000,000. Panic. Failures throughout the country. Universal hoarding. Upwards of 100 country banks stop payment.</i> The following April a committee of the House recommend an advance to merchants, on securities, of £5,000,000 Exchequer bills. The panic subsiding on this announcement, and on an extension of discounts, £2,202,200 only advanced; all ultimately repaid.† £5 Bank notes first issued the same month. <i>General fall of prices from 1792 to 1794.</i> ‡ Robespierre beheaded, July 27, 1794. The issue of <i>Assignats</i> augmented in 1796 to the nominal amount of £182,316,000, exclusive of the forged imitations said to have been circulated by Pitt. The whole become waste paper. The same year Buonaparte overruns Italy. Some French troops land in Wales from a frigate driven on the coast. <i>Alarm of Invasion. Discontent in the Fleet; subsequently breaking out into open mutiny. Drain of gold. The Bank contracts its circulation from £10,824,150, March, 1796, to £8,640,250, Feb. 25, 1797. The next day an order in Council commands the Bank to suspend specie payments.</i> Bullion left Feb. 28, £1,086,170. March 4.—£1 and £2 notes first issued. The same year the 4s. 2d. dollar re-stamped, and issued at 4s. 9d. Three deficient harvests in this period. Gazette averages of wheat, January, 1799, 49s. 6d. Windsor averages for the ten years 62 1½	

* The *as* or *pondo* (whence the word *pound*), coined into twelve parts or *uncie*, 550 years before Christ. The silver *denarius* was first coined 250 years before Christ. The gold *aureus* 204 years before Christ.

† 'History of the Bank,' by J. Francis. Vol. I., 216. ‡ Tooke, Vol. I., Page 178.

Three-and-twenty years only have elapsed since the adoption of an exclusively gold standard, and we find it has broken down. We have now a new standard of *inconvertible* paper, supported by the joint credit of a wealthy corporation and that of the state. The origin of the distrust of this paper, and the apprehensions of the bullionists, will be seen in the fate of the French assignats. The result, however, was not the same in both cases, and it is important to point out the reason. Wherein did the *English* assignats differ from the inconvertible notes of the French Constituent Assembly? The difference was in this—not in the form of note, for forms are immaterial, but in the principle of their issue. The French assignats were *given away** by the government in payment of its own expenditure; the English assignats were *lent* only, and *lent at interest*, upon securities for the return of the original notes, with the interest in addition.

It is extraordinary that this most essential distinction should not have been detected by the bullionist writers of the time, or if detected that they should still have reasoned then as the advocates of convertibility for the most part reason now, as if there were no difference between the accommodation bill of a swindler and the promissory note of a Rothschild; and upon the sage maxim, that paper money is always paper money, and therefore to be regarded as the object of a vague terror, no matter what the conditions of limitation, and the check imposed upon excessive issues.

Observe the operation of the check in the case of the assignats of the Bank of England. The Bank could not have issued £180,000,000 of these notes, because the public would not have been willing or able to pay £9,000,000 per annum for the use of them, and because if willing, it could not have found £189,000,000 to deposit in *securities* for the re-payment of capital and interest. And observe further that the check *now* upon excessive issues of Bank of England notes is not convertibility (excepting at a moment of drain), but the provision made for recalling the same notes at average intervals of three months, with interest for the use of them during that period. In ordinary times, the interest of a bill

* This does not apply to the first issue of the Constituent Assembly in 1790, which was limited to £2,500,000, and which the government received back again in the taxes, and in payment of the confiscated estates sold by auction. The subsequent excessive issues, without any provision for withdrawing any portion from circulation as they fell in value, were in the days of the *National Convention* and the first *Legislative Assembly*, bodies both of them constituted of inferior elements to those which formed the *Constituent Assembly*. The notes of Law's bank, 78 years before, became depreciated in a similar manner. The Regent borrowed, and paid them away at his own discretion; and the bank, though it advanced them at interest, took false securities for the payment—the security of a bankrupt government, and the fictitious values of Mississippi bonds.

discounted at the Bank of England is paid with the notes of the Bank of England, as during the Restriction Act—not with gold. And this does not at all interfere with the operation of interest as a check, because *the principle of the check is the receiving more back than was paid out.* The present regulation of this check is however imperfect; and it was imperfect during the war, for a reason we have already pointed out,—the difference between a *nominal* and a *real* rate of interest. The tax paid for the use of paper money should be governed by the return of capital, as measured by a general average of commodities—not by gold alone. In other words, nominal rates of interest should rise with the nominal prices of commodities (not fall, as under our present system). *Paper money issued only upon securities, and at rates of interest so regulated, could never be issued in excess.*

We may here afford a smile at that total oblivion of history which enables a certain class of writers, and writers not always of the least pretensions, to declaim upon the *impossibility* of an inconvertible currency in a commercial country. The past is lost upon them. The Spanish Armada, fitted out with gold, was defeated by the impoverished exchequer of Elizabeth, with *wooden tallies*. A life and death struggle with the armies of Napoleon was maintained for twenty years with *English assignats*, and those very assignats, or inconvertible bank notes, *bought the gold* which in 1819 enabled the Bank of England to resume cash payments.

1798.—Rebellion in Ireland.

1799.—The Duke of York capitulates and abandons Holland to the French.

Fall in the prices of transatlantic produce, coincident with a rise in the price of corn. Numerous failures in the commercial towns of Bremen, Amsterdam, Frankfort, Hamburg, &c., extending also to Liverpool. In Hamburg the rate of discount raised to 15 per cent., and 82 merchants there stop payment for £2,500,000. *The pressure at Liverpool relieved by a Government advance of £500,000 in Exchequer Bills.**

1800 to 1809.—1800. Union with Ireland (39 & 40 Geo. III., c. 67).

Two deficient harvests, and a great foreign demand for corn, partly occasioned by the war. Price of wheat March, 1801, 156s. 2d. per quarter. Falls at the close of the next year to 57s. 1d. Peace of Amiens in 1802. The war renewed 1803. Price of wheat falls to 49s. 6d., March, 1804. A prohibitory duty imposed the same year of 24s. 3d. per quarter on the importation of wheat, when the price should be under 63s. The 4s. 2d. dollar re-stamped, and issued at 5s. Threats of invasion. A flotilla assembled at Boulogne by Napoleon. Arming of the militia, 1805. Martello towers erected along the coast; battle of Austerlitz; and death of Nelson in the naval victory of Trafalgar. The Berlin decrees of Napoleon interdict the commerce of England with the continent, 1806. England retaliates, 1807, by prohibiting the trade of neutral vessels. Russia closes its ports

* Tooke's 'History of Prices,' vol. I., p. 233.

against England, and Napoleon issues further decrees from *s. d.* Hamburg and Milan to enforce a strict blockade of the British Islands. Rise of prices in hemp, flax, tallow, Memel timber, silk, wool, and other articles affected by these decrees; and great speculation in them, extending to copper, lead, and all materials generally of army munitions. 1808.—Great speculations in the shares of new companies. Deficient harvests this and the following year. 1809.—The English retreat from Portugal, and fail in their disastrous expedition to Walcheren. Gold rises to £4 12s. per ounce. The bullion committee appointed, Francis Horner, chairman. Average price of Wheat. 88 7½

The report of the bullion committee made in the following year is the most graphic illustration of the Tenterden Steeple fallacy that it would, perhaps, be possible to find in the history of philosophy. It is a report in which the effect of deficient harvests—the effect of a war expenditure, exceeding 500 millions for the twelve preceding years,—the effect of the new Corn Law,—the effect of the Berlin and Milan decrees,—stand for nothing as disturbing elements of commerce, and the restriction of cash payments, alone, is stated to have caused the fall of the exchanges and rise in the price of gold, and also to have led generally to a rise in the price of all commodities. Upon each of these points the report has been ably answered by Mr. Tooke, himself a qualified supporter of the same metallic theory. Mr. Tooke proves—1. That the rise of prices was neither general nor uniform, and that in the two last years, when gold was rising, the reaction of the speculative spirit of 1807 and 1808 caused a general fall in the price of all commodities that had been affected by it;* 2. That for the twelve years following the restriction act there was only one period of a few months (in 1801 and 1802) during which the price of gold was above £4 per ounce (the price fixed by the Bank), or the price of silver higher than it had been during the greater part of the last century; and 3. That the state of the Bank circulation was remarkable for its equability during nearly the whole of this period, and not greater than it would probably have been without a restriction act. Mr. Taylor has also pointed out (a fact overlooked both by Ricardo and Mr. Tooke) that coincidently with the first rapid rise of gold in the autumn of 1808, there was not an expansion, but a great contraction of the circulation.†

Bank Notes in Circulation.		Price of Gold.
Aug. 31, 1807.....	£19,678,360	£4 0 0 per ounce.
„ „ 1808.....	17,111,290	4 10 0 „

* 'History of Prices,' vol. i., page 316. Mr. Tooke says that, with the exception of corn, land, and materials of ship building, &c., "all objects of exchange were lower in price in 1810 and 1811 than in 1800; in few instances less than 20 per cent., and in some instances upwards of 50 per cent, as measured in paper; while gold had risen 25 per cent."

† 'The Minister Mistaken,' p. 11.

This is, perhaps, the most decisive evidence that can be offered, as a single fact, of the variableness of gold as a standard of value, and the delusiveness of the modern theory of the foreign exchanges. The fall in the exchanges of this period, that is to say, the lowered value of all bills drawn upon London, was simply occasioned, not by any depreciation of bank paper, in the true sense of the term, but by the enormous excess of those bills in the market, in reference to the demands of a crippled trade,—bills drawn by English officers abroad on army agents at home, or bills drawn by foreign powers on the English treasury on account of subsidies. Our subsidies to foreign powers, which for seven years had been inconsiderable, were, in 1808, £2,897,873, and for the seven years ending 1814, £29,091,989, a very large proportion of which had, through the “continental system” of Napoleon, to be paid in gold.* The subsequent history of the Exchanges is that of bills upon London sometimes rising in price with an increase of the Bank circulation, and sometimes falling, and falling when the expansion was greatest, viz., in 1814.

- 1810.—Depression of prices on the recoil of speculation. Extensive failures, and great demand for money. The Bank increases its circulation by £4,500,000. Price of gold falls from £4 11s. to £4 4s. 6d.†
- 1811.—Regency Act passed (Feb. 11). Immense armies traverse the continent. Gold again rises, and guineas, shillings, and even pence, begin to disappear from the circulation. The 4s. 2d. dollar issued at 5s. 6d. The House, to prevent the inconvenience of rents being claimed in gold, adopt a resolution, on the motion of Mr. Vansittart, to the effect that a one-pound note and a shilling shall be a legal tender for a guinea—guineas then selling at 27s. in Bank paper.
- 1812.—Through a succession of four bad harvests at home and abroad, the price of wheat rises in August to 155s. per quarter. Price in France 150s. per quarter.‡ Wellington victorious in Spain. The French retreat from Moscow (Oct. 19).
- 1813.—Average harvest. Wheat falls in Dec. to 73s. 6d. Gold rises to £5 10s. per ounce. General opening of continental ports, and rise of prices of most articles of British export. Napoleon defeated at Leipsic.
- 1814.—Restoration of the Bourbons (April).

	Bank Circulation.	Bullion in the Bank.	Price of Gold.
28th Feb.	£24,801,080	£2,204,430	£5 8 0
31st Aug.	28,368,290	2,097,680	4 5 0

1815.—Gold again rises in price on the escape of Napoleon from Elba. Falls

* BULLION IN THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

1808. Feb. 28.....	£7,855,470
„ Aug. 31.....	6,015,940
1809. Feb. 28.....	4,488,700
„ Aug. 31.....	3,652,480

† Tooke's 'History of Prices,' vol. i., p. 362.

‡ Ibid., vol. i., p. 334.

after the Battle of Waterloo. National Debt, at the close of this year, £856,984,028.*

- 1816.—Deficient harvest. The pound troy of standard silver, coined into 66s. A great increase in the foreign trade, but a more than corresponding fall in the prices of Baltic and other produce, now glutting the home market, causes heavy losses and numerous bankruptcies during this and the two preceding years.

	EXPORTS.	IMPORTS.
Official Value {	1813.... £37,980,977.....	£24,923,922
	1816.... 57,420,430†	31,822,053

- 1817.—Savings' bank fund established (57 Geo. III., c. 105 & 130). Spa-field riots. The Bank begin voluntarily to resume cash payments, but are checked by Government; the operation of heavy French and Russian loans, raised at a high rate of interest, having suddenly led to an export of bullion.

	Bank Circulation.	Bullion in the Bank.
Aug. 31.....	£29,543,780	£11,688,260

- 1818.—Increased forgeries of bank notes. First coinage of the present Sovereign, containing 5 dwts. 3½ grs. of gold. Numerous Reform meetings. (About this time the writings of William Cobbett create a general but an erroneous belief in a necessary connexion between bank paper and high prices.)

- 1819.—Manchester massacre. Resumption of cash payments. 59 Geo. III., c. 49, enacts that on the 1st of May, 1823, all notes of the Bank of England shall be payable in gold on demand at £3 17s. 10½d. per oz. Prior to that period, not to be paid in smaller amounts than the value of 60 oz. at £3 19s. 6d. till 1st October 1821; and not less than 60 oz. at £3 17s. 10½d. till October 1823. English as well as foreign coins allowed to be exported, by the same Act. Average price of wheat in 1819, 72s., but through the effect of five deficient harvests during this period, aggravated by the corn laws, the average price of wheat at Windsor for the ten years 100 7

It must be said of British statesmen that if they sometimes lack foresight, they are at least never wanting in courage. The new experiment of 1774, of adopting as a single standard the rarest and dearest of the precious metals, had failed after a brief trial, and we find a legislature in 1819 yet bold enough to return to it, and to return to it at a moment of falling markets,—the necessary consequence of a diminishing monopoly of the foreign trade of the world, and a diminishing government expenditure,—and with such an accumulation of debt as the world had never before seen,—a debt of £850,000,000, the dividends of which were now to be paid in gold, and the principal itself, to whatever

* Fourth Report of the Committee on Income and Expenditure.

† We have explained, in a former note, but would again draw attention to the fact, that a great part of the now customary excess of exports over imports is occasioned by the Foreign and Colonial expenditure of Government; for which, of course, there is no return in either money or goods.

extent it might please the fundholder to sell, at a moment of distrust, or when tempted by a better investment abroad.

The fallacy which misled the House and the political economists of that day, by whom ministers were influenced, was the comparative cheapness of gold, on the return of peace, when every hoard on the Continent was suddenly released; and the apparent consequent facility of meeting with gold all engagements of Bank paper. But this temporary cheapness was no test at all of what the difficulty might be of obtaining the amount of gold required, when new causes for hoarding it might arise; and surely, with the gigantic mass of credit we had then built up, there ought to have been some misgiving of the prudence of risking the public security upon such an improbable contingency as the chance of no new and unexpected demand ever arising for bullion, greater than the average quantity that could conveniently be retained in this country. Some alternative of safety against a violent collapse of credit obligations, should at least have been retained until provision had been made for the ultimate extinction of the debt—until the paper which contracted the debt had discharged it—and this, but for the unfortunate state crotchet of convertibility into gold at a fixed price, would have been a matter of very simple financial arrangement. The history of the bullion market, on the peace of 1815, shows that gold was then so rapidly becoming a drug that had it not been for the large purchases of the Bank of England at £4 13s. 6d. and £4 per oz., with a view to the resumption of cash payments, gold would have fallen below the value of the Bank inconvertible paper; and with Bank notes at a premium, a comparatively trifling bonus would have induced the fundholder to have accepted, in exchange for his perpetual annuities, *terminable, and life annuities*, of which some of the youngest among us might have hoped to live long enough to see the last.*

1820.—56 Geo. III., c. 68, provides that silver shall not be a legal tender for more than 40s., instead of, as before, a legal tender for £25. Geo. III. dies, in the 82nd year of his age. Cato-street conspiracy.

1821.—Death of Napoleon Buonaparte at St. Helena. Coronation of Geo. IV. and death of Queen Caroline. The Bank pay all demands in gold.

1822.—Continued revulsion of prices, the funds excepted, and great commercial depression throughout Europe. The act of 1819 attacked in the House by Mr. Western and Mr. Attwood. The House defers the contemplated abolition of £1 notes in 1823. A potato famine in Ireland. Mr. Vansittart reduces the 5 per cents. to 4 per cent. Meetings on the subject of agricultural distress.

* It should be understood that bank paper was always convertible into gold during the war, but that the payment was *optional*, and not at a fixed price. The difference between gold and paper from 1803 to 1809 was but £2 13s. 2d. per cent. In 1813, £22 18s. per cent. The average difference during the last seven years of the war, was about 15 per cent.

- 1823.—Rising prices, improving trade, and falling rates of interest,* towards the close of this year.
- 1824.—Great speculations in the scrip and shares of foreign loans and new companies.
- 1825.—The recoil of speculation in the autumn of this year produces an increased demand for money, and a *run upon the London and Country Banks*. Seventy banks in town and country stop payment in the month of December. *A drain of gold, consequent upon these stoppages, exhausts the bullion of the Bank*. The Bank, supported solely by its credit, which remains unimpaired, extends its issues of paper by *eight millions in one fortnight*; upon which the panic subsides, and confidence is gradually restored.

BANK RETURNS.

	Circulation.	Bullion.
Feb. 28, 1823 ..	£18,392,240	£10,384,230
28, 1824	19,736,990	13,810,060
28, 1825	20,753,760	8,779,100
Aug. 31, 1825	19,398,840	3,634,320
Dec. 3, 1825	17,477,290	—
24, 1825	25,611,800	1,027,000
Feb. 28, 1826	25,467,910	2,459,510
Aug. 31, 1826	21,563,560	6,754,230
Feb. 28, 1827	21,890,610	10,159,020

The drain of bullion appears to have extended (from the evidence of Lord Ashburton) considerably below the point shown in the official returns, even to "a few thousand pounds," but the increased issue of notes quickly enabled the private bankers to return the surplus portion of the gold they had withdrawn. Prior to this, the Directors in their consternation had consulted the Government upon another Restriction Act, which was peremptorily refused. It mattered not; the Directors took upon themselves to return to the principle of issuing inconvertible notes; and the confidence of the public, not in the gold of the Bank, but in its known solvency, carried them through the dilemma.†

The state of the circulation in 1824 proves that if the speculative spirit which then arose had been occasioned by money, it was an excess of *gold* rather than an excess of notes that was in fault. But let us not fall into the common currency mistake of confounding the effect with the cause. Both paper and gold were in excess of the average demand for money; the cause being, that with rising profits the demand for money had diminished. The speculative transactions of the time were conducted through the medium of the *money of account*. The demand for either bank notes

* 3 per cent. Consols.

April 23, 1823.... 73½

Jan. 1, 1824.... 86

„ 1825.... 94½

Premium on Exchequer Bills.‡

10s. to 12s.

51s. to 53s.

68s.

† Including *deposits*, the total of their liabilities to pay gold on demand, exceeded the amount of gold in hand by 30 millions.

or metallic money did not set in till the whole body of speculators became infected with distrust; and then we see how, in a moment, the principle of immediate convertibility into gold, *with no alternative of safety*, involves the prudent and the imprudent—the reckless gambler and plain plodding industry—in one common gulf of ruin.

1826.—Depression of trade throughout the first half of the year. The Government advance £2,000,000 of Exchequer Bills to the Bank. The Bank advances a similar sum to manufacturers, on the security of dock warrants, bills of lading, &c. Trade resumes its accustomed channels.

1827.—7 Geo. IV., c. 6, prohibits the circulation of small notes for sums under £5, after April 5, 1829.

1830.—Death of George IV. French Revolution of July. Opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway, and death of Mr. Huskisson.

1832.—Cholera; and popular commotions on the rejection of the Reform Bill by the House of Lords, and the accession to office of the Duke of Wellington. Placards about the metropolis “to stop the Duke—go for gold.” A run for gold, in consequence, reduces the hulkion in the Bank to £4,919,000. Royal assent given to the Reform Bill, June 7th.

1833.—3 and 4 Wm. IV., renews the Bank Charter Act, and allows, for the first time, the bills of country banks to be made payable in London. Bank notes to be a *legal tender* for sums above £5, excepting by the Bank itself, or its branches.

1834 to 1837.—Three months’ bills exempted from the usury laws by the 3rd and 4th Wm. IV., c. 98. Improving prices, and speculations in railway and other share undertakings. President Jackson abolishes, in 1836, the Bank of the United States, and takes measures to establish a metallic currency. Congress reduces the quantity of fine gold in the *American Eagle* from 246 to 232 grains, which raises throughout the United States the value of English sovereigns.* Consequent *drain of gold at the Bank of England*. Alternate *contraction and extension of discounts*, and general commercial derangement at the close of 1836, and the beginning of 1837. American houses the greatest sufferers. Death of William IV., 1837.

BANK RETURNS.

		Circulation.	Bullion.
1834.	Jan. 7. . .	£18,216,000	£9,948,000
	Sept. 23. . .	19,126,000	7,695,000
1835.	June 4. . .	18,460,000	6,150,000
1836.	June 28. . .	17,899,000	7,562,000
	Sept. 21. . .	18,147,000	5,719,000
1837.	Feb. 28. . .	18,165,000	4,077,000

1838 and 1839.—Two deficient harvests. Price of wheat 81s. 6d. for the second week of January, 1839. Large importations of corn, and consequent *drain of bullion*. The Bank seek to check the drain by contracting its circulation and raising the rate of discount to 5½ per cent., but without effect. Acts upon the exchanges by the creation of accommodation bills to the amount of £2,500,000, drawn upon the bankers of Paris; for which purpose it pledges securities with the house of Baring.†

1840.—2 & 3 Vict., c. 37, exempts all bills of exchange and loans above £10 on personal securities, from the operation of the usury laws. *Loans upon the security of real property still limited to 5 per cent.*

* Tooke's 'History of Prices.' Vol. II., page 285.

† Francis' 'History of the Bank.' Vol. II., page 121.

BANK RETURNS.

		Circulation.	Bullion.
1838.	April 3	£18,987,000	£10,126,000
1839.	April 2	18,371,000	7,073,000
..	Nov. 12	17,235,000	2,545,000
1840.	Jan. 7	16,366,000	3,454,000

1844.—Renewal of the Bank Charter. The 7 & 8 Vict., c. 32, divides the Bank into two departments, an *Issue department* and a *Banking department*; and limits the amount of Bank paper that may be issued upon other securities than gold to 14 millions. It also limits the issues of country banks, whether upon gold or any other security, to the average of the 12 weeks ending April 27; about £8,000,000.

1845.—The 8th & 9th Vict., c. 37, limits the circulation of Irish banks, and the 8th & 9th Vict. c. 38, limits the circulation of Scotch banks to their then issues. Bank of England notes not to be a legal tender in Scotland.

The three last measures were passed in fair weather times, when in consequence of the improvement of trade the demand for *real* money was diminishing, and business was again transacted through the medium of the *money of account*—gold again a drug, and those who held notes representing it finding a difficulty in placing them at 2½ per cent. The operation of the principle involved in this important distinction between the money of account and real money not having been understood, it was not perceived by the legislature that the mere crippling of banking resources would do literally nothing towards restraining a spirit of commercial enterprize within due limits, but would most fearfully aggravate the evils of its recoil. Let it, however, here be observed that this crippling of banking resources is not a necessary consequence of the mere separation of departments. That principle of the Bank Charter we must admit to be a sound one. When we see the failures of men in the position of Governors and Directors of the Bank of England of every day occurrence, we ought surely to pause before entrusting the issue of *State paper money* (meaning thereby notes made a legal tender) to the absolute discretion of any private parties connected with trade. The only defect of the *Issue department* is that of the Mint,—which coins nothing as a legal tender but gold. Give to the *Issue department*, in cases of temporary need, the same power of enlarging the circulation, upon other securities than gold, which the Bank itself formerly enjoyed, and let that power, subject to proper control, be exercised not capriciously at a moment of panic, but systematically and wisely before the panic arrives, and although insolvents could not be upheld, we should hear no more of the *monetary crisis*, in which men of property find themselves on the brink of bankruptcy, and discharged workmen crowding our streets, from a sudden interruption of unexecuted orders, against the mis-

fortune of which no foresight could guard. What hinders? Nothing but the principle of immediate and exclusive gold convertibility, to which such a policy would of course be opposed. Blinded to consequences by this theory, and defying the lessons of all time, we go on regulating our currency in the infatuated spirit of the gaming table,—staking all we possess upon the hazard of a single throw.

1844 and 1845.—Improving prices and expanding confidence in 1844. Gold again becomes a drug. Bullion, in the two departments of the Bank, Sept. 21, £15,158,964. Bank rate of discount, 2½. Speculations in cotton from deficient crops; and speculations in railway shares from the success of the London and Birmingham Company. The following year speculations in railway shares become a mania, by which this country and the whole of Europe is infected. Bullion, June 14, 1845, £16,613,920. The recoil of speculation in the Autumn produces an increased demand for money, and a rapid fall of all railway securities. Bullion Dec. 20, £13,378,343. *This first panic confined to the railway interest.* Cold and heavy rains in Autumn prevent the ripening of the potato root, and the crop proves unsound.

1846.—The corn-laws repealed. Railway shares partially recover, and fall. Rally till harvest, and again fall. Bullion, August 29, £16,366,068. Dearth of corn in France. A nearly total failure of the potato plant in Ireland from the combined effects of unripe seed and an unusually dry season. A labour-rate act passed for the employment of the Irish during the winter. Large importations of corn, and *beginning of a drain of gold.*

1847.—March 1.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer contracts with Messrs. Baring and Rothschild an Irish loan of £8,000,000, at the rate of £3 7s. per cent. The relief measures of the English and French Governments produce an exaggerated demand for corn, and raise the price of provisions throughout Europe. The drain of gold increases about the period of the April dividends. £7,000,000 of gold withdrawn in less than six months. The Banking department compelled to refuse discounts, or to make advances upon Government stock, or even silver bullion. Money suddenly becomes excessively dear. *Panic, and universal mercantile depression.* Gazette averages of wheat for the week ending May, 29, 102s. 5d.; for the week ending Sept. 18, 49s. 6d. This rapid fall, and the simultaneous anxiety of holders of corn, holders of cotton, and holders of railway shares to realize, and the directors of new railways to complete their lines by making heavy calls, produce an unexampled demand for money. The Foreign Exchanges improve; but private bankers, in alarm, increasing their cash reserves, *the drain of gold continues.* To provide for the October dividends, the Bank is again compelled to refuse loans and discounts, and this time more peremptorily than before. Private bankers imitating their example, a total collapse ensues of all commercial credit depending upon the negotiability of Bills of Exchange. Forced sales, in consequence, of Consols, and every description of security; and a series of failures unequalled in amount at any similar crisis recorded in British history.

Oct. 25.—A letter from Lord John Russell and Sir Charles Wood to the governor and deputy-governor of the Bank, *virtually suspending the provisions of the Bank Charter Act*, and recommending an enlargement of its circulation at a rate of discount *not less than eight per cent.* The Bank acting upon this, the severity of the crisis abates; private bankers release their surplus reserves, while at the same time, from the

continuing distrust of English bills, bullion flows in from abroad with unusual rapidity.

Nov. 23.—The first session of a new Parliament opened by Royal commission. The House extends the time for making railways; appoints a committee to consider and report upon the state of the currency, and adjourns for the holidays. Bank Rate of discount reduced from 8 to 7, and from 7 to 6 per cent., during the month.

Dec. 23.—The minimum rate of discount at the Bank reduced to five per cent. All commercial and manufacturing operations continuing limited, up to this date, and railway works almost entirely suspended.

. Bullion in the two departments Dec. 4, £11,032,599, of which amount £4,783,065 could not be withdrawn by the Banking Department under the provisions of the Bank Charter Act.

BANK RETURNS.

Banking Department.

	Liabilities in Deposits and seven days' bills.	Cash reserve.
1844. Sept. 21.....	£14,778,345	£9,540,804
1845. June 14.....	17,552,981	10,551,420
1846. Aug. 29.....	17,189,760	9,939,938
1847. April 17.....	13,925,799	3,087,056
„ Oct. 23.....	14,301,916	1,994,516
„ Dec. 4.....	17,126,533	6,249,534

In closing this curious, and we trust it will be found useful historical digest of the contents of some hundred volumes, there are three things which may perhaps especially attract our notice, while they leave upon the mind an impression of wonder. First, the fact that the principle of exclusive convertibility into *gold*, which, from the self-complacent dogmatism with which it has been supported, the public has been led to imagine was as old as the hills, is discovered to be an entirely new experiment, of which every trial has been attended with disaster, and of which the British nation has never yet had the continuous experience of four-and-twenty years! Second, that although the *inconvertible* paper of the Bank bought back the gold which enabled it to resume cash payments in 1821, when the rate of discount was limited by law to £5 per cent., it should in these days have been considered necessary by Government, and at a moment of excessive depreciation in the value of all commodities relatively to money, to raise the *minimum* rate of discount to 8 per cent. to secure a return of bullion.

Third, that a body of legislators approving of such ruinous rates as a temporary expedient, and impressed with a belief that railway calls are nearly the sole cause of our present embarrassments, should meet and dissolve without even one thought of the expediency of repealing that last portion of the usury laws which still prohibits Railway Companies, and the owners generally of lands and houses, borrowing money upon the security of *real property* at a rate of interest exceeding 5 per cent!

We conclude by calling upon the members of the new Currency Committee to consider the order in which their inquiry should be conducted in reference especially to those interests of the country which are at the present moment placed in the most immediate jeopardy.

Assuming the fact—about which there has been no controversy—that the engagements of the existing body of railway shareholders are beyond their means, we would suggest the importance of proceeding at once to the question of—whether the nation itself is in a similar position? If there be no evidence of any deficiency of capital nationally, but on the contrary, the most conclusive proofs of a more than average abundance of food, and all the materials of labour, we would then urge upon the Committee the duty of devising some plan,—with or without a departure from the principle of convertibility, by which the national capital may be rendered available for setting the railway labourer again to work, and staying that useless waste and destruction of property now going forward, for which we must all pay in the end.

This—their first and most serious obligation discharged, we would recommend to their consideration the following propositions;—a concise summary of the whole of the preceding argument.

First—*That a given quantity of any one commodity, such as gold, or any two commodities, such as gold and silver, or gold and paper, subject to a variable demand, is a delusive criterion of value; one which in all ages has operated unequally and mischievously in the adjustment of contracts, and led, more than any other cause than can be named, to the proverbial vicissitudes of trade.*

Second—*That the only true standard of value is that which is obtained by a comparison of general averages; and that the issues of all notes, or coins, allowed to be circulated as a legal tender, should be regulated by such a standard, and such a standard alone.**

* The value of money, *per se*, and the value of capital generally, would then accurately correspond, instead of continually varying, as under the present system. For example,—suppose it to be agreed that the average return of capital is in this country fairly represented by a dividend of £3 upon £90 of Consols. If Consols rose to £100 and other commodities rose in the same proportion, it would prove that money (not capital) was in excess; and it would in such case be the duty of a *national* bank to raise the rates of discount upon notes, and to stop all further issues of coin by the mint. If, on the other hand, the prices of commodities generally fell below the average return to capital, and Consols were, say at £80, proving an increased demand for money, it would then be the duty of a national bank to lower its rates of interest upon loans and discounts, extending its issues of paper upon unexceptionable securities, and at the same time extending the supply of mint coins.

FOREIGN LITERATURE.

1.—*Diogena ; Roman* Von Iduna Grafın H. H. Brockhaus, Leipsig. 1847.

THIS clever satire, which has already run through two editions, has, it is understood, fairly extinguished the Countess of Hahn Hahn, or if not, at all events compelled her for the future to let her light shine to better purpose. Its style so closely resembles that of many of her productions, that we can conceive the possibility of its being by simple readers mistaken for "the genuine article," and only here and there the mask is lifted so as to give a full view of the laughing face of the caricaturist beneath.

That the Countess's works have been extensively read in Germany is, of course, proved by the success of the satire,—and as the Gods, in their bounty, have permitted that many of them should be translated into English, they are tolerably well known even here. But in case our readers should happen to be unacquainted with them, we will briefly indicate for their edification some of the leading characteristics of the Hahn-Hahn romance. Most of them take the form of biographies of certain ladies, all marvellously gifted, and miraculously beautiful, and so highly born, that indeed there's no saying where they come from, who go about over the whole world seeking what hearts they may devour, without ever being able to fill their own, or even satisfactorily ascertaining that they have any to fill. Their genus is one by no means rare—its characteristic marks being vanity, idleness, selfishness and sensuality—the differentia of their species, "immense souls," and fabulously small hands and feet—their property that of attracting irresistibly the eyes and affections of all mankind.

But though the world is thus all before them, seeing that the human species, or, at least, the masculine half of it, is at their feet ; and though no difficulties of fortune, still less anything so far beneath such sublime and aristocratic personages as any ordinary moral scruples are allowed to stand in their way, they find it impossible to discover "the right man," or the exact description of love they are in search of, but precisely in this lies the secret of their "tragic destiny." To this possession of a tragic destiny—be it known to all men—high rank is indispensable. As our friend Diogena exclaims—

"One must have time at one's disposal to have a destiny; it is a vocation, a distinction of our class of society—ennobling the life of those who might otherwise appear quite frivolous, worthless, commonplace persons. It falls from Heaven like the prerogative of our birth; but only in lordly parks, or on richest carpets, and to be caught up only by delicate hands. Imagine, for a moment, one of these grand gigantic exclusively tragic destinies tumbling down into the life of a mechanic! What on earth could he do with such a thing? Or how should a mere middle-class woman, content with the love of her husband, and the fulfilment of the cooking, washing duties of her narrow sphere, comprehend the sublime sufferings of women like those of our race—or of an Empress Messalina, or a Lucrezia Borgia."

A contempt for the *bourgeoisie*, and all that belongs to them, is but thinly veiled by the Countess herself, and, of course, amusingly displayed by Diogenæ.

"How beautiful," she says, "is life on these aristocratic heights. Like the ever smiling Gods of Olympus do we pass our days; and what thanks does not the mass of mankind owe to those who have shown them, in romances, a faint reflex of our glories, and lifted the curtain which conceals our noble passions, and our lofty fates."

Diogenæ, therefore, allows the world to know that she is descended from an ancient Grecian family, whose origin is lost in the darkness of the age of Deucalion; and that the first ancestor whose name is entered on the records of her house is Diogenes—from whom she inherits his name, and the lantern with which he went out to seek for "the right man,"—which search is still continued in the female line.

"We, the unhappy daughters of his race, are the wandering Jews of the heart—wearing ourselves out in vain attempts to love." We have not space for the instructive course of experiments which these "immense but empty souls" go through, and in which Diogenæ proves herself a worthy successor of the Faustinas and Sibyllas. In her youth, she is a very dragon in the appetite with which she swallows all arts and sciences, from the humblest needlework to the profoundest depths of philosophy, as our American friends say, "from pitch-and-toss to manslaughter."

"Not that I appeared to try to learn anything; on the contrary, I made sport of everything; but the whole passion of my nature cast itself now into the knitting of stockings—and my stockings had a softness, a warmth, a lightness, to which no other could ever attain;—now into Berlin-wool work, and in one day I could do as much as three of the most practised workwomen, and then at night fell down in a state of exhaustion, which bordered on somnambulism I learnt all languages, dead and living; I was equal to any professor in history and geography. I made verses to enchantment, and sang, and drew, and danced like an angel," &c., &c.

But, alas! the tranquillity even of this early period, is disturbed by visions of those charming counts, with their eyes swimming in liquid lustre, and perfumed locks, and lemon-coloured kid gloves, such as hover round Madame Hahn-Hahn's heroines, and perpetually awaken fallacious hopes of the arrival of the "right man;" but prove at last to have been mere food for powder, and fall by dozens, victims to the terrible artillery of their eyes "as soft as velvet."

Many of the episodes of *Diogena* might be presented as favourable specimens of the writer they undertake to parody, and some display powers which we hope to see more pleasantly employed.

Our readers may possibly think that the present satire was a work of supererogation, since no caricature can well surpass the originals in absurdity; but we must recollect that these productions are written with a certain warmth, and glow, and glitter of style, that has made them extensively read amongst those classes where they are likely to prove most mischievous; and that the moral they preach is that of boundless self-indulgence, and an impudent defiance of every restraint upon caprice or passion.

2.—*Die Ruckkehr. Von Verfasser der Briefe eines Verstorbenen.*
(The Return. By the Author of 'Letters of a Deceased Person').
1st Part. Egypt. Berlin: 1846.

THE author of the '*Briefe eines Verstorbenen*,' *videlicet*, Prince Puckler Muskau, is, we apprehend, too old an acquaintance of the English public, to make any particular introduction necessary. The volumes before us contain the account of his return voyage down the Nile—the ascent of the river, and the earlier part of his residence in Egypt, having been described in a series of letters, published some years ago in the '*Allgemeine Zeitung*,' and subsequently translated for the '*Athenæum*.' They are of a much tamer character than his earlier productions, with little or nothing either of their coxcombry or of their vivacity, but by no means deserving, we think, of the rough handling they have met with from some of the critics of his native land. The sojourn of a man of talent, acquainted both with the world and with books, in a country so interesting and peculiar, can scarcely be wholly barren; but we miss the deep and serious interest in mankind or in art which covers a multitude of sins in a traveller. A journey up the Nile has now too, alas! become so common an undertaking, and all travellers are so nearly confined to the same plan of procedure, that it is by no means easy to give a variety to their narratives. Prince Puckler Muskau attempted a slight variation from the beaten track, by leaving the river for a time, and returning through the desert from Macharif to Jebel Barkal, and this is not to be done without encountering hardships. The Sheikh, who had been given him as a guide, lost his way, and had also neglected to fix a place of rendezvous with the caravan that had preceded them; and after a nine hours' march across glowing sands, beneath a burning sun, and totally without refreshment, the Prince was obliged to halt, and send out a party to reconnoitre, who returned with the intelligence that they had indeed found traces of the caravan, from which they could calculate its present position, which was a full nine hours' journey more, from their having taken a totally wrong direction. Thereupon his Highness of Muskau, not perhaps quite unexcusably,

fell into a vehement rage, and ordered five-and-twenty stripes to be forthwith administered to the neglectful Sheikh. The culprit was informed of the sentence, but, instead of exclamations or entreaties to be spared, he piously ejaculated, "Allah is great," and lay down in the most docile manner to receive what fate had awarded him. The Prince, however, was not so far Orientalized as not to be overcome by this humility, and was pleased to remit the punishment, apparently to the great astonishment of the offender.

At length, dreadfully fatigued, the party reached the place where the tents were pitched, but their troubles were not yet over.

After sleeping full twelve hours, our traveller awoke with a very sufficient inclination to breakfast; but scarcely were the welcome preparations completed, when there arose one of those violent whirlwinds to which the desert is subject, and which in half a minute tore up the tent, and buried the Prince under the ruins of shattered dishes, plates and glasses, and had not the table upheld the falling poles, his person would probably have shared in the disaster of the fractured crockery.

Here are some characteristic traits of Eastern manners :—

"The next day's journey to the village of Jebel Bakral, was but a short one, and took us once more past the pyramids of Nur. Several people were at work at the great one, breaking away stones for the grave of a Santon, and, at no great distance from it we encountered the deceased saint himself, wrapped in white cloths, lying on a hier, and attended by many women, singing and dancing. About twenty men were also standing round, but quite motionless.

"I stopped to contemplate the spectacle, and our Sheikh and his people employed the opportunity to alight and salute their acquaintances with due formality. The ceremonies indeed seemed almost endless. First the parties would gaze at each other earnestly for a long time, making, the while, all sorts of cabalistic signs with their hands. Then they performed an elaborate embrace, each laying his head first on the right and then on the left shoulder of the other, and then, and not till then, they began to speak; and if one were in the slightest degree superior in rank or age to the other, his hands were kissed repeatedly. One very ancient man, with a long white beard, had his hand kissed by our Sheikh nine times. This reverence for old age is unquestionably a beautiful trait in the oriental character, and it is much to be regretted that it should so far have disappeared among those who regard themselves as more civilized. What consolation is left to helpless age, without the respect of the young? * * * *

"Before reaching the place appointed for our bivouac, we came to a grove of palms, so beautiful, that I determined to make it our breakfast station. The dates were almost ripe, and hung from the trees in rich abundance. A pleasant village lay not far off, whence several of the inhabitants of both sexes had strolled out, and sat down to contemplate us at their leisure.

"The indolence of these people is really marvellous; I offered them what was for the service a considerable sum, to carry a can of milk and one of water a short distance to the tents, but not one of them could make up his mind to do it.

"Each lifted the articles, which were far from heavy, to try them, but laughed, shook his head, and put them down again, referring me to his neighbour, who did just the same.

"After I had been carrying on this fruitless negotiation for some time, the

Kavass approached, and in a grave and dignified manner, without saying a word, gave one of the young men a hearty whack across the shoulders; and, on the instant, as if this argument had made him see the matter in quite a new light, he took up the two cans, without giving the smallest sign of displeasure, and trotted after us in the most brisk and good humoured manner possible.

"The former Governor of Khéne had often dined with me, and was anything but averse to champagne, but his successor would not be induced to taste a drop of the forbidden beverage. I supposed, of course, that his abstinence arose from a religious scruple, but he laughingly disclaimed this interpretation of it. 'No!' he said 'a melancholy event of my life induced me to make a vow never to permit myself again the indulgence of wine, or any other intoxicating drink.'

"Feeling rather curious concerning the nature of this tragic occurrence, I ventured to ask if I might be permitted to inquire what this melancholy event was. The answer was characteristic.

" 'Formerly,' said he, 'I drank wine freely enough, and, one evening, I came home completely drunk; they carried me into the harem, and there a violent dispute arose among the women as to who should take care of me. I woke up at the noise, and not knowing what I did, drew my sabre and began to lay about me among the women. They ran away screaming, and I after them, till down I tumbled, and there I lay till morning. When I came to myself, however, I found that I had given my favourite slave, who had cost me twenty thousand piastres, a cut across the throat, of which she has died. The affair soon became known, and though the accidental death of a slave is, of course, no very important matter, yet I was so ashamed of my drunkenness, and vexed at the loss of so much money, that I resolved never again to run the risk of a similar catastrophe. Since that time, not a drop of wine has passed my lips.'

What will our ladies say to this specimen of Turkish sentiment?

"During my stay at Meravi, I gave myself much trouble to obtain from various people the most exact information concerning the position of the Fellahs with respect to the government, and the result was as follows:—The Fellah pays for every *Saki* yearly 250 piasters, as taxes, a certain proportion, however, in kind, but not more than five *ardeps*. This demand is, in this district, at least, I believe, never exceeded, although it may have happened elsewhere. The remainder of the harvest the Fellah may dispose of as he will. Should he afterwards be without corn for seed, which, however, only happens to the disorderly, he may receive it from the Government magazines, at a trifling advance on the price at which he has delivered it. He has no other legal burden, and the above-mentioned do not amount to more than thirty per cent. on the harvest. Industrious frugal labourers can therefore live here much better than in Turkey or Greece, where, at least when I was in those countries, they had to pay full fifty per cent.; and as this might be demanded either in kind or in money, it sometimes happened that the peasant had to borrow at a most usurious interest.

"The necessity of paying his taxes compels the Fellah to work, which, perhaps, he might not do if he were perfectly free from any burden. I can also positively declare that the country along the Nile, as far as Dongola, and even farther, to the extent of the irrigation, is carefully cultivated; that it nowhere exhibits any traces of distress, and that there is everywhere an abundance of meat and other provisions. It is certain, nevertheless, that the welfare of the people depends greatly on the character of the official personages of the locality."

A M. Drovetti, a nephew of the Austrian Consul, whom the Prince afterwards encountered in the province of Fayum, where he has been settled eight years, and has eight hundred *feddans* of land under cultivation—gave a similar account, and declared that the taxes really paid to the government were moderate in amount, and that the bad administration and the corruption of the government officers had occasioned most of the mischief from which the country has suffered. The Fellah in Fayum pays 40 piasters the *feddan*, and earns a hundred; but, by the intrigues of the above-mentioned worthies, he is, nevertheless, not unfrequently involved in debt, from which he can seldom again extricate himself.

The sins which may properly be placed to the account of the government itself are, first, the practice of remaining always in arrear with the salary of its officers; secondly, the confused and injurious customs' system, occasioning incalculable disadvantage to the internal trade, and inducing the great caravans from the interior of Africa to avoid Egypt as much as possible; thirdly, the neglect of a regular census of the population, for the better regulation both of the imposts and of the military conscription, for which at present the inhabitants are hunted and caught like wild beasts; and, after having been kept in irons till they are examined, those who are wanted are turned out again without the smallest consideration for the families dependant upon them. Beside these, the monopoly of the principal objects of commerce in the hands of the Pacha is of course a most crying evil; and to all these grievances Prince Puckler Muskau adds those occasioned by the Coptic Christians, whom he declares to be a most thoroughly corrupt and worthless race—the modern plagues of Egypt—which has, nevertheless, rendered itself almost indispensable by its superior knowledge and intelligence, both in public and in private affairs. It is his opinion, that if they could be displaced from the financial and other departments by a class of Mahometans, on whom a suitable education had been bestowed, a great benefit would be conferred on the country; but it is not certain that his Highness's peculiar cast of thought has not full as much influence on this decision as the facts which have come before him.

Our readers are probably aware, from his former publications, of the high consideration and friendship manifested to our author by the present ruler of Egypt; and this favour, with the exception of a momentary passing cloud, seems to have shone on him to the last.

After returning from the provinces, the Prince ventured, he says, to tell the Viceroy some disagreeable truths concerning the scandalous manner in which he and the people were cheated by his officers. At first, he disputed the accuracy of his informant, thought he had looked at things through a distorted medium, and asked "if we had not some dishonest functionaries even in Europe?" At last, he admitted that he was not served as faithfully as he could wish, but added, laughing, "All finds its way back, however, sooner or later, to my pocket, and," he continued, recollecting himself, "flows back again thence to my people."

Prince Puckler Muskan was fortunately able to speak to the Pacha in terms of high praise, of the appointments of his cavalry regiments in Beni-Suef, and upon that hint Mehemet Ali launched out, with an enthusiasm worthy of a European sovereign on such a point, upon a plan for the attainment of some ideal perfection in their trowsers, which has it seems created a great schism in Egypt, the pattern devised by the genius of the *Minister of Public Instruction* (!) having met with energetic resistance from the Colonel Warin, who could not, or would not, see the beauty of it.

On the author's final departure from Cairo, he was again honoured with a long and confidential conversation with the Viceroy "in his Paradisaical garden," and with no other witness than the interpreter. He took much pains on this occasion to impress the mind of the ruler of Egypt with the importance and weight of public opinion in Europe, and the advantage it would be to him in this respect to do something for the preservation of the monuments of ancient art in this most remarkable country, of which he was now sole monarch, as well as to contribute his powerful assistance towards the investigation of the interior of Africa, and of the course and origin of the Nile, to the excavation of buried works of art, &c., by which he would gain more admiration and popularity than by the incorporation of several new territories; and the Prince also pointed out, that even for projects of conquest the south of his dominions was far more promising than the north and east, where the Viceroy would come into a most critical collision with Europe, whilst in Abyssinia, Darfour, and unknown lands in that direction, he would have the field as yet to himself.

"He heard me, apparently at least, with much patience, and I am tempted to flatter myself that my words were not quite without effect in bringing about his subsequent expeditions for the discovery of the sources of the Nile, to which the geography of that part of Africa has been so much indebted. It cannot, however, be denied, that among the weaknesses of his Highness the Viceroy, must be counted an excessive impatience of contradiction. A diplomatic person of my acquaintance indeed once ventured to reproach him with this failing to his face. 'You may not be altogether in the wrong,' answered Mehemet Ali, 'and it is quite natural that it should be so, for every great thing that I have done in the course of my life, has been almost always in opposition to the advice of my counsellors; whilst, whenever I have made any mistakes, it has been when I have given up my own judgment to theirs. Since then, I have become somewhat impatient of contradiction.'"

"You know, my dear," says my Lady Teazle, "whenever we quarrelled, you were always in the wrong."

"When at length the time came, I took my leave with real emotion, and thanked the Viceroy with a full heart for the friendship he had shown me. He replied kindly, that it had not been, for many reasons, always possible for him to treat me as he would willingly have done, but that I should see by the commands he had issued to his confidential servant, Boghos Bey, for my reception in Alexandria, that his sentiments towards me remained unaltered. I should regard Boghos Bey as his *alter Ego*, and freely explain to him my own wishes, as well as anything I might deem desirable for his service. After he

had also issued his commands, that the works of the 'Barrage,' as well as his English steam-boat, should be shown to me, and informed me that I should make the voyage to Alexandria in one of his own vessels, he accompanied me to the middle of the saloon, and wished me all manner of health and happiness. The door then closed, and I had seen the most remarkable of Oriental Princes probably for the last time in my life. Passing through the garden to the place of embarkation, I found there, in Mehemet Ali's uniform, a young Frenchman whom I had known in Algiers, and the story of whose appointment here is characteristic enough. It seems he had been, for reasons I am unacquainted with, compelled to leave Algiers, and came here to offer his services to the Viceroy in a menial capacity. With this view, he presented himself to Ibrahim Pacha, who was pleased with his handsome person, and said to him, half in jest, 'Become a Turk, and I will make you a Captain of the Guard.' 'Done,' said the Frenchman, 'I take your highness's offer,' and, without a moment's hesitation, he took the necessary measures, and on the following day found himself a captain accordingly."

With this edifying anecdote, we bid farewell for the present to Prince Puckler Muskau, leaving him comfortably established in the Pacha's yacht, "tapestried with green silk, with ottomans covered with crimson velvet and broad gold lace," and all things, as the upholsterers say, "to correspond."

La Russie et les Russes (Russia and the Russians), par N. Tourgueneff. Bruxelles: Maline, Cans et Co.—Leipsig: J. P. Maline. 1847.

IT is one of the inevitable misfortunes of despotic governments, that they have a continual tendency to repel men capable of rendering them important services, while they draw with an irresistible attraction such as are composed of baser matter.

The honest, the enlightened, the patriotic, if for a time they are found within the sphere of an autocrat, are pretty sure, sooner or later, to be thrown out of it; while the selfish, the narrow-minded, and the unprincipled, attach themselves to it by a natural affinity.

"We alone are faithful,—we
Cling to him everlastingly!"

Free governments can in most cases find employment for the most valuable portion of their subjects at home, and, as a general rule, it is only the most worthless part of the nation that is to be found loitering in foreign countries; with that of Russia the reverse takes place, and the men most capable of serving their country are usually those who are driven into exile and unwilling inactivity. Of this class is M. Tourgueneff, who was banished and sentenced to death in 1825 for a supposed participation in the extensive conspiracy discovered immediately after the accession of the Emperor Nicholas,—with the details of which our readers are probably already acquainted.

The knowledge of the peculiar position in which the author is placed, and the title of '*Mémoires d'un Proscrit*,' which he has bestowed on his first volume, may probably induce an expectation of

finding in his work violent and exaggerated statements, and an abundant outpouring of that unmeasured vituperation which is apt to defeat its own object, and remind one of the charitable proverb which says, that it is possible to paint even his satanic majesty himself in colours darker than his true complexion.

If such an impression exist in the mind of the reader, it will soon be most completely removed. The personal narrative, which gives the detail of M. Tourgueneff's public life, does not contain so much as one impatient expression directed against the authors of the injustice of which he has been the victim, or a single statement which has the appearance of having been coloured or distorted by personal considerations. His manner is indeed almost too cool and dispassionate for the interest of his readers, who are perhaps more likely to be wearied by his calm, dry, official tone, than to have their judgments warped by any contagion of passionate excitement.

The first volume contains, along with the account of the author's public life, a brief sketch of the political history of Russia, from 1812 to 1824, and a statement of the part which he took, or did not take, in the secret associations on foot during that period. The second gives us the picture of the social condition of Russia,—of the relations of the various classes, and especially of the condition of the peasants; for although born in the rank of serf-owners, M. Tourgueneff was forcibly affected, even from his childhood, by the melancholy condition of this class of men in his native country, and his inquiries into the nature of its institutions during his studies at Gottingen, and his subsequent travels into the principal European countries, including England, could hardly fail to deepen the impression which, in the first instance, had been the fruit of the spontaneous sympathies of childhood.

His first entrance into public life was made under the auspices of the celebrated and enlightened Prussian statesman, Baron Von Stein, whom he attended as Russian Commissary in the stormy period between the retreat of the French armies from Russia, and the first peace of Paris, and did not return to his native country till 1816, having devoted himself, in the meantime, with great ardour to the study of political and economical science.

The state of the public mind in Russia (if that phrase may be applied to it) was one of unprecedented animation and excitement. Not merely the regular troops, but great bodies of the militia, drawn from all classes, had seen that there was a world beyond the limits of the Russian empire, and had brought back with them, from their campaigns, ideas of things hitherto undreamt of in their philosophy. This new-born liberalism and the agitation it awakened, and which showed itself most wherever the largest bodies of military men were assembled, soon found expression in various writings, epigrammatic or poetical, that were diligently circulated in M.S., and even the press began to exhibit symptoms of awakening from its torpor. Subjects hitherto inaccessible to the public were seriously discussed. The journals oc-

cupied themselves with what was passing in France, and with the experiments making there of new institutions, and the names of the principal political writers of Europe became familiar words in the mouths of Russian officers.

"The officers of the guard," says M. Tourgueneff, "especially attracted attention by the freedom and boldness with which they expressed themselves, caring, apparently, very little whether it was in private or in public, or whether those who listened to their doctrines were friends or enemies. No one seemed to fear spies, and, indeed, the system of *espionage* was at this period almost unknown. The Government, far from opposing the direction of public opinion, showed by its acts that its sympathies were in accordance with those of the soundest and most enlightened part of the nation."

It was during this short gleam of hope and intellectual sunshine that crossed the dark political horizon of Petersburg, that some young men conceived the project of forming a society to maintain the impulse that had been given, and direct the newly-awakened public spirit of their countrymen to purposes of practical utility. So little distrust did the Russian Government inspire at that time, so well disposed did it appear towards measures of salutary reform, that a question was started among the founders of the association, whether they should not apply for the express support of the Emperor, and the motion was only negatived by the consideration that their plans might be misunderstood.

Soon after his return to Russia, M. Tourgueneff had published a work called '*A Theory of Taxes*,' the very permission of which by the Censor is a sufficient proof that a tone of feeling very different from its ordinary suspicious watchfulness then influenced the Russian Government and its functionaries.

In this work, which had been sketched during the author's residence at Gottingen, he endeavoured to point out the general effects of the study of political science, and of political economy in particular, and to demonstrate that liberty must form the basis of all sound theories of politics, finance, or government. In speaking of the power and wealth of England, he took occasion to show that she owed these, and many other advantages, before all things to the freedom of her institutions; and making excursions also into higher regions of politics than strictly belonged to his subject, he did not let pass the opportunity of touching upon the subject that lay nearest his heart, the system of serfdom, which he regarded as the disgrace and the misery of his country.

"I believe (he says) that at no time has anything so clear and explicit upon this point been printed in the Russian language; and although the circumstance of its being the first work on finance in the native literature might have sufficed to draw towards it the public attention, it was my opinion that it was chiefly read for the sake of the accessories of which I have spoken."

It was by this publication that M. Tourgueneff first became known to his countrymen, to whom he had hitherto been as a stranger. Many expressions of esteem were lavished on him from the public press, his

acquaintance was sought by persons of note, and though it could not be but that among men in office it made many enemies, it also brought him friends even amongst the highest, and led to his being associated with the most considerable men in the empire in the Council of State.

Towards the end of the year 1819 he was one day surprised by a visit from the Prince Troubetskoy, whom he scarcely knew by name, and who, without many preliminary explanations, informed him, that from what he knew of his opinions he thought he might venture to propose to him to join a society, of which at the same time he handed him the statutes. It was to bear the very comprehensive title of "*l'Union du bien public*;" the members were to be divided into different classes, of which one should occupy itself with public instruction, another with affairs of justice, a third with political economy, &c., but all only in theory; there was professedly not the slightest intention of attempting to operate any actual change in the condition of affairs.

M. Tourgueneff did not, he says, feel very strongly tempted to join the association with this high-sounding title. He believed that Russia would not furnish the means of arriving at any very important results; for this it would have been necessary to obtain the assistance of writers both earnest and well-informed on many difficult and complicated branches of knowledge. There was, too, a certain air of rawness and inexperience in the whole plan; it appeared so—what in London slang is called "*young*," that he felt tempted to decline having anything to do with it, especially as there was in it no mention of the subject of serfage, which appeared to him of paramount interest. On further reflection, however, he was induced to change his first intention, as he thought he might make this very society the instrument of drawing attention to this all-important question.

On joining the association, M. Tourgueneff found it entirely deficient in the kind of organisation he had been led to expect. There was nothing like the division of the members into different sections with various objects—the directing council, &c., spoken of in the statutes. The members were mostly very young literary men, or officers in the guards, but standing greatly in need of instruction on political subjects; M. Tourgueneff therefore earnestly recommended to them the study of various works, ancient and modern, which seemed calculated to develope and regulate their ideas. But as many of them were boiling with impatience to do something, without any very clear idea what it should be, the moment appeared favourable for calling their attention to the melancholy condition of the serfs; and as it seemed unnecessary to enter on any long discussion concerning the abstract justice of slavery, he confined his efforts to endeavouring to induce every member to enter into an engagement to do all in his individual power towards its abolition.

"'Each one of you,' said M. Tourgueneff, addressing the confraternity, 'possesses, or will possess, serfs; if you own any at present, begin by giving their freedom to such as are attached to your domestic service, and take mea-

tures to emancipate your peasants, since the law permits you to do so. In this manner, not only will there be some slaves the less, but the idea of emancipation will gain strength; and our rulers and the public will see that proprietors, who are men of honour, wish their serfs to become free.”

In order to add force to his precepts, M. Tourgueneff immediately enfranchised his own domestics, but it does not appear that his example was followed; and there were even instances of persons being extremely zealous for the freedom of the body to which they belonged, who desired to retain the peasants in all the miseries of their servile condition.

The society “for the public good” went on two or three years in a languishing way, or, rather, did not go on at all. At one time, M. Tourgueneff endeavoured to infuse a little life into it by proposing the publication of a journal or monthly magazine, for which he prepared several essays; and several other members also undertook certain tasks, sometimes obviously above their strengths; but all these projects shared the fate, whatever that may be, of mere good intentions, and the association eventually sunk under the natural feebleness of its constitution, perhaps hastened a little by the knowledge that the eye of the Government was upon it, for it is not in the nature of such a Government to avoid feeling fidgetty whenever two or three of its subjects are gathered together.

After the dissolution of the society, M. Tourgueneff was called to fill the office of Secretary to the Council of State, and was also employed in the finance department, in which he seems to have laboured to an extent that at length began to affect his health, and induced him to wish, at all events, for a change of occupation.

He had been employing every moment he could snatch from his official labours in the composition of a work on Trial by Jury; and it now occurred to him that a visit to England, while affording the necessary relaxation, might enable him to study the English plan of procedure in criminal cases. It happened about this time that the post of Russian Consul-General in London was spoken of as likely to become vacant, and thinking he could not possibly find a better opportunity for the fulfilment of his wishes, he addressed a letter to the Emperor, soliciting the appointment.

“Two days after, I received from the Count Archtiheeff an invitation to call on him, and then communicated to me the order he had just received, to inform me that my services at the Council of State were indispensable; that, besides, the post I solicited was one far beneath my merits; that the Emperor was aware of my exertions in my office, and well satisfied with them, and knew also that my appointments were insufficient; I had, therefore, only to ask what I would, ‘*Sa Majesté était prête à faire pour moi tous les sacrifices,*’ that was the expression of Count Archtiheeff, who was as little expert in conversation as with the pen. I replied to this communication that since it was the Emperor’s pleasure, I was willing to remain at my post in the council; but, that as to pecuniary recompense, it was the office of Consul-General I had desired, and not money; a reply with which, I was informed, he was much pleased, especially the latter part.”

M. Tourgueneff resumed his official duties with renewed ardour; but, at the end of another year it became manifestly impossible for him to continue them, and he obtained permission to travel, as well as to retain the salary of his office, and an advance of one step in rank, besides many warm expressions of interest and esteem.

He was in Paris when, in December 1825, he learned from the public papers the death of Alexander, and the military conspiracy that succeeded it; and shortly after, when in Edinburgh, at the house of a merchant of Leith, to whom he had letters of introduction, he heard, to his infinite astonishment, that he was implicated in the prosecution of the supposed authors of the conspiracy—on no other ground, according to his own account, than that of his having belonged to the Society for the Public Good—which had been, one would think, as inefficient as could have been desired.

Believing him to be at Naples, the Russian Ambassador to that court had received orders to arrest him; this order was sent to Rome, and thence forwarded by *estafette* to Paris, and when he could not be found in either of these capitals, an idea was actually entertained that he could be seized in England, and agents were sent secretly from Petersburg for the purpose—with what result it is needless to say—and as he refused to obey, voluntarily, a summons to Russia, which was about equivalent to the invitation to Master Barnardine to “rise and be hanged,” his name was entered on a list of twenty-nine persons condemned to death.

The peasants of Russia, who are the absolute property of the nobles, we find estimated by McCulloch (in 1836) at twenty-two millions; those belonging to the Crown, at twenty-one millions; while the whole privileged classes do not amount to a million and a half.*

The law of primogeniture does not exist in Russia; the estates are equally divided among all the sons of a noble, and they all bear, even during his lifetime, the same title as himself, so that it is common enough to find nobles living upon the labour of only two or three families of serfs; and in these cases, the naked deformity of the system is, perhaps, more striking than on the great estates. Some of these poor nobles, however, have the wisdom to employ their means in some branch of manufacturing industry, and others grow rich in the service of the state, though seldom by the most legitimate means; in general an apparent indifference to fortune prevails among them, not, we need hardly say, from a lofty contempt for riches or the enjoyments they can procure, but because “social distinction depends mainly upon rank, and that they may always hope that some day the dew of imperial favour may descend upon them, or, perhaps, a rich marriage, afford them the means of indulgence in the habits of luxury and profligacy for which the Russian nobles are notorious.” This class of

* See Classified account of the population of the Russian Empire in 1836, from the official statement published by the Minister of Finance, in McCulloch's *Geographical & Statistical Dictionary*.

nobility, which the law separates from the rest of the nation by barriers which it is continually endeavouring to strengthen, differs from it also widely in costume, in mode of life, and even in language (for even in the interior of private life, the French language is universally adopted), so that it has the air of a race of conquerors, imposed by some external force upon the nation, and its instincts, tendencies, and interests are wholly opposed to those of the great majority. When we consider this, and compare the relative numbers of these privileged classes, and of the myriads whom they hold in subjection—visions of mighty changes, of fearful retribution, seem to pass before our sight, and “coming events to cast their shadows before.”

But the day of reckoning is not yet at hand; those myriads of human souls yet slumber in happy unconsciousness of their rights—or that their position is other than a necessity and a law of nature, and it is this circumstance, perhaps, that has preserved them from some of the worst evils of slavery.

“Servitude has not degraded them,” says M. Tourgueneff; “it seems, on the contrary, when we compare this class to others, that the hardships of their position have served to elevate and ennoble them. Often the soul is purified by misfortune. Their vices are the effects of their condition; their virtues are their own, and so much the more sacred that they can only have been acquired by an incessant and courageous struggle unknown to the rest of the nation.”

The slavery of the great bulk of the Russian people is of no ancient origin, the law to which chiefly this tremendous evil is to be attributed dating no further back than 1593.

“In tracing backward to its source the history of many nations, we find that the greater part of them enjoyed formerly much more liberty than they possess at present . . . A woman of genius, (Madame de Stael), exclaims, indignant at the parsimony with which, in our time, liberty has sometimes been dealt out to the people, ‘It is despotism which is new, and liberty which is ancient!’ And if we may sometimes have occasion to doubt the strict historical accuracy of this assertion, it is at least true that slavery, political and civil, is a new thing to Russia. The first laws of this nation were the laws of the north-men, which bore the germ of those most precious and most fruitful in liberty of modern times.

“The institution of grand and petty juries, or of the jury of accusation and the jury of judgment, continued to exist in Russia, even after it had shaken off the yoke of the Tartars; and elective assemblies participated in the exercise of the sovereign power. If, in the end, absolutism prevailed, still social slavery was long unknown . . . A Czar, a usurper, whom artful historians compare to Cromwell, but who in hypocrisy and cunning, and in the murders by which he was stained, much more resembled Richard III., Boris Gudonoff, was the first author of the degradation of the Russian people. In the desire to attach more closely to himself the class of small landed proprietors, from which the army drew its strength, he forbade the peasants who lived upon these lands to quit them. * * * * *

“It is pretended that he may have had other motives. The vast regions added to the Muscovite empire by the conquest of Casan and Astrachan, being, it is said, very thinly peopled, tempted the peasants who lived on the estates of the small proprietors to frequent emigration; and they were also

often induced to settle on them by the great lords and the clergy, who had seized on vast tracts in those countries, inasmuch that the villages in the environs of the capital were deserted;—the historians appeal, in confirmation of this assertion, to the words of the English ambassador, Fletcher, who visited Moscow in 1589. In the sixteenth century, it might have been excusable to think thus. Malthus was not yet born; but those who, in these latter times, have repeated such assertions, might have known that countries are not depopulated by emigration. Some historians assign to Boris a more plausible motive, in saying that his determination was suggested by the example of the neighbouring countries of Lithuania, Livonia, and Esthonia, where slavery already existed, and with which Russia had many relations . . . The law of Boris, nevertheless, fatal as it was, did not establish slavery in all its vigour, as it exists at present. The peasants were attached to the soil, like the *glebe adscripti* of feudal times in Europe; but they could not be detached from it by the will of the owner. He could not make domestic slaves of them by taking them into his personal service, or sell them without the land on which they subsisted. All that distinguishes the man attached to the soil from the slave, such as the Russian peasant of the present day, has been of more recent establishment. How has this happened? Who has rivetted more and more firmly the chains of the unfortunate peasant, and from a serfage similar to that of feudal times has dragged him down to a slavery almost as severe as that of the African negro? These are questions which Russian historians and publicists take very good care not to meddle with."

The Emperor Alexander endeavoured to discourage the iniquity of selling the peasants without their lands; but the futility of this and many other praiseworthy endeavours on his part, afford abundant proof that despotism, however powerful for evil, is almost impotent for good.

During the sittings of the congress at Aix-la-Chapelle or Laybach—while M. Tourgueneff was in the Imperial Council—a petition was presented from some slaves, who complained of having been torn from their homes, and sold to a *Scotchman*, who was the owner of a great iron-foundry in the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg, where they were employed in the hardest labour. The Emperor expressed his opinion in his own hand-writing that such a sale was illegal. The petition was sent to the council, and though it was found that both Peter the Great and Paul had distinctly declared themselves adverse to this practice,—and though no law could be found authorising it—it was declared by the Imperial Council to be lawful, simply on the authority of a fiscal regulation of the Empress Anne, which in fixing the sums to be paid to the Crown on all sales, had mentioned also that for peasants sold without land; and this was considered sufficient to authorise all such sales. The members of the Imperial Council who gave this decision were, of course, all slave owners.

M. Tourgueneff passes in review the various grades of servitude in which the cultivators of the soil are held; but we have not space to follow him through the enumeration. In general the condition of the peasants of the Crown appears to be the least intolerable; but they may at any moment be thrown into the more aggravated slavery, by being given away, along with the soil which they cultivate, to any court favourite; since the time of the Emperor Alexander, however, this practice has been in a great measure discontinued. In

general they are divided into villages or parishes, to each of which a certain quantity of land is assigned, which is divided into small portions to be cultivated by each family according to its numbers, and for which they pay a tax or rent, besides the capitation or poll-tax. By means of some formalities it is even possible for peasants of this class, if they can arrange the matter with their village, to quit it, and establish themselves in the towns, continuing, of course, to pay their taxes. Some nobles, when their estates become too populous, give their peasants leave to settle in the towns, and follow various occupations,—paying, of course, their *obrok*; but the amount of this is quite arbitrary, and they have at no time the slightest security for their position. All depends on the will of the master.

There are also peasants attached to the mines and works of various kinds, sometimes belonging to the Crown, sometimes to nobles, or even to merchants, who could in no other way become owners of slaves; and when the numbers of labourers in the mines are found deficient, the Russian government has made no scruple of despatching thither bodies of peasants from the country, or even of recruits intended for the army. These unfortunate people, totally unaccustomed to the kind of work at which they are employed, regard it often with great aversion, are treated with excessive severity, and not unfrequently perish in great numbers.

"I will never fail," says M. Tourgueneff, "on every occasion to protest against this measure, as useless as it is barbarous: so great has been the impression made on me by the distressing scenes occasioned by it which I have witnessed on the departure of a contingent which was destined to various establishments of the crown. The wives of the recruits were ordered to follow their husbands, but their children, as the property of the masters, were of course to remain behind; and the poor mothers would often make their escape and return to their habitations to suckle once more the infants they were compelled to abandon.

"Shall I tell all? Yes—though the tears fill my eyes, and my cheeks burn with shame.

"The dignity of a mother was not allowed to protect them; they were seized and sent back to the escort that was carrying away their husbands, and there subjected to corporal punishment, in the Russian sense of that term! To this had the ministers of finance been led by their zeal for the interests of the Imperial treasury; and the director of the mines, a man of education and talents, had suffered himself to become the accomplice in this barbarity. A new proof, to add to a thousand others, that civilization, when it stops at the head and does not penetrate the heart, easily reconciles itself to all the horrors of slavery.

"When I have seen figuring in the Revenue Tables the quantities of pure gold extracted from the government mines, I have sometimes said to these gentlemen,—'Would you but make a just calculation of what the cost has been to the State of the masses of gold you boast of having drawn from the Russian soil, you would be able to judge whether it would not be more advantageous to buy the gold in the markets of Europe than to obtain it in this manner. If we consider the number of men employed in these works, the officers required to overlook them, the price of the machinery, and the numerous expenses attending them, it is certain that we shall have an immense reduction to make from the supposed profit of the mines of the precious metals.' Such a calculation has unquestionably never been made."

A direct pecuniary loss is also occasioned by these victims being withdrawn from the cultivation of the soil, since that enables them to pay taxes, and the labourers in mines pay none.

The military strength of Russia has been made the subject of such various statements, that it is well never to lose an opportunity of collecting good evidence concerning it.

The existence of an enormous army cannot of course be other than an enormous evil—and yet it is an unavoidable one to a Russian government. Some years ago it was found that its maintenance absorbed nearly the entire revenue; and since it was thought out of the question to reduce its numbers, the only plan was to practise a wretched economy in its equipment and maintenance—such as the reducing the number of horses required for the baggage of the infantry regiments, and stinting the unfortunate soldiers in food and clothing. The pay and maintenance of these men is accordingly almost incredibly miserable—fifteen francs a-year, black bread and buckwheat gruel, with *one pound* of meat a week, and perhaps some trifling addition on particular occasions, such as that of a review by the Emperor. The soldiers stationed in large towns have to make out a subsistence as well as they can by working as day-labourers; but in villages, where they have not even this resource, they are often literally dependent on the charity of the persons with whom they are lodged. As the clothing is also extremely insufficient for the severity of the climate, it will not appear surprising that the rate of mortality in the Russian army is very high. The hardships of the discipline to which they are subjected—the atrocious severity of the punishments inflicted for the most trivial offences, solely at the caprice of the officer—the impossibility of the soldier obtaining any redress for the most flagrant injustice, and the heart-sickness which often seizes on the young recruits when they are first torn from their homes, which they can seldom hope to see again—these things also are among the causes of disease and death. The army of the Caucasus has suffered terribly, M. Tourgueneff says, from the insalubrity of the atmosphere in places where it has been in cantonments.

“France was deeply moved at the account of the sufferings of the soldiers in Africa; there are things a thousand times more mournful, more terrible, to be related concerning those of Russia—but if there could be found a Blanqui to narrate them, there would be no ‘*Courier Français*’ to give them publicity.”

The enormous expense of the exorbitant army, which it was nevertheless deemed impossible to diminish, led to the establishment of the military colonies—and if the operation had been confined to locating as colonists those who were already soldiers, there would have been little to say against them; but as it was thought that by this means the army might be even increased (and in this respect the government is insatiable), large bodies of the peasants of the Crown, not yet enlisted, were ordered to these colonies. The emperor seldom made a progress through the interior of the country without ordering the

establishment of another—and the consequence was that these progresses terrified and almost drove to despair the inhabitants of the countries on his route.

"I heard it said one day in the Imperial Council," says M. Tourgueneff, "that the peasants of one of the Governments in the neighbourhood of Moscow had left off working after the Emperor had passed that way, under the idea that they would now soon be subjected to the colonial administration. 'What is the use,' they said, 'of sowing and reaping, when they are going to take it all away from us.'" Some Bulgarians who had come from Turkish Bessarabia, to settle in the Russian provinces, took fright at the mention of the military colonies, and fled back, "to seek for protection beneath the sabre and the Sultan."

In these military colonies all labour is performed in common under the direction of the officers; all harvests are placed in a common magazine. No individual exertion—no voluntary toil—is allowed. Military authority regulates even the smallest details of the little households of the colonists. Their cottages are continually inspected; every piece of furniture, every utensil, has its arbitrarily appointed place, and woe to those who neglect orders. "I repeat," said a general, in a proclamation addressed to some military colonists, "I will be a father to the good; but the disobedient need expect no mercy from me. *I will exterminate them from the face of their native land like children of perdition.*" All the male children of these colonists belong, by their birth, to the army; all the girls, as they grow up, are compelled to marry soldiers, sometimes chosen for them by names drawn at random out of a hat. The aspect of these villages is said to be mournful and oppressive in the extreme; everywhere there is, indeed, cleanliness and order, but everywhere the most odious marks of despotic authority—"everywhere a silence as of the tomb."

After all, the objects of their institution has been, according to M. Tourgueneff, very imperfectly attained, if, indeed, it has been attained at all. The expenses of the army have not diminished. Without speaking of the injustice which formed the very condition of existence of these military colonies, it is known that forced labour is never productive. The results of the experiment, as exhibited to the Emperor, are entirely fictitious, and would hardly deceive any one who was not willing to be deceived.

When Alexander was coming to inspect one of the colonies, the officials usually made haste to collect together all that the whole country round could furnish of cattle and poultry, and sometimes even bought it with ready money in some distant place, and brought it to the spot. This was distributed in the villages that the Emperor was to visit, that he might believe at least in the material well-being of these unfortunate people. No one ever dreamed of inquiring what was their moral condition. The Emperor was sometimes induced to enter one of the cottages (it was arranged beforehand which), and there he was sure to see the colonists about to sit down to an excellent dinner, the scene having been previously *got up* for his amusement. One day it

happened that an officer, who was escorting fresh horses for a cavalry regiment, was overtaken by an order to stop, and his horses were taken from him and distributed among the inhabitants of a military colony which the Emperor was about to inspect. His Majesty came accordingly the next day, and was charmed to find that the colonists were so well provided with fine horses, and in the same place he was shown large stacks of corn, of which, in reality, only the outside was corn, the interior being filled with straw and rubbish !

The third volume of the work treats of the future prospects of Russia, on which it is absurd to affect indifference, although we may by no means feel disposed to estimate, by its geographical extent, or the numerical amount of its population, the influence which it is likely to exercise on the affairs of nations of Europe so far beyond it in every other element of power.

"This empire occupies too great a space on the globe not to fix our attention. It is true that all the inhabitants of this immense territory are not of the same origin, but the nation is not, therefore, as it is sometimes imagined, a mere agglomeration of many, essentially different. Of the almost countless population that covers her soil, more than three-fourths are Russians, speaking the same language, and professing the same religion ; and, moreover, these thirty or forty millions of Russians are found occupying the centre of the empire, and it is around this homogeneous centre are gathered the parts that may be considered heterogeneous. Such a power as this is, which is capable of casting so great a weight into the balance of the world's destinies, is unquestionably not to be treated slightly by any."

M. Tourguenoff then refers to two battles widely separated in time—those of Pultawa and Borodino—in illustration of the courage, the patriotism, and the energy which the Russian people are capable of putting forth.

"But it is not from this point of view that I would wish to contemplate the future prospects of Russia. I will not seek to determine the influence which she may one day exercise over Europe ; my wish is to point out the probable destiny of the Russian people, considered apart, proceeding from what it has been and what it is at present, to arrive at a correct anticipation of what it is one day to be.

"Nations in general cannot remain stationary. When they do not advance, they recede ; and for the Russian people especially, which has been making so rapid a forward movement—to cease that movement would be death. . . . The pursuit of European civilization has become for Russia, and especially for its government, which has taken the initiative, a condition essential to its vitality.

"I will not undertake to judge absolutely of the course taken by Russia. It may have its inconveniences ; it is doubtless an evil for a nation to have broken off so completely all connexion with the past. In the most civilized countries of Europe, institutions have been successively developed ; all that exists at the present day has its root in the past. The middle ages serve still as the basis of their political, civil, and social life. For Russia there has been no middle age ; all which is destined thenceforth to prosper in it, has been borrowed from Europe ; it cannot be grafted on her ancient institutions. This may be a great evil, but it is for her inevitable."

no man, no woman, of this class is capable of writing correctly a line in the national idiom. Amongst the other noble orders the only exceptions to this rule are to be found in the persons who have particularly occupied themselves with Russian literature. Upon what, then, shall this national education be founded, if we reject one of its first elements—that of language?

"It will not be pretended that education can be separated from instruction, and whence can we derive instruction if not from abroad? To attempt to establish a system of education truly national, would be nothing less than to proscribe all instruction, all enlightenment; and this is one fact which proves that when a certain route has been chosen by which to arrive at civilization, we cannot with impunity either stop or change its direction, and that those who would attack the sources whence we have derived our civilization, or even endeavour to modify its natural course, would end by drying them up, and by that means either oblige the people to the most painful efforts, or forcibly plunge them again into the barbarism from which they were beginning to emerge."

All factitious encouragement to nationality is doubtless a folly and a quackery—and where it is not entirely futile and barren, is likely to be productive of little else than mischief; but we cannot, nevertheless, regard it as otherwise than a misfortune when a nation has been thus cut off from the sources of a genuine national character, and ages must elapse before a civilization, thus artificially transplanted, can take such firm root in the soil as to bring forth fruit. Doubtless every nation has derived its civilization more or less from others in a more advanced condition; but in Russia it is not merely that seeds have been wafted from a foreign shore, or scions of a different and finer culture grafted on the rude strength of the native stock, the tree has been transplanted at a mature age, or more frequently not the tree itself, but its blossoms, have been torn off and rudely inserted into a soil on which they could not have grown. In such a case there can be no other nationality than a return to barbarism, and the very attempt to set up one is but another instance of that mimicry which it would fain disguise. M. Tourgueneff traces, with brevity and force, the national course of affairs in which the freedom of nations has so often proceeded from the financial embarrassments of governments; and then proceeds to examine the question whether the resources of Russia are sufficient to satisfy the exigencies of her position in the political world.

"Since 1815 all the nations of Europe have made important improvements in industry, in commerce, sometimes in political organization, by which their power has been necessarily augmented. To take only, as an instance, the organization of the armed force in the different countries, it cannot be denied that this organization has been everywhere ameliorated, perfected, rendered more efficacious, more formidable; and the progress made in the arts and sciences have contributed to this even more than the national wealth.

"Has Russia augmented her resources in the same proportion? There is no evidence that she has; the financial state of the country is far from being more satisfactory than it was thirty years ago; industry and commerce have not made great progress—at least there is no obvious result to show that they have; and as to the arts and sciences, who will venture to say that they have really made a single step in advance in a quarter of a century? Has our national wealth notably increased? That can hardly be, so long as for its most important element, that of agriculture, we rely on the toil of slaves, or those who are little better.

"We insist on this latter circumstance, because we are convinced that it is in the well-being and prosperity of the masses that we must seek for the strength and the prosperity of nations.

"Wherever it has been possible, the relations of the cultivators of the soil with the proprietors have received the serious consideration of governments, and been regulated in a manner more conformable to justice, and consequently to the public good. The states of which one hears the least said, are perhaps those which have acted most efficaciously in this respect.

"Without speaking of Prussia, Saxony, Wurtemberg and Bavaria, even Austria has not ceased to labour not only for the complete emancipation of the peasant, but to establish the permanent welfare of this class upon the territorial possessions.

"In Hungary, this question took an immense step by the regulation of 1836. Nay, have we not seen the very Bey of Tunis take measures for the abolition of slavery? and the Sultan, obviously with this purpose, prohibiting the *corvée* in Bosnia, and regulating the position of landed proprietors and cultivators in conformity with the wishes of the deputies from the Bosnian people and the representations of the Pacha? All nations, civilized or barbarous, are advancing on the path of progress—all but Russia. She alone remains behind.

"And that material force—that army which, in the present state of things, is the principal instrument of the power of Russia, is it now more formidable than it was, either by its numbers or by the spirit by which it is animated, or by the capacity by which it is commanded? There is no proof whatever that it is. The war against the Turks, especially the first campaign, proves the contrary. The war against the Poles did not last ten months; and if we consider the immense disproportion of the belligerent armies, and the absolute nullity of Polish resources, deprived as the Poles were of all help, and even of all communication with foreigners, what a poor idea does it give of an army which they were able to keep so long in check. And, finally, that struggle, that terrible struggle, of extermination with the mountaineers of the Caucasus, what success, what triumph can it ever bring to recompence the mournful sacrifices which it has cost the Russians?"

Its military force is the great instrument of power for Russia; but the more numerous an army, the greater the intelligence required to organize, to maintain, to direct it. "Now, what are in Russia the means of organization, of preservation, of direction? It is organized by a recruiting system, as absurd as it is atrocious. How is it preserved? Mortality prevails in it to an extent surpassing anything that the imagination can conceive. In the last war with Turkey, more than 50,000 soldiers perished in the hospitals only in the space of a single year. And as for its direction, it is officered from the cadet corps, who are taught nothing more than their exercise."

The necessity of procuring better educated officers, argues M. Tourgueneff, will render indispensable the establishment of better schools; and whatever restrictions may be imposed on them, these schools must be furnished with books, by the means of which ideas will penetrate which it is desired to exclude. An army must also be supplied with physicians and surgeons; and medical and surgical schools will be found to have taught their pupils more than medicine and surgery; indeed, it already appears that the surgeons of the Russian army have been distinguished by a certain degree of liberality and dignity of tone little likely to be acceptable to the government.

The condition of the peasants is of course placed by M. Tourgueneff in the foremost rank of the obstacles which yet lie in the way of Russian civilisation, as exercising the most fatal influence on the material as well as moral interests of the nation. Next to this, the possession of Poland, which has been commonly counted among the valuable resources of Russia, is regarded as a chief cause of her weakness. Some immediate advantages it may doubtless bring; the men of Poland help to fill the ranks of the Russian army, and her revenues the coffers of the state; but how many sacrifices does it cost to obtain these advantages? Since the last insurrection, and the war which followed it, Poland has been treated as a conquered country; and the constant vigilance which it requires tends to draw off the attention of the Russian government from affairs of great importance to its internal management. It involves also the maintenance of an army much more considerable than would otherwise be needed. The Polish soldiers of Russia are continually deserting to Circassia, and turning their arms against her; and should war again disturb Europe, the Poles would feel themselves the natural allies of all her enemies. The possession of Poland is a constant hindrance to the formation of a sincere and cordial alliance with any truly civilised European nation. "At present," says M. Tourgueneff, "Russia has not so much allies as accomplices."

The remainder of the third volume is occupied with discussion—first, of such measures of reform as might not be incompatible with the present absolute power of the sovereign;—further, with emancipation of the serfs, the improvement of the judicial department, the conversion of the capitation into a land-tax, &c., as well as of secondary measures, calculated to ameliorate the condition of the cultivator of the soil, and open the way to a general improvement in the organization of the country. The author then proceeds to subsequent legislative and administrative reforms—to the questions of national education, religion, the press; and, finally, to that of a constitutional representative government.

4.—*Die Schweiz und ihre Zustände. Reise erinnerungen.* (Switzerland and its Condition. Recollections of Travel.) By Theodore Muge. Hanover: 1847.

THE stream of events, which in Switzerland has for a long time past been hurrying onward with ever increasing rapidity, has at length dashed down the cataract of civil war, and is now once more moving on in silence, if not in peace.

The victory of what is called the Radical party, has been more rapid and complete than its most sanguine adherents could have anticipated—we would we could believe that in their cause had triumphed also the sacred cause of justice, of enlightened civilization, freedom, and humanity.

But however agreeable this belief would be, and though the conduct

of their opponents has not been such as to excite any very warm sympathy in their behalf, we cannot comfort ourselves with the opinion that in the present instance the might and the right have exactly coincided; and it appears to us that there are few instances in which party spirit has more obviously been allowed to warp the judgment than in the recent efforts made by some of the Liberal party in England, to justify the recent conduct of those who pass by the same appellation in Switzerland. There has been an apparent inclination to overlook the real causes of dispute, and by bringing forward questions wholly irrelevant, in which it was not difficult to make the Sonderbund party appear in the wrong, to come to a conclusion which had nothing to do with the question originally proposed.

We are not called upon in this case to determine the relative tendencies of Catholicism and Protestantism, of a conservative or progressive policy, or to decide on the wisdom of those who wish to place the education of their children in the hands of the Jesuits. The Catholic party have merely attempted to maintain what appears the indefeasible right of having their children instructed by whom and in what manner they please. If the Diet considered the presence of the Jesuits irreconcilable with the cause of order and good government in Switzerland, such a difference of opinion might give cause for a revision or even a dissolution of the Federal Pact, but would not give the stronger party a right, in direct defiance of that Pact, to force their opinions upon the smaller and weaker, whose rights of sovereignty within their own lands were as distinctly recognised as their own.

The charge of attempting to make out a favourable case for the Diet (or rather the small majority of the Diet, into whose hands the fate of the country has been thrown), is one of which we cannot wholly acquit a writer likely to command the respectful attention of many readers. In a series of letters on Switzerland, which have appeared in the 'Spectator,' and have since been separately published, the author, Mr. Grote, says, "If the Sonderbund is to be characterized as an effect resulting from the expeditions of the Free Corps, those expeditions resulted even more directly from the peculiar train of events which preceded them in 1843-1844;" thus giving it vaguely to be understood that they may find in those events their justification. Now, we need refer to no other authority than his own for an account of those events; we may even assume that the insurrections in Solcure and Aargau really were encouraged by the known sympathy of the party in Lucerne. It is not even pretended that any direct assistance was afforded by it, or any illegal interference with the affairs of another canton attempted. Of the insurgents who fled to Lucerne for refuge after their defeat, some, he admits, were seized and tried before the ordinary courts of justice. The misconduct of the monks, who encouraged the insurrection, was a reason for punishing the individuals, but not for suppressing the convents, any more than the crimes of the Duke de Praslin would be for suppressing the order of

nobility to which he belonged. This act was the first direct violation of the Federal Pact, which contains an article expressly guaranteeing the perpetuity of the convents.

Eventually, as our readers know, Aargau was compelled, even by the Diet, to restore four out of the eight. "The Government of Aargau," says Mr. Grote, "having at first done wrong, made expiation, and put itself right with the Diet;" and again, "the Diet interfered, in my judgment, *quite as far as was necessary* in procuring the restitution of the four convents." Yet it is not easy to see, if it were wrong to suppress eight, how it should be right to suppress four, and we cannot wonder that this reparation was not thought sufficient. If a man were to be robbed of five pounds, we should hardly expect he would be perfectly satisfied if the robber afterwards offered to restore him two pounds ten.

In the next paragraph of the same letter Mr. Grote shifts his ground, asks whether the Catholics were gainers or losers by the suppression of the convents, and enumerates some of the evils commonly supposed by Protestants to result from these institutions, as if that were the point under discussion.

The invasion of Lucerne by the Free Corps is too bad to be openly defended. It is at once admitted to be a "flagrant political wrong;" the Diet, we are told, "strongly condemned the proceeding," but the excitement had been too great to be restrained, "and some of the Cantonal Governments had no sincere desire to restrain it." The second invasion took place more than three months after the first, so that one might think there was time for popular excitement to subside, yet the governments of Berne, Soleure, Bale-Campagne, and Aargau, *all connived at these proceedings*. The invaders, volunteers from these cantons, were numerous, and provided with artillery; and Lucerne was only saved by having previously formed an alliance, for the purpose of defence, with Uri, Zug, and Underwalden. It was the arrival of contingents from these allies, after Colonel Ochsenbein and his "Free Companions," with their cannon, had reached the suburbs of Lucerne, that alone enabled her to defeat and expel the invaders.

The indirect approval which the Diet gave to this atrocious proceeding, by raising Colonel Ochsenbein to be President of the Diet, and Chief Magistrate of Berne, was scandalous enough to excite a general expression of indignation; but for this also, the author of the 'Letters from Switzerland' has an excuse. "We must remember," he says, "that Colonel Ochsenbein sees on his left hand, as Deputy of Lucerne, M. Barnard Meyer, the director and instrument of Lucerne politics in the conspiracy of Valais;"—very much the reply often made to an accusation in the streets by "Young London." Whatever the non-complimentary epithet may be, "you're another" is thought sufficient reply, although, of course, the truth of the first proposition is thus clearly admitted. There is also a great difference between the position of the President of the Federal Assembly and that of the Deputy of an individual canton.

The wrong committed by the free corps was one which struck at the root, not merely of the Helvetic confederacy, but of all civilized society :—but Mr. Grote pleads that, “ though the wrong cannot be denied, it was, in its nature, essentially transitory :”—like the young lady who, in excuse for the *mal-à-propos* appearance of a baby, modestly suggested that it was “ a very little one.”

With respect to the mandate issued by the Diet for the expulsion of the Jesuits—it is obvious the question is, as we have already said, not the character of the order of Jesuits, or the good or evil likely to result from its influence, but the competence of the Diet to issue any such mandate. But here again, as in the case of the convents, Mr. Grote goes out of his way to show us “ that the whole past history of the Jesuits, from the commencement of the order, betokens an organized and systematic teaching of religion, not for religious ends, but as a means for procuring political and social ascendancy :”—“ that for this cause the Catholic world protested against them in the last century, and the opponents of the order protest against them this :”—in short, “ Everybody says so.” “ It is to be remarked,” adds Mr. Grote, “ that the name of Jesuit cannot be heard on the continent without a cluster of odious associations derived from the past, and that the proclamation, ‘ The Jesuits are coming ! ’ is really more terrific than the men so called, when they stand before you in flesh and blood.” No doubt it is. Whatever may be the sins of the Jesuits, there can be no question but that their name has been, and is, often made use of as a mere word of fear to frighten grown children with—as the name of the Duke of Wellington, we are told, was, some years ago, among nurses in France ; and many of the goblin tales concerning the order are probably about as true as the description of his Grace in the nursery song :—

“ Tall he is, as a Rouen steeple,
And his teeth like iron saws,
Breakfasts, dines on naughty people,
Crunches babies in his jaws.”

As for the degree of culpability which may attach to the formation of the Separate League ; if we agree with Mr. Grote, that “ whatever censure the government of M. Neuhaus may deserve for their connivance at the expedition of the Corps Francs, in the state of widespread excitement which preceded the 1st of April, their interference would probably have been of little effect ”—then surely no reasonable blame can attach to the Sonderbund for endeavouring to secure themselves from a repetition of such an outrage, and affording themselves the protection which the Federal Government was unable to afford them.

In the volume before us, the picture of the social, moral, and physical condition of the cantons during the year preceding the war throws much light on the events that have subsequently occurred, and on what may prove to have been the last hour of the existence of the Swiss Confederacy.

The author is one long well-known in Germany, though, we believe, not yet to English readers, to whom, however the interest of the subject he has chosen will now, perhaps, afford a favourable opportunity of introducing him.

Few countries in Europe have claims to attention so many and various as those of Switzerland, yet it has been its singular fate, while it has been more visited than almost any other, to be less generally understood. Its rocks and glaciers, and roaring torrents, and blue lakes, the magnificence of its mountains, and the charms of its pastoral valleys, have been gazed at and described until the returning tourist has become a terror to his friends. The name of their William Tell is a household word over all Europe, and been repeated till—in sheer weariness, we must imagine—our critical German friends have taken to declaring “they don’t believe there ever was any such person.” But few have concerned themselves much with the subsequent fate of a people with whose early struggles they have felt so warm a sympathy, and the only class of the Swiss people with which strangers have formed much acquaintance has been that of the landlords and postillions. It is not very uncommon to hear the cantons spoken of as if they were provinces, and the Diet regarded in the light of a House of Parliament; instead of which it is a Congress of Ambassadors, who do but obey exactly the instructions given on every question, and have no further authority than is afforded by the Federal Pact or Treaty of Alliance.

Even the physical character of Switzerland is often mistaken, from the circumstance of tourists running so nearly in the same tract. It is by no means entirely a land of high mountains. The cantons of Aargau, Thurgau, Schaffhausen, Basel, Zurich, and even part of Berne and St. Gallen, present little more than the gentle hills of the neighbouring Wurtemberg and Baden, which, indeed, in the Black Forest, can show far more rugged and mountainous districts. They are merely Steppe countries, whose highest summits do not exceed two thousand feet. The range extending from the south of the canton of Freyburg to the lake of Constance, including the Rigi, and reaching to a height of 5,500 feet, may be considered to form the first mountain girdle of Switzerland. Southward of this, from the Lake of Geneva, stretches another and loftier range, forming Mount Pilate and the Schwyz mountains, and terminating with the Santis peaks on the Rhine. The third mountain wall lies still further south, running from Savoy through the Bernese Oberland, which it separates from the Valais. In this range rise the enormous masses of the Schneehorn, the Finster Aarhorn, the Jungfrau, &c., whose peaks are covered with everlasting snow and ice, and which link themselves with the mightiest chain of primitive granite and gneiss, which fill the Tyrol, and separate Switzerland from Italy. Towards the plains of Lombardy the descent is rapid and abrupt, forming a striking contrast with the gradual rise on the northern side.

Berne, Aargau, Zurich, Basel, and all the most important towns, lie

in the milder and less elevated region, and it is not till we have passed this that we find ourselves in the true pastoral highlands.

The populations occupying western Switzerland and the shores of the Lake of Geneva speak French. The German language prevails over all the north and east; at the foot of the St. Gotthard, the Splügen, and the Simplon, it meets the Italian; and in the Grisons a dialect of the Latin, the *Romanseh*, is chiefly used.

To this difference of language and physical character is added a still greater diversity in mode of life and occupation, in social institutions and religious faith, and, we may even add, in forms of government, for at all events, until lately, the cantons of Switzerland, though all bearing the same common name of Republic, comprehended almost every variety, from the most complete democracy, through various forms of oligarchy, up even to the limits of absolute monarchy in Prussian Neuchâtel.

Instead, therefore, of wondering that a confederacy composed of so many heterogeneous materials should not always remain perfectly united, we shall be rather inclined to ask what is the powerful bond which has hitherto cemented together elements so discordant. We believe that bond to be a deep and well-grounded conviction in the minds of the Swiss, that whatever may be the defects of their political institutions, they are, beyond comparison, preferable to those of the countries by which they are surrounded; and although the organs of arbitrary governments, in the German press in particular, lose no opportunity of expressing themselves shocked at the commotions of Switzerland, and of thanking heaven that they are "not as these men," yet the Swiss themselves are often greatly amused at the pity bestowed upon them, and could be tempted, by no possible inducement, to exchange a system which affords them so many solid advantages for tranquillity beneath a paternal gripe like that of Austria.

The unhappy dissensions to which the country is at present a prey need not make us forget the whole previous course of its history; and if we compare the amount of suffering experienced by Switzerland from war and civil discord in the five hundred years during which the Confederacy has subsisted, with that endured by any monarchy in the same period, the result of the comparison will certainly not be in favour of the latter.

One of the first symptoms by which the author perceived that he had entered the Swiss territory, although the soil and its productions, the people and their language, were exactly similar, was the negative blessing of the absence on the frontier of *gens d'armes*, or custom-house officers, and the pleasant consciousness that neither he nor his luggage would have to be subjected to scrutiny in search of passports or contraband goods. He learned also that in the republic of Schaffhausen, which he had now entered, the taxes paid by the inhabitants did not amount to more than about eighteen pence a head per annum, while their neighbours across the frontier, who rejoice in a Grand Duke, pay eight times that amount.

But how short-lived is human happiness ! M. Mugge soon found that though the imposts of the government were light, those of the innkeepers were enormously heavy.

In the little town of Schaffhausen, one of the branches of industry carried on with the greatest vigour is the "*exploitation*" of strangers who come to gaze at the beauties of the falls of the Rhine ; and the approach of the migratory flocks of travellers is watched for as anxiously in its season as in some other countries that of the birds or fish, which make an important part of the people's subsistence. "A fine summer brings thousands of the welcome gold-scattering guests—a bad one keeps them back ; and since every Swiss brings with him into the world as an original instinct, the propensity to money-making, it is an occasion of national mourning when the state of the weather seems to threaten a bad harvest of tourists." It is hardly necessary to say, that the concourse of idle visitors tends in Switzerland, as everywhere else, greatly to the demoralization of the people, and is unquestionably one of the obstacles in the way of their happiness and true progress.

The extortions of innkeepers had it seems at one time risen to such a height, as to threaten to work its own cure by depriving them of their accustomed prey ; and they found it expedient to enter into a coalition, and agree to carry on their predatory occupation for the future with more moderation, since when, travellers enjoy the advantage of regular though severe laws, in place of being subjected to uncertain piracy. The allied innkeepers, whose names are to be found in most guide books, have established a price current, according to which every guest is to be fleeced ; and whether his dinner be good or bad, abundant or scanty, he has the satisfaction of always knowing what he is to pay for it.

At the moment of M. Mugge's arrival, the city of Schaffhausen was preparing for the celebration of a festival of one of those many associations for rifle-shooting, music, or other purposes, ostensibly of amusement, which have arisen in Switzerland since 1815, and which have had, he thinks, no small share in bringing about the subsequent movements, "by contributing to keep alive the consciousness of freedom, and a feeling of brotherhood among the citizens of different cantons."

The ruling powers have not been blind, however, to the dangerous opportunities these meetings might afford—indeed have afforded—for the expression of discontent, and the formation of societies for very different purposes ; but they could not attempt to suppress them ; and the radicals, who have gained so entirely the upper hand in the largest cantons, have mostly been distinguished members of these associations. Counsellors, deputies, presidents and burgomasters have been taken from their ranks, and the societies have served as props to their power, and rallying points in times of danger ; "but the old aristocrats have always kept aloof from them, and the great majority of their members has always consisted of young men of the middle classes."

"The present meeting at Schaffhausen was on the occasion of a musical festival, to be celebrated on the 14th and 15th of June, 1846, and guests were streaming in from far and near, not merely from various parts of Switzerland, but also from Germany.

"The quiet old town was dressed out in all the holiday finery that could be mustered; the old stone houses were hung all over with garlands of leaves and flowers, which were also sometimes suspended across the street; and the gates were decorated till they looked like triumphal arches; and mottoes and sentences—some of welcome to the visitors, some to the honour and glory of Switzerland, and sometimes exhortations to unity, or to faithfulness, and devotion to the cause of liberty, were introduced in a hundred places through which the throng was pouring in—in carriage, on foot, or in steam-boat. . . .

"On the great market-place of the town, called the *Herrenacker*, or *Lords' Field*—where, in former days, knights and nobles held tournaments—was erected, at the expense of the city, the grand banqueting booth, where eight or nine hundred of the singers and their friends were entertained till a late hour in the night, and where were made the political speeches, never wanting at any Swiss meeting. There were, of course, a good many oratorical flourishes, introduced to tickle the vanity of the auditory; but there was also many a true, earnest, and kindling word uttered, that would not be readily forgotten.

"The president of the association, M. Schenkel, made a very animated speech, in which he extolled his native country as having been for ages an island of freedom and refuge for many who might have perished in the political storms of surrounding nations. He declared that Switzerland was resolved never to shrink from any struggle which should lie in the way to a true victory, and feared only torpor, indifference, and a peace which was the peace of the grave.

"Several speakers rose after him who spoke forcibly on the subject of the present dissensions; and a M. Bentz, from Zurich, pronounced a philippic against the Jesuits and their allies, who would fain keep the people in ignorance and slavery, and establish their own power on the ruins of Switzerland. A school director, from Aargau, 'followed on the same side,' warning the people against narrow-mindedness, spiritual darkness, lies, Jesuits and Jesuitism, and declaring he saw symptoms of a renewal of social harmony, in the love of music that had that day brought them together. The Landammann of Aarau condemned the caprice and insincerity of party, and exhorted his hearers to remain true to their personal convictions. The best of the really popular speakers were two clergymen, from the banks of the lake of Zurich, who made very humorous speeches, full of allusions, that were taken up with enthusiasm by the assembly."

To M. Mugge, as a German, there was something striking and attractive in the bold, free tone of the speakers on this occasion—their calling things at once by their names, instead of seeking to envelope their meaning in a thousand ambiguous coverings—and in the circumstance of their addressing themselves to the assembled people, without any one fearing any of the awful consequences which, in Germany, are supposed to result from their participation in political knowledge. "In Switzerland it is by no means necessary to be a Radical to admit that the people have a full right to hear whatever their fellow citizens may have to say to them."

The early history of the country, and the memory of the men who laid the foundation of its freedom, are sure to find a place

among the *stock* topics of orators on these occasions. The valour, the fidelity, the purity of morals, the unquenchable love of liberty, which belong, or are supposed to belong, to the character of the Confederates, form appropriate subjects for compliment; and William Tell, Winkelried, or some other hero of the olden time, never fails to make his appearance in due season, and to produce his due effect. "William Tell is the weak side of the Swiss; they believe in him as in the Gospel, and will not yield to criticism one iota of his story; although it is in fact a matter of very little consequence to them whether such a person as the marksman of Uri ever lived or no."

Against this opinion of Herr Mugge we must take leave to protest; and the acknowledged powers of German criticism could, in our opinion scarcely be worse employed than in endeavouring to extinguish the glory of a name that has kept alive the fire of patriotism in the hearts of successive generations for five hundred years. In the present divided and distracted state of Switzerland, there are but too few of such rallying points for the affections.

The enthusiasm with which the Swiss, sober as they are, look back to this period of their history, was exemplified on this occasion by the applause they bestowed on certain broad-shouldered men of Schaffhausen, who, attired in the costume of the thirteenth or fourteenth century,—with long beards and enormous halberts, and looking appropriately grim,—were planted at the gates which the choruses of singers had to pass through, and greeted, as the play-bills have it, with "immense applause."

We pass the remainder of the festival, and the natural but delusive anticipations of the restoration of peace and goodwill in the hearts of those who could thus unite, for purposes of social and refined enjoyment, to accompany the traveller to Zurich, "the intellectual centre of German Switzerland."

Few if any of the Cantons are more favoured by nature, for fertility of soil and mildness of climate. To its abundant productiveness in corn and wine and fruit, and the active industry which secures its material prosperity, it unites the advantage of a greater unity among the inhabitants, who are nearly all Protestants of German race, and followers of their native reformer, Zwinglius.

"Few great towns in Switzerland can boast of environs of such surpassing beauty; the country round is like one great garden full of orchards and vineyards, cornfields and rich plantations of every kind. Not a spot of waste land is to be seen, and every foot of ground has yielded its tribute to the industrious hand of man; while scattered all round lie the clean, neat, comfortable dwellings of the owners of these industrious hands. Along the two shores of the lake of Zurich, runs a continued chain of country houses, manufactories, farms, villages, peasants' cottages, and the dwellings of industrious weavers and artisans. The city seems to throw out two arms around the bright water—polypos arms of prosperity and industry, which reach even into the lap of the mountains.

"Fine roads also run along both shores of the lake, which form the frontiers of several Cantons, and meet in Zurich, which in the course of the last fifteen years, has begun a new era of political life. The ancient walls and bastions

have been broken down; the remains of the dark prison tower on the lake, which has so often echoed to the sighs of the victims of the old aristocracy, have sunk in its waves, and a new and brighter day of freedom has dawned upon the people.

"There are indeed still among the old citizens those who sigh for the good old times, and shake their heads mournfully as they contemplate the place where their fortified gates once stood. Many have for years not been able to resolve to set foot on any of these desecrated spots, though it is very hard to know what in fact they are grieving about. The old town of Zurich, with its dull narrow streets, and tall, gloomy, old houses, whose narrow windows admit scarcely any light, is assuredly no agreeable place of abode.

"But on the site of the ancient fortifications, magnificent mansions are to be found, built quite in the modern style, with gardens and all improvements. Far-stretching streets and roads, that reach up to the declivity of the mountain, stately public buildings—as, for instance, the Cantonal School, and the new Hospital, bearing witness to the impulse which its young freedom has given to their city—might, one would think, console these worshippers of the past for their lost privileges, and if they could be induced to reflect on the transitory nature of all earthly advantages, teach them not to think of these as of a property of which they have been robbed.

"The Commune of Hottingen, with its beautiful buildings, raising its head as if in triumph above the old town, is wholly the work of the last fifteen years. This is the place to live in for any one who wishes to make any stay in Zurich, and to become well acquainted with the country. A stranger will find himself more pleasantly situated here than in any other part of Switzerland. Zurich is not only most distinguished for intellectual activity, and the residence of many men of eminent attainments, it is also the gayest and most pleasure-taking place in the country, is surrounded with coffee gardens and taverns, whose name is legion, and which, by their beautiful situation, offer the greatest attraction to the visitor."

Zurich has been particularly favoured in the beauty of its position. It lies on the point of transition, just where the gentle hills begin to assume a mountainous character. The hill on the eastern shore of the lake, on whose slope lies the village of Hottingen, is not more than six hundred feet high; but on the south-west the waters bathe the foot of the Albis chain, whose summits reach a height of nearly three thousand feet above the sea. From these we obtain the first glimpse into the mountain world of the chalk formation—the Rigi and Mount Pilate, the peaks and horns of Schwyz, and the mountains of Glarus and St. Gallen—seldom visible, however, from Zurich, unless at sunset, or before rain, when the atmosphere has a peculiar transparency.

One of the circumstances most striking to a stranger in Zurich, is the evidence of republican equality afforded by the mixture of ranks in the beer and coffee-houses. Reigning burgomasters, deputies, judges, presidents, counsellors—all the first men of the radical party—are to be met with smoking their modest cigars and drinking their unpretending beer.

"By this abolition of all attempts at exclusiveness Zurich gains much in freedom of movement, and amalgamation of different classes, which must lead to good results, and is perfectly in harmony with a republic."

Whether it may be judicious in the chiefs of a republic thus to cast

aside all the dignity of office, is a point that may, nevertheless, admit of discussion. The "divinity that doth hedge" a burgomaster can, we apprehend, hardly bear such familiarity, and they might, perhaps, be wiser to keep their state and eschew the beer-shops.

The following passage gives a pleasing picture of the condition of the people :—

"On a fine bright Sunday Zurich is full of life and movement. Troops of well-dressed people are seen pouring out over the hills and meadows, or the beautiful shores of the lake, while other pleasure-seekers float about in gaily decked boats and gondolas on its blue surface, or crowd the numerous and picturesque places of public resort, and the prosperity of the city is evidenced by the dress of the ladies and gentlemen, the style of the carriages and horses, and the mass of the people who are abroad in search of enjoyment."

The coffee-houses serve, it seems, as what artizans denominate "houses of call" for the various political opinions. Every one knows where his friends and partizans are to be found, and many of the citizens of Zurich find it, according to our author, indispensable to their happiness to visit some one of these places every evening to drink coffee, read the papers, and play at the interesting and intellectual game of dominoes.

As these are, however, pleasures, which, however delightful in enjoyment, are apt to be somewhat tiresome in description—we pass at once to the very different scenes presented by the still life of pastoral Switzerland.

"I went down the lake of the Four Cantons in a steamer to Brunnen, the landing place for Schwyz, and if any of the Swiss lakes resemble the fiords of Norway, it is this, with its high, rocky, wildly romantic shores, its deep bays and groups of firs crowning the most precipitous crags, and its air of profound loneliness. The old method of traversing these waters, by sail or oar, is both more expensive and more uncertain, for the art of navigation in either way is in its infancy here. The craft is of the clumsiest description, keel boats are unknown—oars are used crossed—the man standing and pushing them from him with arms and breast—a method of rowing that must be excessively fatiguing. The heaviest of the vessels employed sometimes carry a square sail, but on these mountain lakes these require the greatest caution—as sudden squalls often break through the rocky clefts and ravines, which throw the waters into such violent commotion as to compel all vessels to run immediately for shelter.

"The lake of the Four Cantons, though lying about thirteen hundred feet above the level of the sea, is nine hundred feet deep in some parts; in breadth very unequal. It is hemmed in by rocks from six to eight thousand feet high—of wild and magnificent form. On the banks of this beautiful lake the formations of sandstone separate from the chalk, which lies heaped upon its southern shores in vast piles.

"This lake is both geographically and historically the centre of Switzerland, and around its basin lie the four states which formed the first confederacy. Lucerne occupies the west; looking down the deep bays to the right we see the towers of Stanz, the principal town, or rather village, of Unterwalden; following the winding of the lake to its southern point Uri lies before us; and on the left rise the summits of Küssnacht and Rigi, beneath which, on the declivities of its mountains, reposes the beautiful canton of Schwyz. No other lake equals it in grandeur of scenery, or in variety of light and shade; in snowy

peaks and glaciers, lovely meadows, valleys whose deep rich green contrasts alternately with the dark forest and dark grey naked rock, or the fertile sunny spots along its margin.

"This rapid change of scenery is, however, one of the peculiar characteristics of Switzerland, where fat cattle graze up to the very edge of the glaciers, and fruit trees blossom almost overhung by ice and snow. * * * * *

"It is scarcely possible at a distance to conceive how these minikin pastoral states could ever have been able to offer the resistance they did to the Dukes of Austria. But at the sight of the steep rocky paths, the narrow passes, the deep valleys, with their smooth inaccessible walls, we cease to wonder at this, or at their similar success in the obstinate struggle with the French in 1798. A few hundred men could in many places easily maintain their ground against as many thousands. Behind projecting points of rock they might take aim and load and re-load deliberately, long before a foe less acquainted with the country could find the way to ascend the heights. In the attack on Stanz, for instance, at the above mentioned period, an old man with his two sons-in-law, supported by their wives and children, who loaded their guns for them, shot hundreds of the French before they could find the path, by which they at last reached and surrounded the heroic family, hut then bayonet and sabres did their work on every member of it. Against 20,000 of these men, properly armed, on their native mountains, the best army in Europe could do nothing. Their artillery and cavalry would be totally useless."

The canton of Unterwalden, small as it is, is divided into two half cantons—Niedwald and Obwald—each of which has its general assembly, its great and small councils, and other independent authorities. Nature has determined that it shall be, like Uri and Schwyz, wholly a land of herdsmen; cheese and butter are made in abundance, and cattle and wood also bring in money. The rushing mountain torrents set in motion more than forty saw-mills, and there has been a cotton-mill erected, besides paper-mills, rope-manufactories, &c., though these establishments are only in their infancy, and they have been chiefly set on foot by the monks of Engelberg and of other convents.

"The inhabitants live in small villages and scattered farms; there is no such thing as a town in all Obwald; whose inhabitants, cut off from the world, and following their cattle along their elevated valleys and Alpine pastures, are usually content to leave to the monks the care of all other temporal affairs, as well as the welfare of their souls. The monks have money and lands, and take very good care that no one meddles with their revenues; and they have it also in their power to prevent the establishment of any rivals to their commercial undertakings. With the few influential families they are on the best possible terms: and the mass of the people is so dependent, so humble, and so pious, that the abbot or the priest may say what he pleases, and be always sure that his words will be listened to as the commands of God."

The separation of Unterwalden took place as early as the year 1366, and its condition is very little altered from what it was at that remote period. Whatever changes were effected during the brief dominion of the Helvetic republic, were immediately reversed on its overthrow, and the state of things restored which had subsisted for ages past.

"It seems as if for these cantons time had been annihilated; the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries still hang over these mountains, and bring forth the

men as unchanged as the herbs and grass beneath their feet. The men of Unterwalden and Uri live as their forefathers did; they have little book learning, and desire no more; they have faith in their Great Council and their Little Council, their Weekly Council and their Council Extraordinary, and willingly abandon to a few families all claim to offices of government, especially as these are either miserably ill paid, or not paid at all.

"In this circumstance lies one of the chief causes why the *caste* of reigning families has established itself so firmly in Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, and all the small cantons. None but people of some property can undertake the offices of government; and many of these are given *for life*, and sometimes even pass as if by inheritance from father to son, or at all events remain in the circle of certain families, which, becoming allied by blood and marriage, form an indissoluble league firmly united in the resolution to allow of no innovations."

Our readers perhaps may be inclined to ask how it has happened that a form of government, which on a superficial glance appears the extreme of democracy, should, while the letter remains the same, in spirit have become so much the reverse? We believe it arose in this way.* On first gaining their independence the cantons registered the names of all the inhabitants, and assigned to each a portion of land; but they were registered by their names according to families, and not to the districts they inhabited, and, therefore, though it was settled at that time that the whole body of citizens beyond the age of sixteen should be members of the General Assembly, in which the sovereign power resided, as the number of original families declined this body necessarily became smaller and smaller. Since 1681 no one in Unterwalden has been allowed to obtain citizenship by purchase. The jealousy with which this right is guarded is at least intelligible, when we consider that all who are recognised as citizens have a right to share in the wood, hay, and pastures of the Alps of the commune, and the old corporation is, of course, unwilling to admit new claimants. Those who, in addition to these rights of the commune, possess Alps and forests of their own, are the capitalists of the country, in whose hands, or in those of their families, the government has lain from time immemorial.

It is, of course, not very easy for property to be dissipated among a people whose customs and mode of life are so simple, and of the communal lands nothing can be alienated.

Women as well as men enjoy the economical, if not the political rights of commonalty, but either must be of the age of twenty-five years, and have "light and fire" of their own, as not heads but fire-hearths are counted, as among the Tartar tribes who count the population by kettles. It is common, for this reason, for young men and women to keep house for themselves, and even those who go out to work for others have always a little abode of their own, that they may not lose the advantages of their birth-right. They generally come home on the Saturday night, and make fire and light in their habitations for this purpose.

* It was thus at least in Appenzell, and probably in other cantons also.

Families who have settled in these mountains later than the middle of the seventeenth century, cannot enjoy any share in these advantages; but if they date before 1756, they have a voice in the General Assembly, and can be chosen for any office. Below these stand the "Strangers," or Swiss from other cantons, who can produce the certificates of their citizenship and place of birth; then come "Foreigners," who are "tolerated;" and lastly, the "Homeless," who, either from carelessness in the loss of papers, or from some other cause, cannot establish their claim to any canton. These three latter classes are entirely without political rights; they or their children may be driven from the country at any moment, at the pleasure of the government, and no length of residence can give them any further claims. The whole constitution of society appears to be as nearly as possible what it was among the ancient Germanic peasant communities of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The whole administrative and judicial power of Unterwalden lies with the small councils, consisting of fifty-eight members in Nidwald, and sixty-five in Obwald. These, as well as the deputies sent to the Diet, the Landammans, and all other government officers, are chosen by the General Assembly, which meets once a year, and the elections go off in general very quietly, though the appointments are often for life. To the outcast classes above described, even the right of petitioning is not freely granted, since it is forbidden (as it is in Prussia) to collect signatures, and a petition can only be presented by an individual.

The revenues of these little states are supplied by taxes on trade and commerce, property and land, the post, stamps, &c., and according to law, the accounts of the canton ought to be laid on a table in the chancery every year, for fourteen days, for public inspection; but this law appears to be usually evaded, and, according to Mr. Mugge, there have been instances of the treasurer roundly declaring he would give no account.

"This is what is called freedom in these democratic cantons. The old families are the sovereigns of the canton—the people are nothing. Change is impossible, for the chiefs and the priests take care to prevent even the thought of such a thing; and the poor herdsmen cutting their wild hay high up among the Alps, have no means of comparing their condition with any other, and live for the most part a contented, peaceable life, and are not troubled with any wicked longings after shares in the privileges of the communes."

"Stanz, the chief town of the half canton of Nidwald, lies half buried in a forest of fruit trees in a beautiful valley, and thence the way leads still through fruit trees to Sarnen, the capital of Obwald. The most sublime mountain scenery fills these little cantons, and whoever has time to become acquainted with the communities that lie hidden in its recesses, will discover, indeed, much ignorance and superstition, but a simple and uncorrupted race of men. On the great roads, on the contrary, throughout these Catholic pastoral states, mendicancy has erected its throne. One is surrounded by cripples, by cretins, by ragged children, who regard the traveller as their regular prey, and never cease their importunate song till they are silenced with a piece of money. Many of these urchins have parents by no means in a destitute condition, but they consider it as absolutely meritorious to levy this toll upon a stranger, and the parents often rejoice at seeing these talents for business thus early mani-

fested by their offspring. Many, however, appear to be really in want, notwithstanding the assistance of the convents and the numerous charitable institutions; and there can be no doubt that the frequent holidays of the Catholic Church contribute much to the increase of poverty. One is enchanted with the poetical descriptions of this country, its Alpine shepherds and verdant vales, and icy mountains and glaciers, and thundering waterfalls; its grazing cattle, and the music of the *Ranz des Vaches* among the hills; but how monrally is one undeceived at the aspect of these hordes of ragged beggars, the dirt of the Senne huts, and the greedy, covetous ways of their inhabitants, who will not offer a stranger so much as a glass of milk or a piece of bread without expecting an enormous payment."

This is somewhat at variance with the above remark on the "simple and uncorrupted race of men to be found in the remote valleys." The Senne, or herdsmen's huts, we presume, are not situated on the high roads. Many of these beggars, it appears, come from the south of Germany as pilgrims, attracted by the reputation of the sacred shrine of Einsiedeln, and other places, and are induced to remain in this part of Switzerland by the advantages it affords, from the number of travellers, for their peculiar branch of industry. They are also, of course, encouraged by the assistance they receive at the convents.

On the mischief of this recognition of mendicancy there can be little difference of opinion; but the problem is not solved by having poverty merely hunted down and trodden out of sight, as it often is in great cities. Our sight is not offended by a throng of destitute suppliants at our church doors; but is it because there is less destitution, or because it has less hope of relief?

In the canton of Unterwalden there are, it appears, no less than five convents, though the communities are mostly small. The most considerable is that of Engelberg.

"High up in the lap of the mountains, encircled by wild rocks, lies the rich and ancient Benedictine monastery of Engelberg, surrounded by the village of the same name. These Benedictines educate the children of the principal families of Unterwalden. They also carry on a considerable trade, and the abbot has found means to maintain the lands of the Church in tolerable independence of the state, to which he pays only a fixed yearly sum. In former days the abbots were called sovereign lords of Engelberg, and had the power of princes; but these fine old times are gone by. The abbey has often had within its walls princes, and even emperors, and has seen its days of feasting and rejoicing; but now the monks are more modest in their deportment, and seek a more artful method of securing their influence and position. The parish priests of the communes have very small salaries—scarcely ever more than 400 guilders, (about £33); but they manage matters so that the pious gifts of their penitents always keep their larders and cellars well supplied; and the Capuchins plunder the country all round in their begging expeditions. The richer and more cultivated Benedictines know how to employ their capital;—they farm Alps, give instruction, and trade in cloth and various kinds of wares, by means of their agents and commissioners.

"From Engelberg you obtain the most magnificent views of the mountains, and whoever has a mind to ascend the Titlis, may here find skilful and trusty guides. Beyond this ridge lies the Bernese Oberland, which may be reached by a wild pass: another still wilder between fields of everlasting snow, and Alpine peaks of nine or ten thousand feet high, leads to Altorf, in the canton

of Uri; and a descent of nine long Swiss miles brings you to the land of Tell, whose memory still meets the traveller at every turn.

"The whole story of the renowned shot of the apple is painted on the walls of an old tower; a figure of Tell, with his cross-bow, is placed at the spring, which tradition says is the precise spot where it was taken; the place is shown where his house stood; in short, the people could be induced to part with the story on no consideration whatever, and woe betide the traveller who should be ill-advised enough to hint a doubt of its truth."

The little canton of Uri appears to be in almost every respect the twin-brother of Unterwalden. There is the same wild splendour of scenery—

"Mountains piled on mountains to the skies,"—

the same lovely sheltered vallies, with their quiet and picturesque cottages hanging on every declivity, sometimes alone, sometimes clustering in little hamlets,—the same constitution of society,—the same manners arising out of it;—only here and there a breath of Italian summer seems to have found its way into Uri, and ripened peaches and melons in favoured spots. On some of the slopes of the St. Gotthard, the Italian language, too, is heard, and sparkling black eyes, and sharply cut features, proclaim the approach of a different race. The shepherds of these mountains are still remarkable for strength and agility as they are described to have been in early times; and these are qualities which their mode of life of course tends much to encourage. In the management of their dairies they are accustomed to carry the heaviest weights down the steep declivities, and to seek their way through mist and rain and storm, along the edge of dizzy precipices, loaded with piles of their great cheeses, or with huge bundles of hay.

Through the canton of Uri passes the great road crossing the St. Gotthard, and leading through Ticino to Italy; by this road as many as twenty thousand travellers, it is said, yearly traverse the valley of the Reuss.

"It is one of the finest roads in all Switzerland, and the most glorious views accompany the traveller along every step of the way. Naked peaks and horns crowned with everlasting snows of dazzling white—the magnificent Uri Rothstock, the Blakenstock, the Galestock, the Schnee-horn, the enormous white pyramid of the Bristenstock,—these stand like lines of giants on either side,—while between them lies the valley of the foaming Reuss, at first green and pleasant, and thickly sown with human dwellings, but growing ever narrower and wilder and more desolate as it proceeds southward. The road winds right and left, crossing the mountain stream; here and there, hewn out of the solid rock, are places of refuge from falling avalanches,—and then up again it goes, zigzag, through steep narrow ravines, which in winter are often suddenly filled by masses of falling snow, and at length across the Devil's Bridge and through the rocky gallery of the Urnerloch into the smiling valley that lies like an oasis in the desert.

"The Devil's Bridge is a bold work of human skill and industry, through whose mighty arch rushes the foaming Reuss, and then dashes down in a beautiful fall. The old Devil's Bridge lies far below, with the remains of the old road, and may well have appeared the work of more than mortal hands to the pilgrim as he stood on its now blackened arch, and felt the thunder of the cataract below him."

Herr Mugge mentions that the people of Uri take a very high toll from travellers on this road ; but he does not mention that the snow often lies twenty feet deep on it, and that it is their business to clear it away.

It was on this road, and along the shores of the lake of the Four Cantons, in the vallies of Schwyz, that several severe struggles took place between the French, Austrians, and Russians, in 1798 and 1799. Towards the end of September in the latter year, Suwarrow crossed the St. Gotthard from Italy, with 30,000 Russians, driving the French before him. The latter had blown up the Devil's Bridge; Suwarrow cut down the wood and made a new bridge. The inhabitants of the valley where it had grown complained indeed, for the trees had protected them from destruction, by affording shelter from the falling avalanches ; but their complaints did not disturb Suwarrow. " Things like this you know must be in time of war." His whole army crossed over, beat the French, and at length effected a junction with that of the Prince Korsakoff ; and considering the nature of the way, it is not surprising that much of the baggage was lost, and that five hundred Russians disappeared over the precipice ; but this was a trivial accident in the estimation of Suwarrow.

The canton of Schwyz, the third of the original confederacy, containing about forty thousand inhabitants, as many as Uri and Unterwalden put together, has always been regarded at the same time as the bulwark of pure democracy, as it is there understood, and the most zealous supporter of the power of the Catholic church.

The government, though in general resembling that of the other pastoral cantons, has been subjected to some modifications, calculated to lead the way to further progress,—such as the separation of the administrative from the judicial authorities, and the limitation of the hitherto life-long duration of offices. The communal system, with respect to economical rights, is, however, the same as in the other original cantons.

Alps and woods,—meadow and moorland,—belong to the old races who were the inhabitants of the country centuries ago ; later comers obtained only political privileges. There is little of trade or manufacturing industry in Schwyz, the occupation of the people being almost wholly pastoral. There is little even of agriculture.

" On landing at Brunnen (on the Lake of the Four Cantons) the whole land of Schwyz lies spread out in a beautiful amphitheatre before you. Fruitful and well cultivated, it extends from here to the Rigi and the Rossberg, and enclosing the grand rocky pyramids of the Mythe and the Haken, to the Lake of Zurich. It is full of mountains and vallies, and flowery meads. To the right opens the wild romantic gorge, twenty miles long, of the Muetta Valley, full of rich peasants and *full-blooded* people of the old stock. The village of Schwyz hangs on the slope of a mountain, surrounded by gardens and orchards. It is green and sunny on these hills, and the view of the lake, with its mountains and wild rocks, and lovely villages and meadows, richly varied."

In the hamlet of Schwyz itself there is little to be seen ; it contains, of course, the buildings necessary to its small political life, and the

Council House has its portraits of successive Landammans, all chosen for centuries from the families of Reding and Abyberg; but these are not worth looking at merely as works of art. The descendants of these and a dozen other families which have furnished Colonels, Majors, and Deputies to the Diet, live in comparatively stately-looking houses, surrounded with gardens, dignified by box hedges and iron gates.

"The Jesuits have an Educational Institute here, established in 1837, with the assistance of the Abbot of Einsiedeln and some of the principal families, which had some hundreds of scholars, but appears now to be somewhat on the decline. The Schwyzers, however pious, have no great partiality to the order. Indeed, they refused for a long time to have anything to do with them; perhaps not so much on account of their principles, as because the rich monks in many of the convents hate the Jesuits, and fear, not without reason, a diminution of their revenues from the influence of these learned and crafty warriors of the Church of Rome. In 1758 the Landsgemeinde rejected the proposal even of a Reding to admit them, although he offered to the canton a sum of 80,000 guilders and a large estate, as an inducement; but the Jesuits have found their way here at last without any one giving a penny, though they still do not appear very popular. I talked with one of the men of Schwyz on the subject, and he spoke out very freely. 'They don't do us much harm at present,' said he, 'and don't seem to meddle in what does not concern them; if they did we would soon drive them out again. They are clever fellows, and manage to bring many into their net, but they have not many real friends among the people. They lend money, however, help us here and there, buy many things at a good price. They use a great many wares for their schools, give employment to tradespeople and mechanics, and many strangers come to visit them, whom they send to the inns, the landlords of which are on good terms with them; and you see, Sir,' he added, laughing, for he was himself an innkeeper, 'that's the reason why I don't like myself to say much against the Fathers.'"

The great Protestant canton of Berne is distinguished, above all others, for its advancement in agricultural science, and it is not less remarkable for the extreme order and neatness which everywhere meets the eye; there are no open pits or heaps of manure, such as may be seen at every door in the country of Zurich, offending two senses at once. The large houses, with their galleries and rows of bright windows, handsome domestic offices and green lawns, look most invitingly, and give a pleasing testimony to the prosperity of the inhabitants. The Berne people are the best farmers in all Switzerland, and as they enjoy many natural advantages, which they have turned to the best account, they have found little necessity for giving their attention to manufactures, and are willing to leave these to their neighbours in Zurich and Aargau. This may be partly explained from the history of Berne. The patrician families of the capital were nobles, who for many centuries possessed considerable landed estates, and were, therefore, naturally induced to turn their attention to agriculture. Those of Zurich were merchants and manufacturers.

"This exclusive occupation with agriculture seems to have communicated a certain heaviness and immobility to the character of the inhabitants of Berne, and, even when the dominion of the nobles was at an end, they felt little inclination to enter the lists with their more lively and active neighbours.

"The city of Berne itself, with its vast houses, built of massive free-stone from the foundation to the gables—their stone staircases, and long, vaulted passages telling of their Burgundian origin, is a type of their weighty and immovable character. These solid, gloomy mansions, grey with age, and untouched by modern colouring or decoration, look like rows of castles, rooted deep as they are into the rocky ground. In one quarter, houses in a newer style are to be found; but in general, if one of these grand old habitations becomes unsafe, another is built up as nearly as possible in the same style. And thus it is in many other departments. The burghers of Berne cannot forget the time when they held dominion over all the surrounding country; and they cannot yet reconcile themselves to the modern system of equality, and the presumption of peasants seeking to share in their privileges . . .

"There are in Berne eleven guilds or companies, and to one of these every citizen must belong. They cannot at all understand how a man can be settled in a town, without taking his place in a corporation; as if, according to the old Germanic notion, the protection of the individual could not be trusted to the state and the law, but must be the especial care of some association whose business it should be to protect its members. Every company has its hall, its bank, its fund, apart from all others; there are even associations of families, held together by private contract, which have estates and property in common. The families of noble descent, the merchants, the butchers, the tailors—all cling together; but it is not necessary that the members of the same company should all carry on the same occupation. A man may have himself proposed in any company, and if he is accepted, buy his freedom, which in the richer companies costs a considerable sum. The company of nobles alone refuses to admit any one who is not of noble birth. These rich old families generally live in great retirement on their estates in the country, taking no part in public business, and passing their time mostly in grumbling at the course affairs are taking. It is remarkable, too, that proud and worldly as these patricians formerly were, they have lately become immoderately pious. Some of the most distinguished among them—the Hallwyls, the Wattenwyls, and others—have fallen from the faith for which their ancestors so valiantly contended, and returned to the Catholic church . . .

"Berne is beyond comparison a less cheerful place than Zurich. There are few coffee-houses or places of public amusement; and in the beauty of its environs it is also greatly inferior to the above-mentioned city. The terrace near the cathedral, indeed, whence you look down on the river Aar, and part of the city, and beyond it, to meadows, fields, and mountains—and especially when the evening sun clothes the majestic ranges of the Oberland in robes of radiance; this deserves all that can be said of it; but there is no other equal to this . . . In Zurich, long rows of waggons, heavily laden with goods, to and from many distant countries, are daily passing in and out. In Berne there are scarcely any; and though many travellers arrive, they are mostly on their way to the Oberland, or the Lake of Geneva, and remain a very short time.

"In Zurich, as I have said, the officers of government, including the Burgo-masters, are to be met with, associating freely with the rest of the citizens in the coffee houses and places of public amusement. They do not seek to envelope themselves in a cloud of mystic grandeur, which may be suitable enough to patricians and aristocrats, but not to the magistrates of a democracy. In Berne, the descendants of the ancient nobles have inherited all their exclusiveness. They never mingle among the people, far less make their appearance at coffee and beer-houses. The stiff, heavy, formal mode of life of Berne, in which every one confines himself to his own house, or to a limited circle of acquaintance, leaving the coffee-houses to students and young

radicals, was strictly followed by the men who formed the government of Berne in 1846. Neither Neuhaus, nor the most distinguished of his colleagues, Fetcherin and Weber, ever showed themselves in public, but preserved the importance of their position."

Neuhaus seems to have given great offence by placing at his door a bell, with a brass plate, on which was inscribed "*Ici on sonne et on attend.*" To keep people waiting at his door while some one came to open it, was thought a most unwarrantable assumption. It might have done very well for a Schultheiss in the old times, but it was not now "*the time of day*" for such airs of superiority. His whole government had, however, been left far behind in the rapid progress of the now victorious party, and their adherents in the clubs; and when, injudiciously, in our author's opinion, it undertook the prosecution of the Free-corps men, after having looked quietly on during their preparations, "instead of proving its strength, it hollowed the ground under its own feet."

The new constitution of 1846 has, of course, the advantage of standing upon the shoulders of its predecessor, by which it has been enabled to remedy many of its deficiencies. The system of indirect elections has been wholly put aside—the age at which all civic rights may be exercised, reduced from 23 to 20, and the competency to all offices of the republic, from the age of 29 to 25. Every ten years a census is to be taken; and since in the short duration of offices lies, it is thought, the best security for popular freedom in a republic—the Great Council is to be elected every four years, instead of every six, as before. According to the old constitution, the members of the chief tribunal, chosen by the Great Council, received their appointments for fifteen years; now they are to have them only for eight.

In another particular also an immense increase of power has been thrown into the popular scale. The Great Council itself must be dissolved and re-elected, if the majority of the people in the political assemblies demand it. On the requisition of 6000 citizens, the matter must be put to the vote.

"Not less important is the regulation that all new laws and ordinances whatever—before they are brought under discussion, must be made known to the people, time enough for them to express their opinion concerning them. In Berne the direct veto is not indeed conferred on the people as it is in St. Gall—but they have the most effectual means of protesting and petitioning and enlisting the press against any laws to which they may object."

Such rights, indeed, if merely existing on parchment, and not animated by the spirit of a people, avail little; and, in Berne, the old principles of action have still such power and force—the character of the people in general is so opposed to innovation—every district, every community, clings so much to its old customs, that it will be long before this new constitution and its objects will be really absorbed and assimilated, so as to become a part of the national life.

"A reform of the poor-laws and of the system of finance, was, however, what above all things young Berne had at heart—and which this new constitution was intended to effect; but this it has only been able to do in part—and

even that not without lively opposition; and yet, on this depends the whole success of an experiment, by which it has been attempted to raise Berne from the entangled historical deformities of the old German commonalty, to the freer position of a state constructed according to modern ideas. It is precisely this which gives so great an interest to its present position, and to the attempts of the young reform party.

"Before all things it is necessary, in German Switzerland, to sweep away the rude irregular foundation on which Swiss life has hitherto rested—and to strike a mortal blow at the manifold hindrances and separations by which its progress has been obstructed."

One of the most important paragraphs of the new constitution (paragraph 86) is that which treats of an equalization of public burdens in the various districts. At first it was desired that the whole poor-funds should be made over to the Government, which should take the duty of providing for the poor wholly on itself—but this could not be carried. There are certain cities and communes in Berne that possess poor-lands of immense value, the city of Mure, for instance; others have little or nothing, and are compelled to levy heavy rates for the purpose. All the communes who would have been losers by the proposed new arrangement, raised a tremendous opposition to it, and succeeded in obtaining a majority against it in the Constitutional Council—"but the blow struck at the independence of the commonalties," says our author, "was felt throughout Switzerland. People in Zurich, where I was at the time, were quite frightened, and prophesied that it would not come to good; so firm is still the attachment to old systems. Indeed, throughout Switzerland, Berne by no means excepted, the attachment to the freedom of communal life is far stronger than to that of the state."

"The utmost that could be effected was that security should be given for the poor funds, and that they should be placed under some control by the State with a view to their better administration; and where it appeared that the funds were not sufficient for the support of the poor, the State should supply at least one-half, but not more than two-thirds of the deficiency. By this, of course, a considerable burden is laid upon it, which must be supported by the citizens at large.

"Not less important, perhaps, is the second clause in the same paragraph, which sweeps away titles and feudal burdens of various kinds, ordering that they shall be purchased from the proprietors for the *half* of the price stated in the law of the 20th of December. On the other hand the government undertakes not only to indemnify the proprietors, but to return to those who had purchased them at that higher rate one-half of the purchase-money.

"It was quite natural that this measure should have the warmest support of the small land-owners, but the State will of course have several millions to pay; it must be recollected, however, that Berne has not only no national debt, but a fund in her treasury of twenty millions of francs—collected in old times, and which is now destined to serve the worthy purpose of clearing off the last remains of the feudal burdens."

The victory which Colonel Ochsenbein and his colleagues have achieved over their rivals, has it appears been so complete, that the greater number of the members of the former government have not even been elected again as members of the Great Council.

Neuhaus, so long the first man in the republic, who struggled so manfully for the support of liberal principles, and who is as thorough a radical as his successor, and as much opposed to the Jesuits and the Sonderbund, has returned to his place in the counting-house, and seldom, according to Mr. Mugge, is any voice raised to give utterance to aught but blame of the man whom at one time no one could praise enough. Yet he possesses many qualifications most valuable in the chief of a party; courage, self-control, foresight, and an immoveable strength of will. His manner is earnest and thoughtful, but eminently calculated to inspire confidence. Of his integrity a tolerable proof is offered in his present narrow circumstances.

The clergy of Berne are, with very few exceptions, opposed to the government of Colonel Ochsenbein; and the well-known "Parson Vizius," of Luzerne, who writes under the name of "Jeremias Gotthelf,"* was a zealous adherent of that of M. Neuhaus.

The schoolmasters—a body of far more consideration in Switzerland than with us—are more favourably disposed towards it. The state of popular education in Switzerland is, it appears, by no means so satisfactory as has sometimes been supposed. Out of 70,000 children in Berne capable of receiving instruction, scarcely 20,000, according to the testimony of the above-mentioned Jeremias Gotthelf, really received it; and of their proficiency we may form some idea when we hear that the pupils of an elder class, at a school examination, confounded the three original Swiss Confederates with the three kings of Cologne, and asserted that Goliath lost his life at the battle of Sempach!

In this, and in many other departments, the party at present dominant in Switzerland is pledged to effect great improvements. How far it is likely to fulfil the expectations it has held out to various classes of the community, and the hopes most difficult to realize, which were greatly instrumental in raising it to its present position, must now soon appear. We cannot be so far dazzled by the success which has crowned the efforts of the victors, as not to perceive that they have obtained the prize by an act of unprincipled aggression, wholly unworthy of the principles they profess, and of the party to which they claim to belong. History, however, presents us with many examples of a usurped authority having been made the instrument of producing ultimate good, not to the aggressors but to the aggrieved; and whatever sympathy we may feel for the sufferers in the present instance, we do not overlook the fact that the state of society in the old cantons, now overthrown, was one of utter stagnation, wholly incompatible with the best interests and the noblest tendencies of the human race.

* In our last number, our readers may possibly remember, we took occasion to introduce some of his clever and popular productions to their notice.

CORRESPONDENCE.

EDUCATION IN INDIA; SCHOOLS FOR SOLDIERS' CHILDREN.

"To The Editor of the 'Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review,' London."

"Loodeanab, 30th September, 1847.

"Dear Sir,—In a late number (91) of your much approved Review, I had the pleasure to peruse an article on the 'Camp and Barrack Room;' the able and well directed endeavours therein evinced to improve the present dreadfully low state and condition of the British soldier, have led me to believe that any information or suggestion, by which this much desired object can be accomplished, or even only partially so, would meet with your kind attention. I now venture to enclose, for your perusal, a copy of a scheme drawn out by Capt. Rind nearly two years ago, and forwarded for the consideration of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India, Lord Hardinge, as well as to the Right Honourable Lord Gough, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army; with the reply received.

"The object was to provide for the training, adoption, and future welfare of some thousands of lives now unhappily wasted and lost by hundreds yearly, but which, by care and proper treatment, might be nursed and reared to fill the places now occupied by their parents, with credit to their country, with happiness and comfort to themselves.

"If the interior of a barrack-room in England be such as you have so vividly portrayed it, what, think you, must it be in India? I really believe the scenes of misery and wretchedness, and, I am sorry to be obliged to add, often of immorality,—of vice in many of its worst and most disgusting shapes, are such as few but those who have been accustomed to witness them would credit from mere description; nor do I think, by dwelling long on such pictures, and calling public attention to the many harrowing and offensive features with which they are crowded, that my present object would be at all forwarded. I trust to the facts of the present state of the barrack-room being now sufficiently known, so prominently brought to the notice of the public, to ensure its reform. I will merely assure you, that it is hardly possible to have any intercourse even with the well-behaved, well-intentioned and best men, without feeling that their position is one of wretchedness, of want, and often of misery; that the shifts and artifices they are put to, to procure for themselves even the common necessities of life, must not only help to make them feel, but must place them, in the eyes of their lowest menials (natives), in a most humbling and degrading position. It was but yesterday that a sergeant, a most respectable and well-behaved man, assured me, 'and when we want a pair of shoes, sir, or any article of clothing, why we are obliged to deprive ourselves of some portion of our food to enable us to pay for it;' food, mind you, at any time not more than sufficient for the most moderate appetite, and of the most simple description. Though I could relate many similar instances of the want and deprivation which soldiers have to struggle with, and which their wits are too often puzzled how to provide against, I will not

occupy your attention by doing so; indeed it would be foreign to my present object, which has rather reference to their children than to themselves. Men, whose whole time and attention are mainly occupied in devising schemes how to overcome hardships and privations—I don't mean the hardships and privations generally understood as inseparable from a soldier's life, and these, goodness knows, are numerous and trying enough, but—such as you have so well and truthfully described in your article on the 'Camp and Barrack Room,' such as have been most unnecessarily brought upon him by the want of proper and sufficient provision being made for his happiness and comfort, at times and places where these should have been made more the objects of care and attention, such as by every rule of common justice he should be allowed to consider himself exempt and to expect protection from—these men, I say, are as little likely to maintain against such odds, and for a continuance of years, that manly straightforwardness of purpose and principle, as essentially necessary for the support of their own individual characters as it is equally necessary to enable them to inculcate, by precept or example, an observance of these same virtues in those about or in company with them, or in those dependent on them.

"To remove the soldier's children from the pollution of the barrack-room, to place them beyond the possibility of seeing and hearing those lessons of vice which so constantly meet their eyes and ears in that impure atmosphere, and which are calculated to make so lasting an impression on their young and susceptible minds—lessons far more apt to leave deeper and more lasting impressions than the opposite virtues, and to exercise a corresponding baneful influence on their future conduct and lives—to do this for their morals, while, at the same time, and by the same means, their physical and bodily welfare are improved by removing them from an enervating, sickly, and deadly atmosphere, to a healthy, bracing, and invigorating climate, a climate little, if indeed at all, inferior to that of which their parents are natives—is the object of the enclosed scheme. That the scheme proposed was neither perfect in all its parts, nor in all the details by which it is proposed to be carried out, I am well aware; but perhaps no mere scheme, embracing so much of what practice and experience alone bring us acquainted with, can be perfect. Two or three of the objections that have been made to it I may as well here notice.

"First, That the estimate in the plan for each child's keep and clothing of 6 rupees is too low a rate. Had Capt. Rind been calculating for the maintenance of one or two dozen children, he would certainly have made a much higher estimate; but, considering the low price of provisions in India; the price of articles of clothing such as the children would require, and which would consist principally of cheap country manufacture; considering also that large supplies are contracted for at much more favourable rates than goods purchased at retail prices, and having in view as one of the ends of the proposed institution, that it should, in the course of a few years, have establishments of its own, reared from out of its own ranks, perfectly capable of supplying its own wants with many of the necessaries which, for the first few years, we should be forced to go to the public markets for; considering all this, I hardly think he has been under, or, at all events, much under, a fair estimate for the maintenance of the children; and, even if otherwise, it must be to an extent so trifling, that I can hardly conceive, by Englishmen, it would be allowed to stand as an objection to a scheme, if allowed to be in every other respect unobjectionable, and calculated to produce so much good to thousands of their countrymen.

"The second objection is, Government would have no security for the children's consenting to remain in their service on attaining the age for discharge

from the institution. In England, perhaps, such an objection would not be so easily got over; but, in a distant province in India, where there are few, very few, Europeans, save the Government servants, the position of a young man of 16 just let loose from school, is very widely different from what it would be in England; set free in our hill provinces, with no pecuniary resources at his command, in what direction could he possibly turn, not merely in search of employment, but for the actual supply of his immediate and most pressing wants? The utter hopelessness of such a condition would, I humbly conceive, be as strong a guarantee as the Government could have against the possibility of any loss to them arising from such an objection. Again, though I have said that the object of the institution would be to bring up the children with the view of their taking their parents' place in the ranks, yet I much doubt if many would ever find themselves landed there. The fact is, European labour and skill must be, ere long, in so great a demand by the Government of India, not merely for the purposes pointed out in Capt. Rind's letter to the Lieutenant Governor, North Western Provinces, but for many other purposes, only one of which I will stop to name here, that is the superintendence and care of many hundreds of miles of railway, that I do not believe Government would be willing to throw away upon the ranks whatever amount of superior skill and intelligence might be found among the young men; and it is hardly to be supposed, that even boys educated as these had been, would prefer roaming about the country like so many penniless vagabonds, seeking a precarious existence, to accepting employment under Government which would secure to them an immediate and comfortable provision, and which held out to them such advantageous prospects for the future.

"A third objection made to the plan, is the necessity pointed out of a Roman Catholic clergyman for the institution. That this may be an evil I will admit, but, unfortunately, in any plan which can be possibly devised for the maintenance and education of soldiers' children, it is an evil which we cannot altogether avoid. The larger proportion of our soldiers are Roman Catholics; and I feel confident, from the frequent conversations I have had with many of them on this subject, that they will be no more persuaded to allow their children to be brought up and educated at a school where the Protestant faith is alone taught than Protestant parents would allow their children to be educated in an exclusively Roman Catholic institution; in fact, I am not sure but that the Roman Catholic soldiers are much more tenacious on this subject than their Protestant comrades. And without intending the slightest insinuations against our own military chaplains as to the manner in which they perform their clerical duties, which, in many instances, I believe to be most exemplary and praiseworthy, yet I cannot but attribute this feeling on the part of the Roman Catholic soldiers, to the more frequent and more intimate intercourse which subsists between them and their Catholic priest. In the one instance, religion is made little more than one of many public duties, and all its rites and observances gone, or rather, I should say, hurried through in the shortest, the easiest manner possible; this over, generally speaking, there ends all intercourse, all connexion, between the divine and the soldier. Not so with the other two—religious duties constitute but a part only of what passes between the Roman Catholic soldier and his priest—the affairs of this world are as often made the subject of their concern and attention as those of the next; it is to his priest that most of the Roman Catholic soldier's grievances, difficulties and complaints are carried; it is to his priest he looks, and from him he receives advice or consolation as may be needed, and that too in a spirit and with a kindness of manner, which soothes, while, at the same time, it fixes a firm sway over the soldier's mind which enables the priest to turn it at will. While

the Roman Catholic priest is the soldier's friend and confidant, the military chaplain is only a public functionary, performing a public duty, in which, it is true, the soldier has a part to take, but which part he performs with much the same, or with hardly anything like the same, care and attention as he would perform his part at parade exercise. What wonder, then, if the Roman Catholic priest exercises so vast an influence over the untutored mind of the soldier?—how can we wonder, then, if the father and parent submits to be guided, in the disposal of his child, by the same hand which is felt to have so faithfully piloted him through his own difficulties and dangers, by the same hand which was always open to receive him with kindness and sympathy, and from which he never turned away without a blessing? Pride ourselves as we may on the superiority, the purity, of Protestantism over Popery, and on our freedom from its superstitions, its deceits, its thralldom; yet, to the poor, uneducated, unfriended Roman Catholic soldier, the equally poor yet well disposed and conscientious Roman Catholic priest—and of whom, I am sure, there are many in India—will always be an object of great, and I will even add deserved, regard and respect, who will always maintain an influence over the soldier's mind superior to any persuasion or argument we can bring to bear upon it. Under this impression, I would concede to the wishes and scruples of Roman Catholic parents, and allow a priest of their own Church to superintend the religious duties and exercises of their children; but I would strictly confine all interference on his part to attendance on these duties; and should he at any time evince a disposition to carry this interference beyond the bounds prescribed to him, I will answer for it, that if the superintendent of the institution, who should be an officer, an old soldier, did his duty, the priest would do no harm.

“Perhaps you have heard that an institution, similar in a great measure to that sketched out by Capt. Rind, has been already opened and commenced in the hills near Simlah; and it was, in truth, the benevolent proposal of Lieut.-Colonel Lawrence, in the first place, to have such an institution, which led Capt. Rind to wish for, and endeavour to promote, the extending of his philanthropic views into a circle wide enough to include every soldier's child whose parents were willing to give him the advantage of it; and had Lieut.-Colonel Lawrence's plan been placed upon a foundation sufficiently *secure* and large for such an end, but little more could have been done towards helping forward this great charitable measure. Experience, however, has proved that any charity on so extensive a scale in this country, resting and depending for support on the mere good-will of the public, a public continually shifting, going and coming, and still more likely to become migratory as the facilities for more frequent intercourse between Europe and India are increased, would not live many years. A foundation so tottering, support so precarious and uncertain, allows us to entertain but poor hopes of its strength and ability to uphold, for any length of time, an establishment large enough to maintain all, or even a good portion, of the many hundreds who stand, one and all, equally in need of the relief, care, and protection, it is intended to afford. Lieut.-Colonel Lawrence's Asylum now receives 50 children, and if it ever have double that number within its walls, it will then have reached the maximum of its ability to carry out its founder's generous and humane intentions; but great as even this amount of good would be, what is it when compared with what it might be if, as in the plan proposed, the institution became a Government one? There are at least, I think I am within the mark when I say 2,000 children, to whom such a home would be a secure retreat from those numerous ills, moral and physical, which now so thickly throng around them, and beset their every footstep in the daily and nightly wanderings through the barracks, or,

what is still worse, the precincts and neighbourhood of the bar rack, where they meet and associate with the most degrading, the lowest, I may, with strict justice, call them the vilest of man's race—the cook boys, the errand boys, the sweeper boys—who swarm like a pestilence round the barracks of every European regiment in India. I can only repeat my conviction, that whatever private charity can accomplish, and that it has done a great deal in India, as Lieut.-Colonel Lawrence's generous proposal, and the liberal support it has received, is an eminent example, yet it neither will, nor can be, sufficiently large to build and support an institution capable of receiving, maintaining, and educating all our helpless soldiers' children. For such an end, for such a charity, no support short of that which Government *alone* in this country is able to give, will suffice.

"I would here wish to say a few words on what, I am afraid, from all which has been written elsewhere, as well as, perhaps, in these pages, you may have formed a somewhat mistaken estimate of—I mean the general character, or perhaps I should rather say, disposition of our soldiers. And here I would at once remark, that considering the country they come from, the grade or rank from which they were originally taken, the country to which they are sent, the many hardships, difficulties, and privations to which they are exposed, against which they have to struggle, and not unfrequently without hope of relief; the great confinement which, from the nature of the climate, it is necessary to impose upon them, and the long long dreary hours of listless inactivity they are compelled to linger through, with little or no rational employment for the mind, or innocent source of excitement to keep the spirits up to their natural level; with a temperature at, often above, blood heat, debilitating, enervating, and wasting equally to mental and bodily powers and functions,—is it surprising, if, under all these disadvantages, the spirit of evil should find more room to do its work, and material with which and on which to work, than it would find elsewhere? I assure you I have seldom been inside one of our Eastern barrack-rooms, particularly in the hot season and rains, and witnessed the comfortless, helpless, dismal condition of our soldiers, without feeling that great credit was due to them for their orderly behaviour and peaceable submission to a lot, which I have felt nothing in this world would ever tempt me to submit to, much less reconcile me to, and from which I believe the poorest labourer at home would shrink, could he but compare it with his own means of obtaining a hard-earned, honest independence. I believe those who are foremost and loudest in blackening and defaming the character and disposition of the soldier, know least of all the true nature of that character, the temptations, the hardships, the privations he has to struggle against, to bear with, and bend to. If the vices and failings of the soldier are to be exposed before the eyes of the world, in justice to him, the life the friendless exile is doomed to lead in a climate inimical to his life, and the little provision which has been made to render that life a comfortable, contented, and happy one, at least as much so as an European soldier's life in India can be made, should form part of the same tale; and if only truly and faithfully told, depend upon it, the wonder will be, not that he is so bad, but rather that he is not much worse than he really is. We shall cease to wonder that, under the accumulated hardships and trials he has to undergo, the spirit of the *man* should at last break down, and that, as is too frequently the case, he should seek, through the agency of crime, to relieve himself from any longer bearing the, to him, hated name, and intolerable burden of a soldier's life.

"I must admit, and I do so with sincere pleasure, that something has been done within the last few years to improve the condition of the soldier's life in India. Whatever a late Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, may have

done in other respects, his acts in behalf of the European soldier evinced a kind consideration for, and a wish on his part to improve their position. If the idea of cantoning European troops in our hill provinces did not entirely originate with his lordship, he certainly was the first to bring the measure into operation. Some three regiments of Europeans were rescued from the fiery furnace of their barracks in his time, and sent to live, and enjoy life, in the cool, pleasant, and invigorating climate of the hills; and had his lordship remained till this time in office, in all probability double that number, if not more, would ere this have been as considerably and wisely cared and provided for in the same way. Before Lord Ellenborough's time, the hills were only thought of as a sanitarium for invalids; but his lordship with, as he always had, an eye to the soldier's comfort, saw at once their value in promoting it, and resolved, without any timid apprehensions for the safety of the Honourable Company's Treasury, to take advantage of the hill provinces, as by far the most healthy, and in every respect most fitting locality for keeping our European troops in. But much yet remains to be done in this way. From the Nepal frontier, all along the ridge of the Himalayah overhanging the plains, to the boundary line lately settled by our treaty with Lahore, are numerous spots eligible in every way for military cantonments,—many of these spots far superior to those already selected, and which were fixed upon more from their proximity to Simlah, and before these hill provinces were so well known as they now are, than any better reason. The best of these should be selected, and three times the number of European troops now in the hills sent there. This once done for our soldiers, their position in this country would be entirely changed. From the rotten foundation on which not only their happiness and comfort but their very lives are now perilled, they would be at once removed to a climate equally as congenial to health and to the European constitution as that of their own country. The power, whether it be the press—the voice of a single individual, or that of many—which can accomplish so much for our English soldiers serving their country in this distant land, will be the author of more real and substantial good to so many thousands of our exiled countrymen, than chance, or a combination of circumstances, places it within the reach of one man out of many hundreds ever to be. Until this one great and all-important measure be fully carried out and accomplished, on half measures, no compromise in lieu of it, should be listened to or allowed. The condition of the European soldier in the plains of India, do what you will to ameliorate it, must always be one of discomfort, privation, and suffering; and as surely as it is so, so surely will all those moral ills prevail which invariably follow in the wake of these, when there is not force of mind sufficient from within to shut the door against them. Place him in the hills, and you place him at once where, with common care and attention, he will be far above the reach of these very ills,—ills, over which in the plains, you can exercise but little influence, and exert still less control. Do this for him, and all the rest we would wish to have done will be of no difficult accomplishment. The only real difficulty to be apprehended throughout, from beginning to end, is one on the score of pounds, shillings, and pence, being raised at the India House. But should it be so, and the Court of Directors prove so blind to their own interests in a pecuniary point, perhaps by the help of argument and remonstrance well pressed home upon their attention by influential authority, they may be made sensible that, to the well thinking and humane portion of Englishmen, the happiness, the welfare, and lives of so many thousands of their countrymen, whose lot it is to labour and suffer and serve their country in a distant land, in a sickly climate, and under a scorching Indian sun, is not so much a matter of indifference and undeserving every consideration which

can be given, towards rendering that lot as easy, light, and safe as it is possible to make it; and that of these two considerations—pounds, shillings, and pence on the one hand—the well-being and life of the soldier on the other, the latter has pre-eminently the right and title to be made first the object of care and solicitude. But even in a pecuniary point of view, it may with the greatest ease and exactness be shown, that by making the soldier's welfare the first and primary object of their attention, the advantage would be all on their side. A short time ago, a statement taken from the very best authority, was published in the 'Friend of India' newspaper, showing that the average mortality in our European force was so high as 650.65 a-year. Climate, exposure, and privation, must in a great measure be the cause of this fearful waste of life, to the extent, I may safely say, of at least one half the amount. By another statement in a late London paper, 'it appears from a return moved for by Sir Howard Douglas, that the expense of conveyance of troops from Great Britain and Ireland to India during the year 1845, amounted to £80,537; and during the year 1846, was £115,194. The concurrent expense of conveyance of troops and their families from India to England, amounted in 1845 to £53,352; and in 1846 to £81,391.' Now, suppose we are right in believing, and it is no more than opinion founded on close observation and experience justifies us in doing, that one-half of this mortality might be saved by removing the men to a healthy European climate, and that half the cost incurred for their conveyance to and from India, was, as it would be, saved and expended in providing suitable accommodation for them in the hill provinces—at the end of some five or six years, in whose favour would the balance be? Is the immediate outlay which would be incurred in building to be put in comparison with such a result? To all this it may very possibly be objected by some, that should the services of the European troops on any emergency be required in the plains, they would not be available. In reply to this—First, the immediate vicinity of that part of the hills to the plains where the troops would be stationed, and the facility of access to or from the hills to the plains, which might at no great cost be had, would render their services equally as available as they now are in Fort William, the cantonments of Dinapore, Ghazepoor, Cawnpore, Agra, Meerut, Umballa, or any other station. Second, the political state of India in 1847, whether considered with regard to our foreign or internal relations, justifies us in looking at this objection as one only to be seen in the distance.

"In all probability the renewal of the East India Company's Charter will be matter of discussion for this new parliament: to enable those who will be more immediately called upon from their position in the legislature, as well as the British public at large, to form anything like a true idea of India, its wants, its advantages, its uses as a dependency, its interests, and on the other hand our duty towards it, our own interest in strictly and faithfully performing that duty, as well as the position in which we now stand in India:—to do all this with justice to ourselves, and with equal justice to India, will require a large amount of information,—much larger I fear than is to be had from any private source in England. The East India authorities will give information, no doubt; but is this all the public will ask for, or be content with, to enable them to come to a decision on this all-important subject? The India House will have an end,—an object, a selfish object, to advance and to obtain. Should we therefore be surprised—is it even fair to expect they will throw open to the public scrutiny all the evidence they possess, whether it tells for or against their own cause? No one will expect—no one will even ask this from them. Those who are personally interested, or those who, as public men, merely take a public interest in the question, will doubtless seek to

obtain this necessary information elsewhere. There are many men—men of the first ability and information now at home, the greater part of whose lives have been spent in India, both able and willing to give the very best advice and assistance on this great question; and no doubt their services will be made available. In India there are many more, equally able and willing to do the same; and though they may not be present when the question is agitated, yet it is to be hoped means will be found to bring the sum of their information to bear upon the issue.

“In India, in the provinces, barring Government servants, civil and military, there are but few, very few Europeans to be met with; and these scattered and located singly at great distances over this vast surface. Occupied entirely with their own particular calling, their range of observation and means of obtaining information are very limited, seldom extending beyond the bounds of the districts in which they are placed. From among the great mass of the European population congregated in the large cities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, I am afraid you would obtain as little; for aught beyond the concerns of their own counting-houses and shops, their morning walk and evening drive, I do not believe 1 in 100 has a thought; the provinces of India are as much *terra incognita* to them as the back forests and wilds of America are to the denizens of Holborn. It is therefore almost exclusively from among the ranks of our civil and military servants that you will be able to gather any amount of information calculated to be of real service to you: from the nature of their duties they are brought into constant contact with the natives of the country; while the country itself has been opened to them in every direction for the carrying out of these duties; and it is while engaged in these duties, that their attention is called to those subjects which will so soon become matter for discussion within the walls of the British Parliament. In India, public servants are not tied down as they are in England, for life, for a number of years, or when moved only to a short distance, neither are they confined to the performance of any particular class or line of duty; hardly a Gazette is published but some one or more of us is removed from one end of India to the other; and I believe many of our officers could be found as well informed, from actual observation, on the nature of the country and the character of the people of lower Bengal, as they are with the country and people of our distant North West frontier; and I cannot refrain from adding, that many of them are equally as observing, interested, and solicitous, in all that relates to the public good, as they are anxious to perform to the best of their abilities the trusts committed to their care. These are not the men, at a time like that just alluded to, whose mouths should be shut, and hands tied, by any silly prejudice or foolish dread—prejudices and fears which by the advancing tide of intelligence, and that wish now so generally recognised to open out equally to all, whatever sources of wealth and industry may be found to lie beneath the shade of England's crown, must soon, in spite of all opposition, be levelled with the ground. Though I say this, I believe I may very safely add, that there is a very general wish that the Charter should be renewed. It is not a change of rulers that is hoped or wished for, but rather a more generous policy, a more liberal spirit of action, less of secrecy and mystery in the manner of conducting the duties and affairs of government; that a greater, a much greater impulse be given to the moving power; that enterprise and energy, science and skill, be allowed a far freer and wider field of action. These are the wants felt in India which we hope to remove by the approaching discussion of Indian affairs, and not an abolition of the Charter.

“The press of India has had great injustice done it of late by that of London. Some of your leading papers, for what end no one can imagine, have

made most ungenerous and unfounded attacks on its honesty and general character. If the press of India has not the same talent employed in its service, it has at least the same honesty and uprightness of purpose; and perhaps far less of the bitterness and habit of distorting the meaning and intention of rivals than the best conducted papers in the great metropolis of England. The *Friend of India*, the *Delhi Gazette*, the *Bombay Times*, but particularly the *Bengal Hurkara*, for its spirited independence, liberal views, consistency and unswerving adherence to principle, as well as for forbearance and courtesy of language, even when engaged with an antagonist, need not fear comparison with the leading London Journals; and I really believe you may place more reliance in the information to be found in the columns of any of the above named papers, on India and Indian affairs, than you can upon that contained in any of their English contemporaries."

* * We have not space for the enclosures referred to by our correspondent. The plan of Capt. Rind appears to us of great practical merit, but the details would not interest our readers. The English public will regret to learn that the only attention it received at headquarters was that of an official acknowledgment, accompanied with the information that "His Excellency is too much occupied with affairs of importance to take this subject into consideration." After all that has been said and done for education in this country, we must confess our disappointment that a Governor-General of India could be found, in 1845, to whom it was not "an affair of importance" to take the proper steps to prevent the demoralization of the most neglected portion of the rising generation.

Extract from a Letter from Rome, dated November 20th, 1847.

* * * "A new era has commenced, bringing with it an essential change in our form of government, it being no longer exclusively clerical, but a mixed form, by the admission of laymen. It required an enlarged mind and generous heart to conceive the idea, for which eternal praise and gratitude to the immortal Pontiff. The sympathy with which generous England honours us, secures us in great part from the effects of the envy and rancour of the other Powers, and she will ever receive from us proofs of our sincere and indelible gratitude. Lord Minto was anxiously expected in Rome, and his arrival gave me therefore great gratification. The same evening he went to the *Circolo Romano*, where he was received with expressions of the warmest gratitude and profoundest respect. They are preparing for him there a grand dinner, and speak of another at the *Casino of Merchants*: an address is also to be presented to him by a deputation of the people. They will thus, I hope, continue to cement more and more firmly the union resulting from the sympathy of noble and stirring sentiments; this will animate the courage and endurance of the one, and induce in the other the fulfilment of the pledge to guarantee us from foreign oppression. Oh, God, grant it be so!"

Extract from a Letter, dated Florence, November 28th, 1847.

"I copy for you a notice, which has appeared to-day, of a new Society—a boyish and somewhat laughable illustration of the state of feeling here, in respect to the members of that religious order, whose intrigues at Fribourg and

Lucerne led to the late civil revolt in Switzerland. It is an association of the Students at the University of Genoa, entitled, 'National Italian Association.'

"The youth of Italy, feeling convinced that it is their most solemn duty to seek, in every possible way, the improvement of education, and the development of the national and social virtues, because without them Italy can hardly hope to take again her place amongst the nations, and certainly not maintain it with dignity and power; convinced also that the first foundation of such virtues can be laid only through the watchful tenderness of good mothers,—propose the following resolutions:—

"1st. That the undersigned youths pledge themselves on their honour, not only not to unite themselves by matrimonial ties with any ladies educated directly or indirectly by the Nuns of the *Sacro Cuore*, but also neither with those whom they know to be connected with persons subject to, or dependant on, or affiliated to the company of the Jesuits, nor with those who are under the spiritual direction of the fathers of the order. 2nd. That the guardians of the register, containing the names of the youths who have taken the above mentioned pledge, shall be required, if any one forfeit his pledge, to publish his name and deed, in any of the journals most widely circulated throughout the peninsula, whereby he may be branded, in the face of all Italy, as one having forfeited his honour.'

"The only other news I can send you is the notice of a new Journal, by Bulbo and Cuvour, to be speedily published in Turin. Those who remember that only a few years since, on looking over the list of books in a large library in that city, one felt almost doubtful whether the prohibited did not exceed the number allowed, so frequently was the "*prohibito*" annexed to works in the catalogue, will feel there is significance in the fact of a Journal entitled, '*Il Risorgimento*.'"

Another Letter from Florence, which we copy from the '*Berliner Nachrichten*,' will give a further idea of the state of popular feeling in Tuscany; but the same spirit is now universally diffused throughout the Italian states.

"You will be interested with an account of the festive celebration of the establishment of a National Guard in that city, which gives a lively picture of the manner in which the spirit newly awakened in Italy manifests itself. 'In the evening,' says the writer, 'there was great excitement at the theatre. The *Pergola* was entirely illuminated with wax lights, and, for fear of fire, it had been ordered at the doors that no flags should be admitted, but the ladies, nevertheless, contrived to introduce them hidden under their shawls.

"There was to be a concert, but the music could not be heard for the incessant "*Vivas*." After the first piece, the Overture to William Tell, a cry was raised of "The Banners! The Banners!" and immediately the ladies produced their little flags, and the singers dragged in the great ones through a window, and set them up in the pit, and, in a moment, the whole area of the theatre was covered with them.

"Hoarse as was the public throat from shouting the whole day, it immediately set up a chorus in which ladies and all joined. Then this piece and the other was called for without any regard to the programme—the singers holding handkerchiefs of the same colours as the great flag, the Italian red, white and green, and the band, at every *viva*, hoisting their hats up with their instruments. "*Evoiva la lega Italiana; evociva l'unione*," (long live the Italian

league; long live the union); and then '*legate i fazzoletti*,' (tie the handkerchiefs together), and in another minute, handkerchiefs and scarfs and shawls were fastened together, box to box, tier to tier, down into the pit, right and left, across and across, from bench to bench, till all were united by these brotherly bonds, and then began bellowing, for I can call it nothing else.

"Some one now espied in one of the boxes the Prince Poniatowski, and immediately there was a cry that he should sing a song, and, after a little negotiation as to what he should sing, it being decided for a hymn, he complied, and gave us a hymn in magnificent style; the theme was of pouring out one's blood for liberty, of resisting tyrants, of being ready to obey the call to defend Pius, the ambassador of God, for the salvation of Italy. After each verse there was a shout of *ancora*, and then the whole theatre roared the verse again. Some of the *Evoias* were curious enough, for instance, '*Evoivan i fusili, evovian le nostre sciaboli, evovian 50 pezzi di canone, evovian i nostri fratelli martiri di Sicilia, evoviva la nostra Lombardia, morte a Jesuiti, abasso i nemici d'Italia, &c.*' (long live our muskets, long live our sabres, the 50 pieces of artillery, long live our brethren the martyrs of Sicily, long live our Lombardy, death to the Jesuits, down with the enemies of Italy, &c.); at last they began in the pit to dance with the flags—and thus ended the so-called concert.

"The whole town was illuminated, and the joyful tumult in the streets, even after midnight, is hardly to be described. The soldiers marched about the streets with drums beating, and embraced every one they met; the *vivas* went on without a moment's cessation. One drew his sword and cried 'Let us swear upon this sabre, that we will fight for our Lombardian brothers.' Some cried '*Evoiva il Dicembre, 1846.*'—the day on which the Austrians were driven from Genoa. Every one spoken to was addressed as a brother. No one hesitated to address perfect strangers. One would call out *evoviva*, and the other must reply and wave his handkerchief. All carriages and diligences were provided with flags—the passengers coming into the town shouted "*Evoivan i nostri fratelli Fiorentini*," and the cry was echoed by "*Evoivan i nostri fratelli Romagnesi*"—or wherever they happened to come from. With all this tumult, however, there was the most perfect order; no pushing or struggling, no disputing, no theft or any kind of misdemeanour among this mass of men, under no restraint whatever from either military or police. Thus happily ended the festival, and now we have to think of work. In every open space, not only men (including monks) but women, are learning their exercise. The convents have offered their halls for similar purposes; they are also making subscriptions for the equipment of troops, and have declared that at the summons of Pope Pius the 9th, the monks will all march to his defence.'"

CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

1. HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE INVASION OF THE SAXONS. Compiled from the Original Authorities. By the Rev. J. A. Giles, D.C.L. &c. London: George Bell, 186, Fleet-street. 1847.

EVERY page of these volumes bears ample testimony both to the industry of the author, and to the extent and minuteness of his researches. The title is, nevertheless, a misnomer; for in reality the work consists of a series of valuable contributions towards a future history of the Ancient Britons, rather than of the history itself. The author, indeed, in the preface, states it to have been his intention to abstain from all attempts to give colouring or life to those facts of which contemporary writers have left merely the skeleton; and thus, instead of drawing upon his imagination for the purpose of filling up that faint outline of the manners and actions of the aborigines of Britain which has descended to our times, he has preferred the plan of introducing all the important parts of the narrative in the words of contemporary authors; especially when a writer was himself the eye-witness of the facts he has recorded. Unfortunately, however, the records of the early periods of British history are exceedingly few and meagre. For previously to the invasion of Britain by Cæsar, Virgil's words—"Penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos"—had they then been written, might have been understood in their most literal sense; and the incidental notices of the dangers awaiting the adventurous invaders of the *terra incognita*, to be found in the works of the best informed and most learned writers of that age, evince the most profound ignorance of everything relating to two little islands, the inhabitants of which, barbarians as they were deemed by their invaders, were nevertheless able to resist all attempts at subjugation on the part of the Romans for about one hundred years, notwithstanding that the choicest troops of Rome were, during two campaigns, headed by her most skilful general.

Before the appearance of the Commentaries, four ancient writers alone appear to have made any mention of Britain, and their notices are the slightest possible. The Iernian isles are incidentally named in a poem attributed to Orpheus, who is said to have flourished about 1,200 years before the Christian era; but this poem seems more probably to have been the work of Onomacritus, who wrote about the year 516 B.C. Herodotus speaks of the Celts, and of the Cassiterides, or the tin-islands, where the Phœnicians obtained the supplies of tin which they, in the course of their trading expeditions, distributed among other nations, while their mercantile policy led them

carefully to conceal the sources whence it was derived. Aristotle is more explicit, since he expressly names the two British islands, Albion and Ierne, and seems to have possessed a correct knowledge of their position and their general features. Polybius, who wrote at an interval of 180 years after Aristotle, alludes to the Britannic isles in the most general manner; and the cursory notices of these writers, meagre as they are, contain all the information to be derived from the ancients before the year 55 B. C., when Cæsar invaded our shores.

The countries lying immediately on the borders of the Mediterranean being already subjected to the rule of Rome, the ambition of Cæsar seems to have had no other object at hand on which to exercise itself than the hitherto unsubdued country of Gaul. It is probable that when he first began to act upon the intention of adding that country to the Roman dominions, he had not conceived the ulterior design of carrying his victorious arms towards the shores of Britain. At all events, before reaching Britain, he would be under the necessity of forcing his way through a hostile country, the untractable spirit of whose inhabitants was scarcely subdued even after eight years of incessant warfare, and the nearer he approached to the point whence he might with the greatest ease cross over into Britain, the greater would be the opposition he would encounter. For, in the words of the author—

“The fiercest tribes were those which lay to the north-east of the country, who passed under the general name of Belgæ or Belgians, and extended from the Rhine to the Seine. These people caused Cæsar more trouble than all the other Gallic tribes; and when he at last reached the ocean which washes their shores, he could see from the country extending between the modern towns of Dunkirk and Dieppe, the outlines of that Britain which, up to his time, had continued to be the *terra incognita* of the ancients. The sight of Britain from the French coast thrills to the heart of the modern native of this insular empire, and even the foreigner, who can travel from Paris to St. Petersburg or Constantinople without having to cross a mile's breadth of salt water, looks with interest upon the white cliffs of Britain, cut off, as they are, from the rest of civilised Europe by a mighty natural boundary, and sometimes lost to the sight in the fogs and tempests which are the danger and the protection of our island. It may then be easily conceived with what expansive feelings Julius Cæsar would look upon this new-found land, opening for the first time to his eyes, and perhaps also to the eyes of all who were then in his company. This was that land, of which poetry said so much and history so little: this was known to Cæsar as the fertile source from which the Phœnicians, the greatest commercial nation of antiquity, drew their chief stores of the most useful metals; and the bold imagination of the first Roman conqueror who ever saw this country, could hardly fail to anticipate the greatest advantage to himself and his commonwealth if he could subdue it by his arms. Cæsar could not be at a loss for information from living witnesses on the subject of Britain; for the Veneti, who were some of his most powerful enemies, were a maritime people, possessing many ships, in which they crossed over to the island, and individuals among them were no doubt ready to assist Cæsar, even though it were against their own allies.”—p. 15.

The history of this invasion is judiciously given in Cæsar's own words; but this portion of British history being so generally known

through the medium of the Commentaries, it is unnecessary to dwell upon it here.

Notwithstanding the magnitude of the preparation for Cæsar's two expeditions against Britain, the notices of those expeditions in the writings of the day, and of the country against which they were directed, are remarkably few and unsatisfactory. Cicero, Carus, and Catullus seem to have been the only authors by whom these events are even so much as alluded to. This silence is accounted for by Dr. Giles on the supposition that "the very celebrity of the thing may be a reason why we have little more than allusions made by the poets of the day to such occurrences as were most likely to furnish conversation to the people." By Cicero, whose brother Marcus, and his two friends, Trebatius and Atticus, were engaged in the expedition, Britannia and the Britons are casually mentioned in letters to those individuals about a dozen times; and the poet Catullus thrice alludes to the distant isle and its inhabitants.

The next authors, in point of time, who paid any attention to Britain, were Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, both of whom have entered very largely into the geography and productions of the British islands, and the manners of their inhabitants. Their descriptions are given in full in the Appendix, and the author has combined the two in the body of the work, so as to give them the form of a connected narrative.

In the time of Augustus, the frequent allusions to the inhabitants of Britain which occur in the works of the poets, indicate that the Romans had become much better acquainted with them. Lucretius, Propertius, Horace, Virgil, Tibullus, Ovid, and Faliscus, who all lived within fifty years after Cæsar, mention the Britons in such a manner as to show that those people were no longer strangers in Rome. But in reference to this portion of their history, extending from the year 42, B.C., to 17, A.D., the author observes :—

"During the long reign of the Emperor Augustus little is known of what passed in the island of Britain; but that it began at this time to emerge from its ancient condition is not only in harmony with the faint notices of it which the Roman historians have left us, but is what the nature of the case would lead us to expect. The contact between civilization and barbarism, riches and poverty, seldom takes place without producing a sensible tendency towards amelioration on the side of the inferior; and it is morally certain that a people of simple and primeval habits, like the Britons, would have abundant opportunity, in imitating the civilized and already degenerate Romans, of engraving much refinement and many vices upon their native manners."—p. 69.

During the reign of Tiberius, the successor to Augustus, Britain seems to have been allowed to enjoy its native independence; nor was it molested by the next Emperor, Caligula: in the reign of his successor, Claudius, however, the country was annexed to the Roman empire, though, as the author justly observes, "it is remarkable that a man of a capacity confessedly so low should have accomplished that which had been so long delayed." From this period until the imperial edict of Honorius, promulgated in the year 411, A.D., when

Britain, "after five hundred years of warfare or of servitude, was again free," her history is closely identified with that of the Roman empire; but after this time, up to the period of her subjugation by the Saxons, all historical documents, if such ever existed, seem to be lost. In the words of the author:—

"The stream of British history, hardly emerging at the invasion of Julius Cæsar from its original obscurity, flows with a narrow and slender current through the first four centuries of the Christian era; but in the year 410 it loses itself in the chaos to which all Europe was then, for a time, reduced. The Britons, left to themselves, found it impossible to maintain their newly-acquired freedom, and the whole country became a prey to calamities, which could only be cured by a bitter and bloody remedy. To trace the events which occurred in this country during the brief period of its independence is no easy task; for, as the history of our island during all the preceding period is no more than an offshoot of the history of the Roman empire, so when Honorius, by his letters, cast off Britain from his sovereignty, the history of the island almost ceases to exist."—p. 381.

From the period of the final withdrawal of the Romans down to the landing of the Saxon leaders, Hengist and Horsa, upon our shores, in the year 449, this island, so far as can be gleaned from such imperfect records as ecclesiastical legends supply, presented one universal scene of bloodshed, famine, and pestilence. The continued incursions of the Picts and Scots by land, and of the Saxons and other freebooters by sea, left the harassed Britons no time to attend to agriculture and the arts of peace. Twice did they receive succour from Rome; but their third application for assistance was refused in consequence of all the available strength of the Roman army being required at home to oppose the prowess of the terrible Attila. At length, after a protracted struggle, with varying success, the natives were compelled to succumb, and Britain came under the dominion of the Saxons; at which crisis Dr. Giles's History leaves them.

A chapter is devoted to an inquiry as to the probable period of the introduction of Christianity, which is briefly summed up in the remark, that "it appears that we have no record of the introduction of Christianity into Britain, or even of its existence in the island, down to the year 120, when Hadrian erected his wall to keep off the Caledonians." The author, however, thinks it probable that individual Roman soldiers serving in Britain, or merchants trading there, may have been converts to the new faith, although no record exists of there having been any further mission for the purpose of converting the natives. During the persecution of the Christians in the reign of Diocletian, Britain seems to have been particularly favoured; but the religious disputes of the fourth and fifth centuries raged most fiercely in our island, "which was thrown into a state of religious revolution, even when the Picts and Scots were pillaging and murdering in all directions."

The second volume of this work consists of full quotations from all the Greek and Latin authors by whom Britain and her affairs have been mentioned, extending from the year 560, B.C., to 1333, A.D., and

in number one hundred and twenty-four. These are followed by the works of native British authors, consisting of two short historical treatises, passing under the names of Gildas and Nennius ; to these succeed extracts from the Ecclesiastical History of the Venerable Bede, the topographical work of Richard of Cirencester, and two Latin lives of Gildas. Inscriptions from a number of Roman coins, and monumental and other sculptures, complete this valuable repository of all the authentic materials for the History of the Ancient Britons which have come down to our days, and render these volumes an indispensable addition to the library of every student of British history.

2. THE LIFE OF PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY. By Thomas Medwin. In 2 vols. London : T. C. Newby, 72, Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square. 1847.

TWO curious rambling volumes, in which all that is really new and worth telling about Shelley relates principally to his early life, and bears about the same proportion to the irrelevant *twaddle* that the oft-quoted grain of wheat does to the bushel of chaff. Quotations from the clever paper entitled 'Shelley at Oxford,' scraps of poetry with opinions thereon, and vituperations of Byron, Moore, Hobhouse, Southey, and others, make up the bulk of the book. We certainly looked for something much more to the purpose from the pen of one who claims to be the sole possessor of "data absolutely requisite for tracing Shelley's genius from its first germs up to its maturity, and forming an impartial judgment of his character."

Shelley is the author's idol—his *beau idéal* of all that is good and great : this is evident in every page of the book ; so much so, that we believe few readers will be inclined to place such confidence in the author's impartiality as they would have done had his task been executed with fewer marks of enthusiastic admiration for his deceased friend. By these remarks we do not mean to imply that love for the friend has warped the author's judgment, or rendered him unconscious of defects and errors ; we only intimate that a more temperate display of his exalted estimation of Shelley's character would have better befitted the biographer.

The Life commences with an abstract of the Shelley pedigree, traceable up to the time of Richard II. ; and however worthy the more remote ancestors may have been, Percy's immediate progenitors, his father and grandfather, seem to have been somewhat more than merely eccentric characters. Of the grandfather, Sir Bysshe, we are told among other things, that he daily frequented "the tap-room of one of the low inns at Horsham," and drank with the low company found there : and "his affectionate son Timothy," the father of Percy, is described as having been "a disciple of Chesterfield and Larochefoucauld, reducing all politeness to forms, and moral virtue to expediency : " this is illustrated by a disgraceful anecdote, which, as the author justly observes, "proves that the moral sense in Sir Timothy

was obtuse." Possessing no true devotion himself, although he made his servants regularly attend the parish church, he inculcated none to his son and heir; and the author attributes much of that son's scepticism to early example, if not to paternal precept.

After acquiring the rudiments of Greek and Latin at home, in the company of his two elder sisters, from "Mr. Edwards, the clergyman of Warnham, a good old man, but of very limited intellects," Percy was sent at ten years of age to Sion House, Brentford, whither the author had preceded him. A sketch of the internal *economy* of this establishment is rather amusing.

"A slice of bread with an '*idée*' of butter smeared on the surface, and 'thrice-skimmed skyblue,' to use an expression of Bloomfield the poet, was miscalled a breakfast. The supper, a repetition of the same frugal repast; and the dinner, at which it was never allowed to send up the plate twice without its eliciting an observation from the distributor, that effectually prevented a repetition of the offence, was made up generally of ingredients that were *anonymous*. The Saturday's meal, a sort of pie, a collect from the plates during the week. This fare, to a boy accustomed to the delicacies of the table, was not the most attractive; the whole establishment was in keeping with the dietary part of it, and the system of the *lavations* truly Scotch."

At Sion House the boys met with "a democracy of tyrants," of whom Shelley "was always the martyr," and whose rude manners by contrast continually turned his thoughts back to his home and the society of his sisters, to whom he was tenderly attached. Nor was the *dominie* more attractive than the boys, who are described as "of rude habits and coarse manners, who made game of his girlishness, and despised him because he was not 'one of them;'" not disposed to enter into their sports, to wrangle or fight." The schoolmaster is thus portrayed:—

"Our master, a Scotch doctor of law, and a divine, was a choleric man, of a sanguinary complexion, in a green old age; not wanting in good qualities, but very capricious in his temper, which, good or bad, was influenced by the daily occurrences of a domestic life not the most harmonious, and of which his face was the barometer, and his hand the index. He was a tolerable Greek and Latin scholar: Homer, his *cheval de bataille*. He could construe fluently, in his own way, some plays of Æschylus—Schultz being his oracle—and several of those of Sophocles and Euripides, looking upon the text as immaculate, never sticking fast at any of its corruptions, but driving straight forwards, in defiance of obstacles. The brick wall of no chorus ever made him pull up. In reading the historians, he troubled himself as little with digressions or explanations of the habits and customs of the ancients, or maps. His Latin verses were certainly *original*, but neither Virgilian nor Ovidian, for I remember an inscription of his on a Scotch mull, which had been presented to him (he took an inordinate quantity of Scotch snuff) by one of his pupils, it ran thus:—*Snuff-box loquitur*:—

"Me, Carolus Mackintosh, de dono, dedit, alumnus,
Præceptor, præsensu, accipit atque tenet."

We cannot wonder that Shelley imbibed no especial love for the classics from this worthy pedagogue; and his progress in verse-making may be inferred from an occurrence little calculated to enhance his admiration for the *literis humanioribus*.

Shelley had the word *tempestas* given him as a theme for two Latin verses. Our author's assistance was requested, who, referring to his "cribbing-book," Ovid's *Tristibus*, gave Percy two "lines exactly applicable to the purpose," the pentameter running thus :—

"Jam jam tacturos sidera celsa putes."

"When Shelley's turn came to carry up his exercise, my eyes were turned on the *Dominie*. There was a *peculiar* expression in his features, which, like the lightning before the storm, portended what was coming. The spectacles, generally lifted above his dark and hushy brows, were lowered to their proper position, and their lenses had no sooner caught the said hexameter and pentameter than he read with a loud voice the stolen line, laying a sarcastic emphasis on every word, and suiting the action to the word by hoxes on each side of Shelley's ears. Then came the comment, '*Jam jam*,'—'Pooh, pooh, boy! raspberry jam! Do you think you are at your mother's?' Here a burst of laughter echoed through the listening benches. 'Don't you know that I have a sovereign objection to those two monosyllables, with which schoolboys cram their verses? haven't I told you so a hundred times already? *Tacturos sidera celsa putes*,—what, do the waves on the coast of Sussex strike the stars, eh?—*celsa sidera*,—who does not know that the stars are high? Where did you find that epithet?—in your *Gradus ad Parnassum*, I suppose. You will never mount so high; (another box on the ears, which nearly felled him to the ground)—*putes!* you may think this very fine, but to me it is all balderdash, hyperbolic stuff;' (another cuff) after which he tore up the verses, and said in a fury, 'There, go now, sir, and see if you can't write something better.'"

The narrator candidly confesses, that although the author of Shelley's misfortune, he had not the generosity to avow his own share in the business for fear of punishment.

The author being Shelley's consin, would naturally pay him considerable attention; and making allowance for a slight spice of egotism, the following passage may be looked upon as offering a fair specimen of the bright side of the intercourse of the relatives during their sojourn in this house of Sion.

"He passed among his schoolfellows as a strange and unsocial being, for when a holiday relieved us from our tasks, and the other boys were engaged in such sports as the narrow limits of our prison-court allowed, Shelley, who entered into none of them, would pace backwards and forwards—I think I see him now—along the southern wall, indulging in various vague and undefined ideas, the chaotic elements, if I may say so, of what afterwards produced so beautiful a world. I very early learned to penetrate into this soul sublime—why may I not say diviue, for what is there that comes nearer to God than genius in the heart of a child? I, too, was the only one at the school with whom he could communicate his sufferings, or exchange ideas: I was, indeed some years his senior, and he was grateful to me for so often singling him out for a companion; for it is well known that it is considered in some degree a *condescension* for boys to make intimates of those in a lower form than themselves. Then we used to walk together up and down his favourite spot, and there he would outpour his sorrows to me, with observations far beyond his years, and which, according to his after ideas, seemed to have sprung from an ante-natal life. I have often thought that he had those walks of ours in mind, when, in describing an antique group, he says, 'Look, the figures are walking with a sauntering and idle pace, and talking to each other as they walk, as you

may have seen a younger and an elder boy at school, walking in some grassy spot of the play-ground, with that tender friendship for each other which the age inspires."

After some years' stay at this seminary, Shelley was removed to Eton, where the *pure* system of fagging was going on "in all its rankness." And there, we are told, that—

"The boy, so delicately organized, with so nervous a temperament, under the influence of a chronic melancholy, whose genius was a sort of malady; this child, so strong and yet so feeble, suffered in every way. Like the martyrs, who smiled in the midst of torture, he sought refuge in his own thoughts, in the heaven of his own soul, and perhaps this inward life aided him in his search after those mysteries to which he afterwards clung with a faith so unshaken."

In the summer of 1809, Shelley became acquainted with his "first love," his cousin, Harriet Grove: and in this year also he wrote his first novel, '*Zastrozzi*,' some chapters of which were from the young lady's pen. This was shortly followed by '*St. Irvyne, or the Rosicrucian*,' specimens of which, both in prose and verse, are given by his biographer. The following extract, relating to his correspondence, in 1808 and 1809, with Miss F. Brown, afterwards Mrs. Hemans, is interesting.

"In the beginning of the first of these two years, I showed Shelley some poems to which I had subscribed, by Felicia Browne, whom I had met in North Wales, where she had been on a visit at the house of a connexion of mine. She was then sixteen, and it was impossible not to be struck with the beauty (for beautiful she was), the grace, and charming simplicity and *naïveté* of this interesting girl—and on my return from Denbighshire, I made her and her works the frequent subject of conversation with Shelley. Her juvenile productions, remarkable certainly for her age—and some of those which the volume contained were written when she was a mere child—made a powerful impression on Shelley, ever enthusiastic in his admiration of talent; and with a prophetic spirit he foresaw the coming greatness of that genius, which, under the name of Hemans, afterwards electrified the world.

"He desired to become acquainted with the young authoress, and using my name, wrote to her, as he was in the habit of doing to all those who in any way excited his sympathies. This letter produced an answer, and a correspondence of some length passed between them, which of course I never saw, but it is to be supposed that it turned on other subjects besides poetry. I mean, that it was sceptical. It has been said by her biographer, that the poetess was at one period of her life, as is the case frequently with deep thinkers on religion, inclined to doubt; and it is not impossible that such owed its origin to this interchange of thought. One may indeed suppose this to have been the case, from the circumstance of her mother writing to my father, and begging him to use his influence with Shelley to cease from any further communication with her daughter,—in fact, prohibiting their further correspondence."

The details of Shelley's academical career are mainly quoted from Mr. Hogg's '*Shelley at Oxford*,' already well known. He was matriculated and went to University College at the commencement of Michaelmas term, at the end of October, 1810; and in the following year he was ignominiously expelled for having written and printed, in

conjunction with his friend Mr. Hogg, a little book, entitled 'The Necessity of Atheism.' Capt. Medwin corrects De Quincy's assertions, that Shelley was only in his sixteenth year when this book was written, and that it was published with his name and that of his college; whereas it was an anonymous production, and his age nineteen: it is added, "Still, however, Shelley was a thoughtless boy this era, and not a man. The promulgation of this syllabus was a at reckless—a mad act." Such it was quickly proved to be by its consequences, for the appearance of the book was soon followed by the expulsion of the authors, who set out for London.

"I remember, as if it occurred yesterday, his knocking at my door in Garden Court, in the Temple, at four o'clock in the morning, the second day after his expulsion. I think I hear his cracked voice, with his well-known pipe,—'Medwin, let me in, I am expelled;' here followed a sort of loud, half-hysterical laugh, and a repetition of the words—'I am expelled,' with the addition of, 'for Atheism.' Though greatly shocked, I was not much surprised at the news, having been led to augur such a close to his collegiate career, from the 'Syllabus' and 'The Posthumous Works of Peg Nicholson,' and the bold avowal of his scepticism. My apprehensions, too, of the consequences of this unhappy event, from my knowledge of Sir Timothy's character, were soon confirmed; nor was his partner in misfortune doomed to a milder fate. Their fathers refused to receive them under their roofs. Like the old men in Terence, they compared notes, and hardened each other's hearts. This unmitigable hatred was continued down to the deaths of both. One had not the power of carrying his worldly resentment beyond the grave, but the other not only never forgave, or I believe ever would see his eldest son (for such he was, and presumptive heir to a large fortune), but cut him off, speaking after the manner of the Roman law, with a shilling."

One of the consequences of this expulsion was the severance of all tender ties between Percy and Miss Grove, with whom further communication was prohibited, and the young lady shortly after married to another; and though a hollow reconciliation with his family led to Shelley's residence at home for a short time, yet this became so irksome from the temperament of his father, that he soon left Field-place for London, where the second grand error of his life was committed. In reference to this his biographer states—

"I have found a clue to develop the mystery of how he became acquainted with Miss Westbrook. The father, who was in easy circumstances, kept an hotel in London, and sent his daughter to a school at Balam Hill, where Shelley's second sister made one of the boarders. It so happened, that as Shelley was walking in the garden of this seminary, Miss Westbrook passed them. She was a handsome blonde, not then sixteen. Shelley was so struck with her beauty, that after his habit of writing, as in the case of Felicia Browne and others, to ladies who interested him, he contrived, through the intermediation of his sister, to carry on a correspondence with her. The intimacy was not long in ripening. The young lady was nothing loth to be wooed, and after a period of only a few weeks, it was by a sort of knight-errantry that Shelley carried her off from Chapel-street, Grosvenor-square, where she sorely complained of being subject to great oppression from her sister and father. Whether this was well or ill-founded, is little to the purpose to enquire. Probably, Shelley and Miss Harriett Westbrook—there

might have been some magic in the name of Harriett—had not met half a dozen times at all before the elopement; they were totally unacquainted with each other's dispositions, habits, or pursuits; and took a rash step that none but a mere boy and girl would have taken. Well might it be termed an ill-judged and ill-assorted union,—bitter were destined to be its fruits."

This ill-assorted couple were united at Gretna Green in August, 1811, and were re-married at Cuckfield, Sussex, during the autumn of that year, whilst residing in the house of an uncle, Capt. Pilford, who "supplied the place of a father to Shelley, receiving him at his house when abandoned by Sir Timothy, who was rendered furious by the *mésalliance*, and cut off his allowance altogether."

The sequel of this unfortunate union is well known; but we do not admire the author's *animus* in endeavouring, as he evidently does, after some remarks upon the difficulty of dissolving the marriage-tie, to throw the whole blame upon the unhappy wife, whose mental sufferings may be inferred from the means adopted to ease herself of their burden; though the author would seem to imply that the separation could have had nothing to do in producing the catastrophe which "occurred nearly three years afterwards." But who can tell what was suffered in those three years! This was followed by the trial and injunction, restraining the father from taking possession of the children who were the fruits of the union.

In 1814, accompanied by the present Mrs. Shelley and another lady, Shelley left London and crossed from Dover to Calais in an open boat, whence they proceeded to Paris. "There, after remaining a week, they resolved to walk through France. He went to the Marché des Herbes, purchased an ass, and thus pilgrimaging, the gipsy party started for Charenton. There, finding the quadruped useless, they sold it, purchased a mule, and continued their peregrinations." After journeying as far as the foot of St. Gothard, the party returned to England, which they reached on the 13th of August, without money, and with four months to wait before any portion of Shelley's allowance was forthcoming.

In the spring of 1816, his pecuniary prospects having brightened up, Shelley and the two ladies again left England, and met Lord Byron for the first time at Geneva; and in this portion of the first volume Dr. Polidori plays rather a conspicuous part. It was during a visit from Lewis at this place that Mrs. Shelley wrote her 'Frankenstein;' and here, too, the *liaison* between Byron and Mrs. Shelley's young female friend took place, which resulted in the birth of Allegra, so named from Mont Allegra, where Shelley was residing.

On Shelley's subsequent visit to London he met with Keats at Leigh Hunt's, who was at that time joint editor of the 'Examiner;' and in the spring of 1817 he took a house at Marlow, where he passed a year, and returned to Italy in March, 1818, sojourned at Milan for a month, and after various visits to Naples, Rome, Florence, &c., he finally took up his abode at Pisa. Here, in the autumn of 1820, the author rejoined him, after seven years' absence, and thus sketches his personal appearance at that time.

"It was nearly seven years since we had parted, but I should immediately have

recognised him in a crowd. His figure was emaciated, and somewhat bent, owing to near-sightedness, and his being forced to lean over his books, with his eyes almost touching them; his hair, still profuse, and curling naturally, was partially interspersed with gray; but his appearance was youthful, and his countenance, whether grave or animated, strikingly intellectual. There was also a freshness and purity in his complexion that he never lost."

And his manner of life during that winter at Pisa is given in the following extract.

"Shelley had indeed during that winter been subject to a prostration, physical and psychical, the most cruel to witness, though he was never querulous or out of temper, never by an irritable word hurt the feelings of those about him. I have accounted already for the causes of his dejection and despondency. His imagination was his greatest enemy—that poetical temperament which those who possess it not cannot comprehend, is no enviable gift. So sensitive was he of external impressions, so magnetic, that I have seen him, after threading the crowd in the Lung' Arno Corsos, throw himself half fainting into a chair, overpowered by the atmosphere of evil passions, as he used to say, in that sensual and unintellectual crowd. In order to shelter himself from this feeling, he would fly to his pen or books. He was indeed ever engaged in composition or reading, scarcely allowing himself time for exercise or air; a book was his companion the first thing in the morning, the last thing at night. He told me he always read himself to sleep. Even when he walked on the *Argine*, his favourite winter walk, he read—sometimes through the streets, and generally had a book on the table by his side at dinner, if his abstemious meal could be called one. So little impression did that which contributes one of the main delights of ordinary mortals make on him, that he sometimes asked, 'Mary, have I dined?' Wine he never drank; water, which, as I have said, is super-excellent at Pisa, being his chief beverage. Not but he was a lover of tea, calling himself sometimes humourously a *Theist*. Let not, however, my readers imagine that he was always dejected or despondent,—at times he was as sportive as his child, (with whom he would play by the hour on the floor), and his wit flowed in a continuous stream,—not that broad humour which is so much in vogue at the present day, but a genuine wit, classical I might say, and refined, that caused a smile rather than a laugh."

We skip much of the second volume in order to arrive at the catastrophe which terminated the career of Shelley and his friend Williams. No one who has perused any memoir of the poet can have failed to observe his passion for boating. In reference to this his biographer says:—

"A boat was to Shelley what a plaything is to a child. I have mentioned that he early acquired the taste when a boy, his father having one at Warham pond, a lake of considerable extent, or rather two, connected by a draw-bridge, which led to a pleasure-garden and boat-house. He was nineteen when he used to float paper flotillas at Oxford,—older when he made a sail of a ten-pound note on the Serpentine, and I have no doubt would, with any boy at twenty-eight, have done the same. The water was his fatal element. He crossed the Channel to Calais in an open boat, a rash experiment; when at school, the greatest pleasure he enjoyed was an excursion we made to Richmond from Brentford—a pleasure perhaps the more sweet, being a stolen one. He descended the Rhine on a sort of raft. He made a voyage in a wherry from Windsor to Cricklade; was nearly lost in coming from the Isle of Man; at Geneva passed days and nights on the lake: and now, reader, excuse this recapitulation, though imperfect,—behold him on the Serchio."

And it was this passion which led to his premature death. Leigh Hunt had long been expected to join Byron and Shelley in Italy; at length the latter learned that Hunt had arrived at Genoa, and being eager to meet him, it was agreed that Shelley and Mr. Williams should go to Leghorn in their boat for that purpose, and on the 1st July they departed, not without many presentiments of coming evil on all sides. On the 8th they got under weigh for St. Arengo on their return. The following account of their loss—almost that of an eye-witness—has a melancholy interest.

"The weather, which had been for some days calm and sultry, all at once changed from a Sirocco to a Mistral, but Shelley, who had no dread of his favourite element, and was anxious to return to those he loved, was not to be deterred from his purpose. The sky, indeed, bore so unpropitious an aspect, that he had been advised to put off his departure, at least till the Bolivar could be got under weigh, to convoy them. His eagerness, however, admitted of no delay, and with a fair but faint wind they hoisted all sail, and left the port,—an English boy added to the boat's crew, by name Charles Vivian.

"It is a strange coincidence, that I should have been exposed to the same squall, which proved fatal to two of my oldest and best friends. I embarked on the 5th day of July with a party, with whom I was acquainted, on board a merchant-vessel we had hired at Naples for the voyage to Genoa; during the first two days we had very light winds, lying becalmed one whole night off the Pontine Marshes, where some of our passengers were attacked with malaria, but which, though sleeping on deck in my cloak, I escaped. On the fourth day, the tail of the Sirocco brought us into the gulf of Genoa. That gulf is subject in the summer and autumn to violent gusts of wind, and our captain, an experienced sailor, as the breeze died away, foresaw that we should not get into port that night. The appearance of the sky was very threatening. Over the Apennines, which encircle Genoa as with an amphitheatre, hung masses on masses up-piled, like those I have seen after the explosion of a mine, of dark clouds, which seemed to confirm his opinion. The squall at length came, the precise time of which I forget, but it was in the afternoon; and neither in the Bay of Biscay, or Bengal, nor between the Tropics, nor on the Line, did I ever witness a severer one; and being accompanied by a heavy rain, it was the more felt. We had, however, close-reefed, and were all snug, and in comparatively smooth water, in consequence of the squall blowing right off the shore. We must have been five or six miles from the bay of Spezzia when it burst upon us. As I stood with the glass upon deck, only one sail was visible to leeward; its rig differed from the ordinary one of the Mediterranean, the *latine*, and from the whiteness of her canvas, and build, we took her for an English pleasure-boat. She was hugging the wind with a press of sail, and our skipper observed that she would soon have it. As he spoke, a fierce gust drove furiously along, blackening the water, and soon enfolded the small craft in its misty arms; or, in Shelley's own words,—

‘ Enveloping the ocean like a pall,
It blotted out the vessel from the view.’

Then came a lull; and as soon as we looked in the direction of the schooner, no trace of her was visible."

Fourteen days after the loss of the schooner, the bodies were thrown up on the shore, several miles apart, and that of the English boy five miles from Shelley's. As much misrepresentation has prevailed

with regard to the burning of these bodies, we extract Capt. Medwin's account of the proceedings.

"I arrived at Pisa some hours later than I could have wished, for Lord Byron, and Leigh Hunt, and Trelawney, had been engaged since the morning in burning Shelley's remains. The history of this funeral pyre has been so much misrepresented, that I shall premise it with a few observations. Fourteen days elapsed between the loss of the schooner and the finding of the corpses of my friends, and neither of them were in a state to be removed to consecrated ground; but an obstacle to such removal under any circumstances was, that by the quarantine laws, their friends were not permitted to have possession of their relics. The laws with respect to everything cast on land by the sea, being, that it must be burned, in order to prevent the possibility of any remnant bringing the plague into Italy.

* * * * *

"True to his engagement, Byron and his friends had gone that day to perform the singular and pious duty of watching his funeral pyre, in order that the ashes might be sent to the English cemetery at Rome. They came to a spot marked by an old withered pine-tree, and near it, on the beach, stood a solitary ruined hut, covered with thatch. The place was well chosen for a poet's grave. Some few weeks before, I had ridden with Shelley and Byron to the very spot, which I have since visited in sad pilgrimage. Before them lay a wide expanse of the blue Mediterranean, with the islands of Elba and Gorgona visible in front; Lord Byron's yacht, the *Bolivar*, riding at anchor at some distance in the offing. On the other side appeared an almost illimitable sandy wilderness, and uninhabitable, only broken here and there by some stunted shrubs, twisted by the sea-breeze, and stunted by the barrenness and drought of the ground in which they strove to grow. At equidistance, along the coast, rose high square towers, for the double purpose of protecting the coast from smugglers, and enforcing the quarantine regulations. This view was completed by a range of the far-off Italian Alps, that from their many-folded and volcanic character, as well as from their marble summits, gave them the appearance of glittering snow; to finish the picture, and as a foreground, was placed a remarkable group.

"Lord Byron, with some soldiers of the coast-guard, stood about the burning pyre, and Leigh Hunt, whose feelings and nerves could not carry him through the scene of horror, lying back in the carriage; the four post-horses panting with the heat of the noonday sun, and the fierceness of the fire. The solemnness of the whole ceremony was the more felt by the shrieks of a solitary curlew, which, perhaps, attracted by the corpse, wheeled in narrow circles round the pile, so narrow that it might have been struck with the hand. The bird was so fearless, that it could not have been driven away."

It had long been Shelley's wish to be buried at Rome; his ashes were accordingly collected and conveyed thither by one of the friends who had assisted at the burning of the body. The remains were deposited in the Campo Santo, where a plain slab, overhung with plants and flowers, contains the name of Shelley, with the date of his birth and death. We cannot do better than close our notice with Capt. Medwin's reflections on this lowly tomb.

"After the conclusion of the affecting rite, we visited the grave of his favourite son, William, and that of Keats—whose spirit it must soothe to feel the daisies growing over him—a dream that was here realized, for they absolutely starred the turf. Shelley seems in *Adonais* to have had a presage that he should soon rejoin his friend—he united with him in death, as they were in

their destinies. Both were victims to the envenomed shafts of invidious critics,—to the injustice of those nearest to them, and who should have been dearest; both were cut off in the flower of their youth and talent, and both are sleeping among strangers in a foreign land. Little did either desire to sleep in the unmaternal bosom of their own. She was to them a harsh and unnatural step-mother. Here they sleep sweetly. Shelley's favourite wish, often expressed, was to repose here. He says: "It might make one in love with death, to think that one should be buried in so sweet a place;" and in a letter, speaking of it, he calls it "the most beautiful and solemn cemetery he ever beheld, and expresses his delight to see the sun shining on its bright grass, fresh with dews, and hear the whispering of the winds among the leaves of the trees which have overgrown the tomb of Cestius!"

3. THE HISTORY OF BARBADOS; comprising a Geographical and Statistical description of the Island; a Sketch of the Historical Events since the Settlement; and an Account of its Geology and Natural Productions. By Sir Robert H. Schomburgk, Ph. D., &c. &c. London: Longman & Co. 1848.

OUR limits will not permit of our doing justice to this handsome volume of upwards of 700 large pages; the varied materials for which have been partly collected from numerous sources with the most laudable industry, and are partly the result of the author's own observation during his residence in the island; they are of the most interesting and valuable character, are arranged with the greatest judgment and clearness, and are rendered readily available by the introductory table of contents and the excellent index. Matter to engage the attention of the historian, the politician, the statist, and the naturalist, will be found in these pages; and to the latter more especially the author's well-known reputation will be sure to commend his labours.

Great obscurity veils the early history of the Island of Barbados, and the exact date of its discovery is unknown: the author's researches have, however, enabled him to state with certainty that the generally received assertion of its not being mentioned in any work prior to 1600 is perfectly erroneous, and that there is the greatest probability of its having been known to the Spaniards as early as the year 1518, when it is mentioned by name in a letter of instructions from Charles V. to Figueró, in regard to the treatment of the Indians. In the British Museum exists a map of the world, drawn on vellum and highly ornamented, supposed to have been executed previous to the year 1536; in this map the island is laid down under the name of *Bernados*; a *fac-simile* of that portion of the chart containing the island is given, and many other authorities are quoted plainly confuting the statement above alluded to, which has been copied from one work into another without examination.

In the introductory remarks on climate are many interesting observations on meteorology; among others may be mentioned the influence exercised by forests upon the atmosphere in regulating the supply of rain: the concluding paragraph is as follows:—

"It is asserted, that there is at present much less rain in Barbados than there was formerly; and many of the inhabitants ascribe it to the unlimited

clearance of forest and brushwood; and, although we have no direct reasons to prove why such clearances lessen the annual quantity of rain, we have abundant proof that it is so. In every instance, and in every part of the globe where forests have been cleared, a diminution of aqueous precipitations has been noted; and, as it is a fact which remains uncontested, that Barbados, within the last 50 years, was much more wooded than it is now; the diminution of rain must likewise be expected as the natural effect. The evidence of Humboldt, Leopold de Buch, Daniell, Dove and others, is so powerful upon this subject, that I should wish to press particularly upon the attention of the reader how important the existence of wooded spots becomes to the agriculturist. I cannot do better than quote the words of Humboldt, to enforce my own view. 'By felling the trees that cover the tops and the sides of mountains, men in every climate prepare, at once, two calamities for future generations—the want of fuel, and a scarcity of water. Trees, by the nature of their perspiration, and the radiation from their leaves, in a sky without clouds, surround themselves with an atmosphere constantly cool and misty.'—p. 27.

The islands of the West Indian Archipelago are, as is well known, frequently devastated by the most awful hurricanes; the author records the effects and progress of several of these visitations, and gives the following description of the one which occurred during his residence at St. John's in 1830.

"The extraordinary quantity of electricity in the air during these violent convulsions of nature, forcibly attract our attention as one of the causes, or, as others pretend, as the effect of the contending elements. The accounts of the great hurricanes in Barbados prove, in every instance upon record, the existence of large masses of electricity. Hughes, in describing the hurricane of the 31st of August, 1675, observes, that the lightning did not dart with its usual short-lived flashes, but in rapid flames, skimming over the surface of the earth, as well as mounting to the upper regions. I could not employ better words to describe the scene I witnessed on the 12th and 13th of August, 1830. I was then in the Island of St. John's, and resided at Emaus, one of the Moravian stations in that island, when the gale commenced with great fury; it turned to the south-west, and a well harricaded door of the house, which was strongly built, was forced in by the blast. This gave me the opportunity of rushing on to the terrace, which faced Cruz Bay and the ocean. The scene which presented itself to my eyes was awfully sublime. Black masses, whether they were clouds, or of a more solid nature, I could form no idea, rested on the bay; the sea, lashed into foam, seemed to strike against it, and flashes of vivid fire descended as it were from heaven, and were instantly engulfed in the sea. The next moment they appeared from beneath the white foam, and apparently ascended towards the sky, met by other masses hovering above. The howling of the storm, and a peculiar noise as if it were the rumbling of thousands of chariots, struck me with surprise and awe. The blast carried with it numerous small pebbles which struck with some force against my face. It is strange, that during these moments, Schiller's description of Charybdis flashed across my mind, and appeared realized before me. My kind friend the missionary forced me into the room: I am sure the time which elapsed from the moment the door was blown in, until the time when it was fixed again, was not ten minutes, nevertheless the quantity of water which was blown into the room had perfectly covered the floor. It must have been mostly sea water, as the floor was covered with the efflorescence of salt next morning.

"The height to which the foam of the sea is carried during a hurricane is astonishing; we must, however, remember that the rotatory motion of the blast would contribute in some measure towards this. It cannot be supposed

that the gyrations act only upon the surface of the water; they ascend, following their rotatory motion, and no doubt carry by gyration the sea water in their course. During the severe gale which touched Tortola in 1831, I was residing with the late President Donovan at St. Bernard's, a hill, the summit of which is about 1,000 feet above the sea; the dwelling-house, however, is at an elevation of only 920 feet. The day after the gale, the leaves of the trees and plants in the garden which had remained, became black from the contact with the sea-water spray, indeed the trees appeared

'As when heaven's fire

Has scathed the forest oaks, or mountain pines,

With singed top their stately growth, though bare,

Stands on the blasted heath;

and the rain water in the cistern and vats, which was to be used for domestic purposes, was rendered brackish."—p. 39.

A very ample account is given of the fury of this hurricane of 1831; among other examples it is stated that a piece of lead, 150 lbs. in weight, "was carried to a distance of more than 1,800 feet, and another piece, 400 lbs. in weight, was lifted up and carried to a distance of 1,680 feet. Rafters and beams were flying through the air with fearful rapidity, and shingles pierced in several instances hard-wood trees, and remained sticking in them."

In speaking of the healthy climate of Barbados (tables adduced show 1 death in every 68·46 inhabitants for the year 1844), the author justly condemns the influence of fashion in dress as tending to produce discomfort at least, if not disease.

"We are the slaves of fashion and custom, and though our adhesion to them may be contrary to reason and convenience, no votary of the *haut ton* would venture to transgress against the iron rules prescribed by custom. In lieu of seeing the inhabitants dressed in linen and slight summer stuffs, I have seen them walking in heavy frock coats of a dark colour, as if to attract the heat of the sun the more, and very frequently attired wholly in black broad-cloths. I have regretted these poor slaves of Dame La-mode, when they stared at a white linen jacket with looks of contempt and surprise. I do not wish it to be understood that I would pay a formal visit in a jacket, though white as snow; nor should I wish to see that etiquette set aside which the solemn proceedings of religious ceremonies, the deep importance of courts of law and justice, or the legislative sessions render indispensable; but why should we not consult our convenience and health when among acquaintances, or attending on the business of every-day life? My experience in the West Indies, varied as it is, has proved to me, that in this respect, comfort and health are least studied in Barbados. The inhabitants of the east are much more rational in the manner of dressing their person according to the climate.

"Much has been written on this subject in military reports. The English troops in their military coats, made of broad-cloths, and, as it has been the case with fusileer regiments, their head covered with a heavy fur cap, must of course be much more subject to the influence of the heat under the tropics, than the French or Spanish soldier in the West India colonies, who is attired in a light linen dress, and his head covered with a light tzhako of felt."—p. 77.

Under the head of the parish of St. John the author relates an interesting fact, of the genuineness of which he took considerable pains to assure himself.

"A peculiar interest is attached to this churchyard, as being the resting-place of a descendant of the Palelogi, one of the last of that imperial race,

whom the ascendancy of eastern barbarians drove from the sacred city, where now, in lieu of the cross, its temples are surmounted by the crescent. Of the correctness of this assertion, antiquarian researches have proved the truth."—p. 228.

This descendant of an illustrious race, Ferdinand Paleologus, filled various offices in the parish from the year 1649 to 1669, as appears from the vestry book; in the register of burials occurs this entry:—"October 3rd, 1678, Lieut. Ferdinand Paleologus:" and his will is entered in the registrar's office on the 28th March, 1678. It enumerates legacies to the testator's sisters, Mary and Dorothy, whose names, together with those of their brothers, Theodore, John, and Ferdinand, are mentioned on the brass tablet to the memory of their father, "Theodoro Paleologus, of Pisaro, in Italy," against the wall of the church of Llandulph, in Cornwall; from which place, his mother being a relation of the Balls of Barbados, Ferdinand seems to have emigrated to that island between 1636 and 1658. His coffin was discovered in 1831, when the hurricane destroyed the church of St. John. It was lying with the head to the west according to the Greek custom.

The following quotation will exhibit the extent of insect ravages occasionally experienced in Barbados.

"Previous to the awful hurricane of 1831, the coast regions were studded with cocoa-nut trees; the greater part of which were destroyed during that calamity. The plantations, however, were newly planted, and in some places, as at Maxwell's and Fontabelle, the proprietors reaped annually from £300 to £400 from the sale of young cocoa-nuts. About three or four years ago, an insect suddenly made its appearance, which lodged itself on the lower part of the leaf, where it found shelter against the inclemency of the weather, and increased most rapidly. It appears that no notice was taken of it in the commencement, when most likely its ravages might have been stayed. To the great astonishment of persons unacquainted with the cause, the lower leaves or fronds of single trees began to turn yellow and wither, and ultimately to fall off; frond after frond followed, until the pyramidal spire alone was left; but this likewise began to droop; ultimately the crown fell off, and the withered trunk alone remained standing. The disease spread, and began now to attract attention, but it was too late. In the above mentioned plantations, every tree was attacked, neither young nor old was spared; and those plantations which five years before possessed thousands of trees, had at the time when the author quitted Barbados, not a single healthy tree left. The injury, however, did not rest here; it gradually spread toward the east, attacking tree after tree. All the remedies used against such ravages of insects proved vain, and it is considered that the only means left to get rid of this plague, is to extirpate all the cocoa-nut trees in the island, and by a legislative act, to prevent any being planted for several years, until the insect has disappeared. It is distressing to see those majestic trees, at present crownless trunks, offensive to the eye; nor has the insect restricted its ravages to Barbados, but is extending them to Antigua, Nevis, St. Christopher's, and other islands."—p. 649.

The sugar-cane is also subjected to the attacks of the larva of a moth, which burrows into and feeds upon the centre of the stems. Some species of ant likewise frequently commit extensive ravages among the sugar plantations, though the mischief they cause is not confined to vegetable substances, since young calves, pigs, and fowls are said to have been destroyed by them in 1760, so great were their

numbers. The white ant commits great destruction to the timbers and furniture in houses ; and the name of the insect plagues in this as in other tropical countries is legion.

We hope that the author will ere long carry out the intention expressed in his preface, of publishing a more detailed account of the natural history of the island ; it cannot fail to be deeply interesting to naturalists, and from his known abilities must be valuable. The interest of the present volume is enhanced by the views and vignettes interspersed with the text ; and it is altogether a work which reflects the highest credit upon the author's talent, industry, and facility of description ; the style in which the varied information is conveyed is vigorous, and the command of language such as is seldom acquired by a foreigner.

4.—JANE EYRE. AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Edited by Currer Bell. Three Volumes. London : Smith, Elder and Co. 1847.

DECIDEDLY the best novel of the season ; and one, moreover, from the natural tone pervading the narrative, and the originality and freshness of its style, possessing the merit so rarely met with now-a-days in works of this class, of amply repaying a second perusal. Whoever may be the author, we hope to see more such books from *her* pen ; for that these volumes are from the pen of a lady, and a clever one too, we have not the shadow of a doubt : nor can there be any question as to the *reality* of many of the scenes and personages so artistically depicted ; the characters are too life-like to be the mere creations of fancy, and sketchy as some of them are, they are wondrous *telling* : several of them we almost feel persuaded we have met with in real life. The Rev. Mr. Brocklehurst, with his "straight, narrow, sable-clad shape, standing erect on the rug ; the grim face at the top being like a carved mask, placed above the shaft by way of capital ;" the lady-like Miss Temple ; sweet Helen Burns, whose death-scene is so touchingly narrated ; the neat and prim little Mrs. Fairfax, and the eccentric Mr. Rochester, whom with all his faults and eccentricities one can't help getting to like ; are but a few of the characters in the drama, though essential ones, and cleverly struck off.

We must not attempt a regular analysis of the tale, but prefer giving a few extracts, beginning with one which will in some measure explain Jane's position in life at the commencement of her narrative.

"I learned, for the first time, from Miss Abbott's communications to Bessie, that my father had been a poor clergyman ; that my mother had married him against the wishes of her friends, who considered the match beneath her ; that my grandfather Reed was so irritated at her disobedience, that he cut her off without a shilling ; that after my mother and father had been married a year, the latter caught the typhus fever whilst visiting among the poor of a large manufacturing town where his curacy was situated, and where that disease was then prevalent ; that my mother took the infection from him, and both died within a month of each other."

Her mother's brother, not participating in the feelings of his father, took the orphan into his own house, with the intention of bringing her

up with, and as one of, his own children; but he, too, died, and left poor Jane to the tender mercies of her purse-proud aunt and cousins; how these were displayed may be guessed.

Jane's first remove was from the Hall to Lowood Institution—in some respects a second edition of Dotheboys Hall—where for the payment of fifteen pounds per annum, young female orphans were boarded and educated to enable them to act as governesses. The treasurer and sole manager of this semi-charitable establishment is the Rev. Mr. Brocklehurst, before introduced to our readers. The reverend gentleman has been lecturing Miss Temple, the superintendent, on the enormity of the hose being allowed to go too long unmended, and other little household matters of a like description, but more especially for pampering the appetites of the scholars with a luncheon of bread and cheese when their porridge had been spoiled at breakfast-time, so that they could not eat it.

"Meantime, Mr. Brocklehurst, standing on the hearth with his hands behind his back, majestically surveyed the whole school. Suddenly his eye gave a blink, as if it had met something that either dazzled or shocked its pupil; turning, he said in more rapid accents than he had hitherto used:—

"Miss Temple, Miss Temple, what—*what* is that girl with curled hair? Red hair, ma'am, curled—curled all over?' and extending his cane he pointed to the awful object, his hand shaking as he did so.

"It is Julia Severn," replied Miss Temple very quietly.

"Julia Severn, ma'am! And why has she, or any other, curled hair? Why, in defiance of every precept and principle of this house, does she conform to the world so openly—here, in an evangelical, charitable establishment—as to wear her hair one mass of curls?"

"Julia's hair curls naturally," returned Miss Temple, still more quietly.

"Naturally! Yes, but we are not to conform to nature: I wish these girls to be the children of Grace: and why that abundance? I have again and again intimated that I desire the hair to be arranged closely, modestly, plainly. Miss Temple, that girl's hair must be cut off entirely; I will send a barber to-morrow: and I see others who have far too much of the excrescence—that tall girl, tell her to turn round. Tell all the first form to rise up and direct their faces to the wall."

"Miss Temple passed her handkerchief over her lips, as if to smooth away the involuntary smile that curled them; she gave the order, however, and when the first class could take in what was required of them, they obeyed. Leaning a little back on my bench, I could see the looks and grimaces with which they commented on this manoeuvre, it was a pity Mr. Brocklehurst could not see them too; he would perhaps have felt, that whatever he might do with the outside of the cup and platter, the inside was further beyond his interference than he imagined.

"He scrutinized the reverse of these living medals some five minutes, then pronounced sentence. These words fell like the knell of doom:—

"All those top-knots must be cut off."

"Miss Temple seemed to remonstrate.

"Madam," he pursued, "I have a Master to serve whose kingdom is not of this world: my mission is to mortify in these girls the lusts of the flesh; to teach them to clothe themselves with shamefacedness and sobriety, not with braided hair and costly apparel; and each of the young persons before us has a string of hair twisted in plaits which vanity itself might have woven: these, I repeat, must be cut off: think of the time wasted, of —"

"Mr. Brocklehurst was here interrupted: three other visitors, ladies, now

entered the room. They ought to have come a little sooner, to have heard his lecture on dress, for they were splendidly attired in velvet, silk, and furs. The two younger of the trio (fine girls of sixteen and seventeen) had gray beaver hats, then in fashion, shaded with ostrich plumes, and from under the brim of this graceful head-dress fell a profusion of light tresses, elaborately curled; the elder lady was enveloped in a costly velvet shawl, trimmed with ermine, and she wore a false front of French curls.

"These ladies were deferentially received by Miss Temple, as Mrs. and the Misses Brocklehurst, and conducted to seats of honour at the top of the room."

The next extract relates to one of the characters whom we see but little of, but who nevertheless plays a somewhat conspicuous part while on the stage—that of a haughty spoiled beauty.

"I have told you, reader, that I had learnt to love Mr. Rochester: I could not unlove him now, merely because I found that he had ceased to notice me—because I might pass hours in his presence, and he would never once turn his eyes in my direction—because I saw all his attentions appropriated by a great lady, who scorned to touch me with the hem of her robes as she passed; who, if ever her dark and imperious eye fell on me by chance, would withdraw it instantly as from an object too mean to merit observation. I could not unlove him, because I felt sure he would soon marry this very lady—because I read daily in her a proud security in his intentions respecting her—because I witnessed hourly in him a style of courtship which, if careless and choosing rather to be sought than to seek, was yet, in its very carelessness, captivating, and, in its very pride, irresistible.

"There was nothing to cool or banish love in these circumstances; though much to create despair. Much too, you will think, reader, to engender jealousy; if a woman, in my position could presume to be jealous of a woman in Miss Ingram's. But I was not jealous: or very rarely;—the nature of the pain I suffered could not be explained by that word. Miss Ingram was a mark beneath jealousy; she was too inferior to excite the feeling. Pardon the seeming paradox: I mean what I say. She was very showy, but she was not genuine; she had a fine person, many brilliant attainments; but her mind was poor, her heart barren by nature: nothing bloomed spontaneously on that soil; no unforced natural fruit delighted by its freshness. She was not good; she was not original: she used to repeat sounding phrases from books; she never offered, nor had, an opinion of her own. She advocated a high tone of sentiment; but she did not know the sensations of sympathy and pity: tenderness and truth were not in her. Too often she betrayed this, by the undue vent she gave to a spiteful antipathy she had conceived against little Adèle, pushing her away with some contemptuous epithet if she happened to approach her; sometimes ordering her from the room, and always treating her with coldness and acrimony. Other eyes beside mine watched these manifestations of character—watched them closely, keenly, shrewdly. Yes: the future bridegroom, Mr. Rochester himself, exercised over his intended a ceaseless surveillance: and it was from this sagacity—this guardedness of his—this perfect, clear consciousness of his fair one's defects—this obvious absence of passion in his sentiments towards her, that my over-torturing pain arose.

"I saw he was going to marry her, for family, perhaps political reasons; because her rank and connexions suited him: I felt he had not given her his love, and that her qualifications were ill adapted to win from him that treasure. This was the point—this was where the nerve was touched and teased—this was where the fever was sustained and fed: *she could not charm him.*"

How bewildered, yet how hearty and infectious is Jane's delight at the unexpected discovery of relatives of whose existence she had pre-

vously no suspicion. The information has just been imparted by her cousin.

"I surveyed him. It seemed I had found a brother: one I could be proud of,—one I could love; and two sisters, whose qualities were such, that when I knew them but as mere strangers, they had inspired me with genuine affection and admiration. The two girls, on whom, kneeling down on the wet ground, and looking through the low latticed window of Moor House kitchen, I had gazed with so bitter a mixture of interest and despair, were my near kinswomen; and the young and stately gentleman who had found me almost dying at his threshold, was my blood relation. Glorious news to a lonely wretch! This was wealth indeed!—wealth to the heart!—a mine of pure genial affections. This was a blessing, bright, vivid, and exhilarating! not like the ponderous gift of gold; rich and welcome enough in its way, but sobering from its weight. I now clapped my hands in sudden joy—my pulse bounded, my veins thrilled.

" 'Oh, I am glad!—I am glad!' I exclaimed.

"St. John smiled. 'Did I not say you neglected essential points, to pursue trifles?' he asked. 'You were serious when I told you you had got a fortune; and now, for a matter of no moment, you are excited.'

" 'What can you mean? It may be of no moment to you: you have sisters, and don't care for a cousin; but I had nobody; and now three relations,—or two, if you don't choose to be counted,—are born into my world, full grown. I say again, I am glad!'

There are many other passages we would gladly quote, some perhaps of a more telling description than those above given: unfortunately, however, they are not to be easily separated from the context without spoiling them; indeed to be thoroughly appreciated and enjoyed, the whole three volumes must be regularly read through: no skipping—no peeping to see how Jane goes on a few leaves forward, or whether she gets married, or how her property comes to her. And thus perused, we venture to say no one will regret having followed our advice to read '*Jane Eyre*.'

5.—AN EXPERIMENTAL INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSE OF THE ASCENT AND DESCENT OF THE SAP, with some Observations upon the Nutrition of Plants; and the Cause of Endosmose and Exosmose; with Plates. By G. RAINY, M.R.C.S.E., Demonstrator of Anatomy, and of Microscopic Anatomy, St. Thomas's Hospital. London: William Pamplin, 45, Frith-street, Soho-square. 1847.

It was, we believe, Magnol, who, in 1790, first carried out the idea of demonstrating, by means of coloured infusions, the upward course of the crude sap through the stem of a plant from the roots to the summit. On examination, traces of the ascending infusions were evident, in the form of longitudinal streaks, for the most part in the alburnum or sap-wood of the stem in trees and shrubs, and exclusively among the bundles of woody fibre in that of herbaceous plants. Since the time of Magnol, numerous experiments, conducted by other vegetable physiologists, have led more or less completely to the same result; and the most recent of these, as detailed in the little volume before us, appear to demonstrate most conclusively that it is by means of the

woody tissue alone that the ascending crude sap finds its way from the roots to the leaves, where its elaboration is completed.

Instead of using a coloured infusion, Mr. Rainey adopted the preferable expedient of placing the cut end of a recently severed branch of red valerian in an aqueous solution of bichloride of mercury (corrosive sublimate); in the course of a few hours the branch had absorbed a considerable quantity of the poisonous solution, and its leaves, though previously somewhat withered from the evaporation of their moisture, had recovered their original fresh appearance.

"Next day, this branch absorbed less of the solution than on the preceding one, and the poisonous effects of the bichloride were now visible some way up the stem, also the lower leaves were partially attacked, having become discoloured and shrunken, but the unaffected parts of these leaves and of the other portions of the branch retained their natural freshness, and appeared quite healthy. Thus the bichloride of mercury continued to destroy successive portions of the branch from day to day; those parts of it to which the influence of the poison had not extended always remaining to all appearance sound, and in some cases distinguishable from the affected ones by a line of demarcation more or less defined.

"After the solution had ascended into that part of the stem which was soft, and contained but little ligneous matter, its diameter became very much contracted, from the collapsed state of its vessels and cells, and was rendered so flexible as to be incapable of supporting the sound parts above it, which, notwithstanding this altered and contracted state of the inferior portion of the branch, seemed perfectly healthy, and continued to receive an abundant supply of fluid. The upper parts of this branch remained vegetating in the solution during a fortnight, although the lower ones were completely deprived of every trace of vitality, showing that the passage of the fluid along the latter into the former is wholly independent of any vital contraction of the sap-vessels, as was formerly supposed by the older physiologists.

"But in order to remove any doubt as to the correctness of this conclusion, a stem of Valerian was obtained, from which grew two long parallel branches of equal size, and a portion, fifteen inches in length, of one of them, was exposed to the action of boiling water during a quarter of an hour, after which the inferior extremity of the parent stem was placed in a weak solution of the bichloride of mercury for a fortnight. During this time the process of vegetation was found to be quite as active in the upper part of the branch which had been acted upon by the boiling water, as in that which had been carefully protected from the action of the heat."—p. 2.

Slips of some plants will not vegetate at all when separated from their parent stem and placed in this solution; but it is found that when a plant will not vegetate in the solution, neither will it in water. When a slip will not vegetate when thus placed in a fluid, its leaves droop and wither from the evaporation of their moisture, and the plant has no longer the power of supplying that loss by absorption, thus proving that mere evaporation from the leaves is not sufficient to cause the ascent of the sap; and that the ascent is due to some vital action going on in those organs, is further shown by the fact that the quantity of the fluid absorbed is always in proportion to the healthy condition of the leaves and the apparent vigour with which their functions are performed.

A chemical examination of a branch which has vegetated in the solution exhibits no trace of the bichloride in the yet living portion ; whilst the stem and leaves below that part contain abundance of it. This shows that at the junction of the dead with the living part, a decomposition of the solution is continually going on, whereby the water required for the support of the living portion is separated from the bichloride.

"So that a plant, whilst vegetating in a solution of the bichloride of mercury, may be distinguished into three parts, the living, the dying, and the part completely dead ; the first contains the water of the solution deprived of all its bichloride, the second the portion of solution in which the bichloride is in the act of being decomposed, and the third the solution unchanged.

"Now, as in the plants thus treated, the water of the solution, which had been taken up into and nourished the living part of each branch, was in *reality* its crude sap ; and as the same passages which conveyed this water, now deprived of its bichloride, must have contained the solution whilst this substance was undergoing decomposition, and therefore whilst it contained some of the bichloride unchanged ; to determine the *part* along which the crude sap ascends, we have only to ascertain the precise situation of the bichloride of mercury and the tissue in which it is lodged."—p. 5.

This is done by subjecting thin sections of the plant which had vegetated in the solution to the action of recently prepared hydrosulphate of ammonia, either in a gaseous or a liquid form. By the action of the hydrosulphate all the bichloride contained in the section is converted into a black hydrated bisulphuret of mercury ; and under the microscope, the tissue through which the solution had ascended is seen to be completely blackened by the new combination.

"In these sections the black bisulphuret is seen completely filling up the intervals between the cells without being contained in the cells themselves ; or, in the section of the vine, in the vessels. If these sections be compared with similar ones of the same plant in its natural condition, the intervals between the cells will here be observed to be filled up by a solid substance, which, from its situation is called intercellular tissue."—p. 6.

The *intercellular tissue* here spoken of can be no other than the *woody tissue* or *pleurcnchyma* of botanists ; this is evident from Mr. Rainey's description of it in sections 18 and 19 of his book, as well as from a remark in section 36, that "the only parts which connect the leaves of an exogenous plant with its branches, are cells, vessels, and intercellular tissue ;" his ingenious experiments, therefore, confirm those of Magnol above alluded to, as well as the opinion of vegetable physiologists generally, that one of the functions of woody tissue is that of transmitting fluids from the lower to the upper extremities of a plant.

Having thus shown the course pursued by the crude sap in its ascent, Mr. Rainey next explains his view of the cause of that ascent, as in the following extract :—

"The intercellular tissue being porous, and generally continuous, must of necessity, if deprived of its fluid in any one part, attract, in consequence of its capillarity, that which is contained in the tissue of the surrounding

parts, and thereby cause the crude sap to move successively from one situation to another in a direction dependent upon the position of that portion of the intercellular tissue which is being most rapidly exhausted; so that when the tissue situated between the cells in the leaves is rapidly being deprived of its crude sap, in consequence of the passage of this fluid by endosmose from the exterior to the interior of the cells, this portion of tissue will attract the water from that situated around the cells in the petioles of these leaves, which, becoming more or less exhausted, will attract in like manner the water from the intercellular tissue of the stem, and thus the crude sap will be drawn up successively from one part of the stem to another, until the intercellular tissue in the root, becoming deprived of a part of its water, will re-fill itself by attracting the water from the earth through the porous cuticle which covers the radicles: or, if it be a branch vegetating with its extremity placed in a solution of the chloride of mercury, as in the experiment first related, the intercellular tissue at its cut extremity will attract the solution from the vessel in which it is placed."—p. 9.

"Undue distension of the cells is prevented by the constant evaporation which takes place from the leaves, and a larger quantity of fluid is by this means caused to pass through a plant to furnish it with a sufficient supply of those substances which it requires to obtain from the soil. This process, being thus accessory to the function of nutrition, is aided by the stomata, and also by the abundant pubescence present on most leaves, and especially on young leaf-buds. Although this evaporation, called sometimes transpiration, must aid indirectly the ascent of the sap, yet of itself it is altogether insufficient to cause it to ascend; the sap ceasing to ascend as soon as the cells lose their power of elaborating their contents, and thereby keeping up the physical conditions necessary for the continuance of endosmose."—p. 10.

Endosmose, it may perhaps be necessary to explain, is a phenomenon consisting in the attraction of a dense fluid by a thinner fluid through an organic membrane; as when sugar-water or gum-water, when separated by a piece of bladder from pure water, attracts the latter through the bladder. As Lindley well observes, this "is evidently a very important force, continually in play in plants, but quite subordinate to vitality, and only co-existent with it."

Further experiments with growing plants are adduced by Mr. Rainey in support of his opinion as to the channel by which the elaborated sap descends. This opinion is not, we think, borne out by the experiments. But though we differ from the author in this and some few other points, we are bound to say that his arguments and experiments display much ingenuity, and that we can cordially recommend this little volume to the notice of vegetable physiologists.

6.—HONOUR; OR, THE STORY OF THE BRAVE CASPAR AND THE FAIR ANNEL. By Clemens Brentano. With an Introduction and a Biographical Notice of the Author, by T. W. Appell. Translated from the German. London: John Chapman, 142, Strand. 1847.

A LITTLE story worthy to take rank with Auerbach's 'Village Tales,' and other delineations of the peasant life of Germany, which have lately been received with so much favour in England. Its author is as yet scarcely known here; we, therefore, feel grateful to the trans-

lator, both for his having put into an English dress a charming little tale, and also for introducing to an English audience one whose name perhaps many of them had never before met with, notwithstanding that his family have been rendered illustrious by their connexion with genius.

Clemens Brentano, the son of an Italian merchant, who emigrated from Lombardy, and Maximiliane Emprosine, daughter of Chancellor La Roche, the Charlotte of Göthe's 'Werther,' was born near Coblenz, on the 9th September, 1778; Bettina von Arnim is Clemens' sister; and he may truly be said to belong to "a family unrivalled in the intellectual world of Germany for the rare endowments with which all its members have been gifted." The following account of his early life is interesting:—

"Brentano's genius displayed itself very soon at school, where he ridiculed the foibles of all around him in the most laughable verses. When he had completed his studies at the college of Coblenz, he was recalled to Frankfort, there to commence his mercantile career in his father's counting-house (which still exists under the care of his surviving brother). Our poet's genius, however, could not stoop to prosaic dealings, even in gloomy vaults crowded with sugar and coffee; and the inspired apprentice copied the letters in verse, wrote the hills of lading in the most absurd rhymes, and ornamented the margins with caricatures. For some time his associates rather enjoyed this propensity for poetical effusions, and only called the favourite of the muses 'a crack-brained fellow;' but when his father, a serious, stern man, who held poetry at a discount, and considered it a starving art, got a hint of his son's enormities, he sent him in disgrace to M. Kunstmann, an oil merchant at Langensalza. There the handsome, dark-eyed young bard, his light green coat and scarlet waistcoat, became the lions of the little town, and created an unheard-of sensation among the fairer portion of its inhabitants. But in this Patmos the giddy exile continued to transact all his business poetically; corresponding in metre with the brandy distillers of the 'Güldene Aue,' and delivering rhyming hills of lading to the carters of the spirituous merchandize.

"It may easily be conceived that so provoking a clerk was a continual source of annoyance to the oil merchant, and at the expiration of six months Clemens was dismissed in disgrace.

"His father made a last attempt to recall this degenerate, unworthy son to reason, but a new frolic soon put an end to the endeavour. On one occasion a cask of sugar was found wanting in a consignment from London to the house of Brentano, which produced an animated correspondence, beginning with prudent coolness, but becoming by degrees more violent and bitter. In copying these letters, the young poet drew, exactly opposite the parental signature, an immense hat, covering two heads, who were gazing furiously at one another, while at a little distance a man contemplated them, with the following words proceeding from his mouth:—

'Two fools underneath one hat,
And them a third is looking at.'

"A rude answer from the English correspondent excited old Brentano's indignation. The affair was investigated, and the culprit, who had thus profaned the sanctuary of golden trade, was ignominiously banished from its threshold."—p. 8.

The little tale before us is one of Brentano's latest works, and was published at Berlin in 1835. It is evidently his most finished pro-

duction and contains passages which will find an echo in all hearts. In the words of his biographer, in this story Brentano's muse is displayed "in her fairest aspect, and entirely divested of his usual extravagant fancies. The delineation of the tale recalls to one's memory the ingenious arabesque characters in the MSS. of the middle ages; and indeed many of the details are really taken from popular tradition. But the whole is kept unaffectedly noble and simply true."

We must not make extracts from this little volume, but can honestly say that it is admirably adapted for a Christmas present or New Year's gift.

- 7.—RELIGION AND POETRY; being Selections, Spiritual and Moral, from the Poetical Works of the Rev. R. Montgomery, M.A., Oxon, &c. With an Introductory Essay, by Archer Gurney, author of 'King Charles the First,' translator of 'Faust.' Second Edition. London: James Nisbet & Co., Berners Street. 1847.

THERE are, perhaps, no modern literary productions which, on their first appearance, called forth such diametrically opposite expressions of opinion as the poetical works of the Rev. Robert Montgomery. By one party they were indiscriminately and extravagantly praised; by another, as indiscriminately and unjustly condemned: the proper course, as usual, lying between the two extremes. Mr. Gurney has judiciously followed this intermediate path, in the "Introductory Essay" to the selection before us, from which the following extracts may be given, as embodying what appears to be a fair and impartial estimate of Montgomery's poetical genius.

"Be it at once and distinctly acknowledged, as far as my individual perceptions are concerned, that Mr. Montgomery appears to me, in many instances, verbose beyond all reasonable limits, and occasionally mysterious, from a substitution of undoubtedly poetic *sound* for *sense*. To yield examples of these supposed errors here, would be an ungracious and altogether uncalled-for task. My primary duty is rather to point to the excellences than dwell on the defects of my author. To this list of the latter, however, I must be permitted to add one of an even more important character, namely, the occasional overstepping of the boundaries of good taste, when the author, carried away by the genuineness and ardour of his conception, allows himself to be hurried into lengths, and seduced to expressions, which are not altogether justifiable. To these principal short-comings may be added an occasional monotony of tone, which is, perhaps, however, more or less inseparable from the nature of a long didactic poem.

"On the other hand, the most superficial reader of Montgomery's poems, cannot fail to perceive their occasionally daring, and always more or less striking, sublimity of thought, their moral and religious grandeur, their vast, and sometimes astonishing, force and power, the poetical beauty of the descriptive passages occurring in them, and the great command of language of the author, despite the drawback of an occasional exaggeration. Add to these the undoubted rhythmical beauty and variety of Montgomery's blank verse, which is commonly relieved by the most artistic pauses or stops of various kinds; not, be it observed, introduced on system and for effect, but obviously the external

development of that 'inward melody of the poet's soul,' which, undoubtedly, resides within him."—p. 6.

In this impartial spirit Mr. Gurney proceeds to examine, in more or less of detail, each of Montgomery's larger poems, from the 'Omnipresence of the Deity' to 'Luther'; his criticisms appear to be perfectly just, and lead to the following summary:—

"Robert Montgomery, then, is eminently a Christian poet: offensive and defensive; one, who not satisfied with maintaining the truth as truth, proceeds to denounce falsehood as falsehood; and is thus, at once, both negative and affirmative in the highest sense. True it is, that we can assert no truth or fact without, by implication, denying its contrary. But this implication is often not obvious; and it is well that it should be insisted on, more especially by the Christian poet, as Montgomery does insist on it, and thereby constrain the indifferent ever to choose their side for good or evil. The positive and active sinfulness of what may be called merely negative indifference is constantly asserted and *proved* by Montgomery, and this is what renders him so obnoxious to the infidel, and so important in the Christian's eyes. His occasional deficiency in taste, which it is but just to add, becomes less and less apparent as he appears to progress in spiritual realization of Christianity, is amply counterbalanced by that uncompromising boldness—that straightforward truthfulness—that daring power, which, combined with high imaginative faculties, and an intimate perception of the beautiful, stamp him as a true poet of a high order."—p. 72.

The volume to which Mr. Gurney's essay forms the introduction, contains some of Montgomery's finest passages, from which a very fair estimate of his ability as a poet may be formed. The selection is judiciously made, and as a most appropriate present to the young at the present season can be safely recommended.

8.—THE SPIRITUAL USE OF AN ORCHARD OR GARDEN OF FRUIT-TREES; set forth in divers Similitudes between Natural and Spiritual Fruit-trees, according to Scripture and Experience. (The Second Impression.) By Ra. Austin, Practiser in the Art of Planting. London: W. Pamplin, 45, Frith Street, Soho Square. 1847.

A CAREFUL reprint from the quarto Oxford edition of a curious old book which originally appeared in 1657, with the *imprimatur* of Johan. Owen, Vice-Chanc. Oxon, bearing date Aug. 2, 1656. In the present impression we have a fac simile of the old engraved title, and the general antique appearance is very well preserved.

Ralph Austin was also author of a 'Treatise of Fruit-trees, showing the manner of Grafting, Setting, &c.,' which appears to have been held in considerable estimation in its day, since it went through three editions between 1653 and 1665. To this work he refers when in the 'Preface to the Reader' of the work before us, he says—

"Having elsewhere spoken at large concerning the ordering of natural fruit-trees in all respects, and of the great profits, pleasures, and advantages that arise thence; I shall now consider fruit-trees upon another account, and

endeavour to make some spirituall use and and improvement of them." And further—"As I have planted many thousands of naturall fruit-trees for the good of the common wealth, so also I have taken some spirituall egences, or grafts, from them. (I meane severall propositions drawne from observations in nature, which are somewhat branched forth into boughes and twiggs), and bound them up and sent them abroad for the good of the Church of Godd: and if men will but accept of them, and be content to have them engrafted in their own gardens, (their hearts and minds), by the husbandman watering of them by his spirit, they will grow, and blossome, and beare much good fruit, here and for ever."

9.—THE FAMILY JO: MILLER; A DRAWING-ROOM JEST BOOK.
London: William S. Ott & Co., Paternoster Row. 1848.

A CAPITAL Christmas-book, containing a judicious selection from the evergreen jests of glorious Jo:, intermingled with sparkling *jeux d'esprit* of a more modern stamp, even down to "Sidney Smith's last." In "Jo: Miller, a Biography," with which the volume opens, we have a clever burlesque of those learned researches, in which genealogists so much delight. Jo:'s pedigree is traced up to the "jolly Miller," who once "lived on the river Dee." In explanation of his motive for adopting the mode of spelling the prenomén Jo:, the biographer argues that in this instance there can "be no other elision for Joseph," since Jo: is, in fact, a contraction for a jest or joke; "and every one must admit that 'Jo-ke' and Jo: Miller are inseparable ideas. And that as Jo: was a great favourite with the fair sex, the term Jo: was undoubtedly frequently applied to him as a term of endearment in its Scottish acceptation of darling or sweet-heart, as in the song—

"John Anderson, my Jo, John."

"So that," continues he, "the genteel Englishwoman who imagined Jo was here a vulgar nickname, and sang—

"John Anderson, my Joseph, John,"

was quite in error."

This biography is a fit introduction to the jests which it introduces, as the illustrations by Doyle and others are their fitting accompaniments. The frontispiece and illustrated title, the one being a portrait of the late Mr. Joseph Miller, in his serious mood, and expressive of his surprise and contempt on hearing one of Jack Motley's worst; the other representing the same Jo:, *tickled* perchance by his own exuberant fancies, are exquisite.

In conclusion, we may quote a very apt passage from the biography, to the intent that this clever book is "a necessity of all civilised existence; and if we may hazard an original remark, no lady's boudoir or gentleman's library can be complete without it."

THE COUNCIL OF FOUR: A GAME AT "DEFINITIONS." Edited by Arthur Wallbridge, Author of 'Torrington Hall,' &c. London: Ollivier, 59, Pall Mall; and Simpkin & Marshall. 1847.

THE origin of this little book is thus described by the Editor. A small party agreed to play at *bouts rimés*; the proper number of syllables would not come, and altogether the game did not turn out well: as a substitute it was proposed, that three words being chosen, each person in the party should write his or her definition on a slip of paper, and these slips being handed to one of the party, that they should be read aloud. This succeeded so well, that it occurred to some of the party that others might like to play at the same game: to instigate them to do so, and to offer a prospectus and specimen of the manner, the Editor and three friends, constituting 'the Council of Four,' agreed to meet on successive evenings, and to define one hundred words; *et voici* the result of their meetings in the clever little volume before us, to which is very applicable its own definition of a

"BOOK—Brain preserved in ink."

FIELDING'S 'TOM JONES,' ILLUSTRATED BY KENNY MEADOWS. Edited by Charles Whitehead. Part I. London: J. Gregory, 11, A., Wellington-Street, Strand.

OF the genius of Fielding it is unnecessary to speak, since it has been universally acknowledged by the greatest of his contemporaries and his successors in the world of literature: and of the particular work, a new edition of which has just been commenced, Gibbon has recorded his opinion, that the illustrious house of Hapsburg, from which Fielding was descended—its name crased, its towers crumbled—will be forgotten, when the romance of 'Tom Jones' shall flourish in eternal youth. The beautiful illustrations of Kenny Meadows have been faithfully realized on the wood by Linton; and no pains have been spared, either with regard to the typography or the number and excellence of the illustrations, to render the book worthy that patronage which the talents of the artists and the liberality of the proprietors are fairly entitled to.

THE TRAVELLER'S MISCELLANY, AND MAGAZINE OF ENTERTAINMENT. July to December. London: W. J. Adams, 59, Fleet Street. 1847.

THIS little serial progresses admirably, and each succeeding number but the more firmly establishes its claim to the title of 'A Companion for the Road, the Rail, and the Steam-boat.' In the six numbers before us, under the head of "The Watering Places of England," we have descriptive guides to Dover, Brighton, Margate, Ramsgate, Weymouth, Exmouth, Sidmouth, and Scarborough; giving an account of all the objects of interest to be found in these places and the neighbouring country, as well as those which present themselves by the various routes recommended for adoption by the traveller. We have also an excellent series of papers, evidently by an old hand, intitled, "The Law of Travellers," which will be found very useful to all voyagers by land or water. Among the lighter contents, is a well-written article, concluded in the December number, called "Aubrey Luson, or the Field of Sedgemoor," which is full of interest; the "Land of Burns," "Wordsworth and Windermere," "Butler and Hudibras," and many poetical sketches, all furnish pleasant reading: while the lucid explanation of the principles and mode of action of the Electric Telegraph is a fair example of the scientific contents of a book well adapted for the *delectation* of all travellers, whether fire-side or out-of-door.







